

THE
SIDDHANTA KAUMUDI

OF

BHATTOJI DIKSHITA.

(Edited and Translated into English.)

BY

ŚRIŚA CHANDRA VASU.

AND

VÂMANA DÂSA VASU.



PUBLISHED BY THE PANINI OFFICE :

Bhuvaneśvari Âśrama,

ALLAHABAD.

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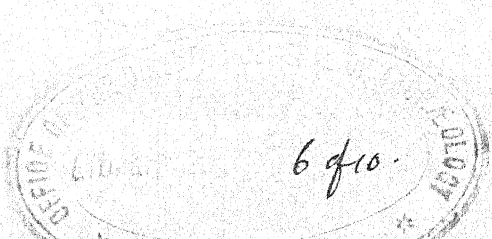
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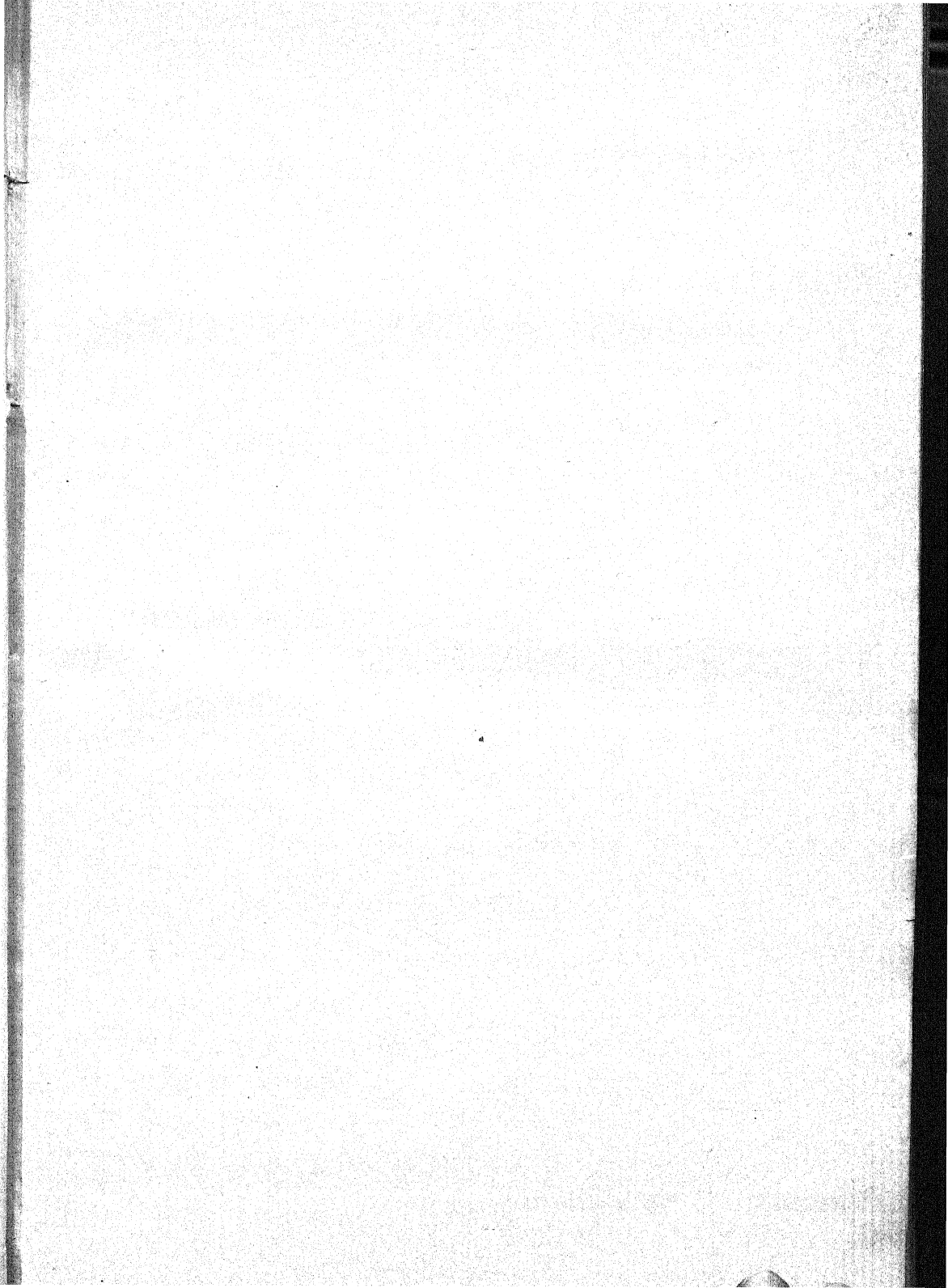
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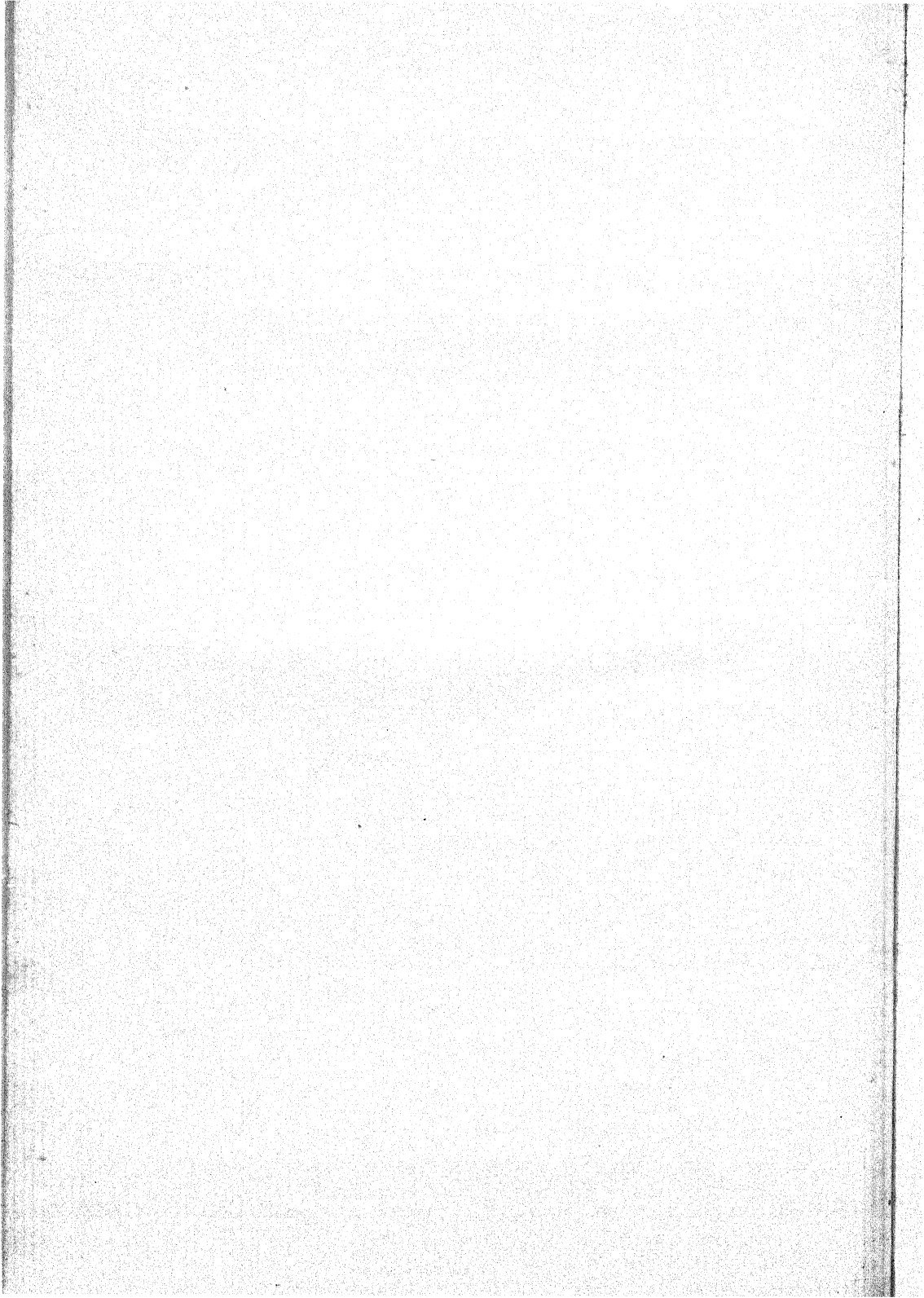


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THE SIDDHĀNTA KAUMUDĪ.



मुनित्रयं नमस्कृत्य तदुक्तीः परिभाष्य च ।
वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदीयं विरच्यते ॥ १ ॥

Having saluted the Three Sages, and reflected over their sayings, this Light of the Truth of Grammarians is composed *by me*.

*Note:—*The three sages or founders and expounders of Grammar are Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patanjali. Their sayings or works are respectively known as the Sūtras, the Vārtikas, and the Bhāṣya. The word “Kaumudī” means Light, or the Revealer: and “Siddhanta” (settled-end) means the Truth established after full investigation or discussion. The word “Siddhanta Kaumudī” therefore, means the book that reveals to mankind the truths of Grammar as proved or demonstrated by the great Grammarians.

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITIONS.

संज्ञा प्रकरणम् ।

^१ अइउगा । ^२ ऋलृक् । ^३ एओङ् । ^४ ऐऔच् । ^५ हयवरद् । ^६ क्षण् ।

^७ अमङ्गणनम् । ^८ भभञ् । ^९ घढधष् । ^{१०} जवगडद् । ^{११} खफछठथचवतव् ।
^{१२} कपय् । ^{१३} शषसर् । ^{१४} हल् ॥

इति माहेश्वराणि सूत्राण्यणादिसंज्ञार्थानि ॥ एषामन्त्या इतः ॥ लणसूत्रेऽकारश्च ॥ हकारादिव्यकारा
उच्चारणार्थः ॥

^१ a i u (ṇ); ^२ ṛ ṝ (k); ^३ e o (ñ); ^४ ai au (ch); ^५ ha ya va ra (ṭ);
^६ la (ṇ) or l (aṇ); ^७ ṇa ma ṇa ṇa ṇa (m); ^८ jha bha (ñ); ^९ gha ḍha dha
(sh); ^{१०} ja ba ga ḍa da (ś); ^{११} kha pha chha ṭha tha cha ṭa ta (v); ^{१२} ka
pa (y); ^{१३} śa sha sa (r); ^{१४} ha (l).

These fourteen aphorisms are called "the Maheśvara Sūtras" or the aphorisms of Maheśvara. They are useful for forming technical terms or Pratyāhāras like अण् &c. The final consonants in these (e.g. ण्, क्) are called इत् a word which is defined later on. The अ in the Sūtra लण् is also इत् ॥ The अ in the other consonants like ह, य, व &c. is not इत्, but only for pronunciation.

Note :—The प्रत्याहार is a grammatical symbol or abbreviation and is formed by taking any letter which is not an इत् letter and joining it with any non-efficient letter that follows it. This gives a name which stands for the former non-efficient letter and for all the other letters intervening between it and the non-efficient letter. Thus अच् means all the vowels, हल् means all the consonants, जश् means all soft unaspirate consonants, चर् means all hard unaspirate consonants. Though numerous pratyāhāras could be formed, practically however, there are only 43 pratyāhāras ; as given below :—

एङ् । यञ् । अण् । छच् । अट् ॥ झप् । अष् ॥ अक् । इक् । उक् ॥ अण् । इण् । यण् ॥ अश् । ङश् ॥ अच् । इच् । एच् ॥ ऐच् । यय् । मय् । झय् । खय् ॥ यर् । झर् । खर् । चर् । शर् ॥ अश् । हश् । वश् । झश् । जश् । बश् ॥ अल् । हल् । वल् । रल् । झल् । शल् and र ॥

Paribhāṣā I.—The same letter ण् is made use of as अनुबन्ध or an indicatory letter both in the sixth sūtra लण् and in the first अ इ उण् । There arises consequently the doubt, whether the pratyāhāras अण् and उण् when they are employed in Pāṇini's Grammar are formed with the ण् of the former or with the ण् of the latter sūtra, and one might, on that account, consider it impossible to ascertain what Pāṇini intended to denote by अण् and इण् when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhāṣā :—

व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्नहि सन्देहादलक्षणम् ।

"The precise meaning of an ambiguous term is ascertained from interpretation, for a rule, even though it contain an ambiguous term, must nevertheless teach something definite."

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term अण् except in Sūtra I. 1. 69, is formed by means of the ण् of the first sūtra and that the term इण् is formed by means of the ण् of the subsequent sūtra. (Keilhorn).

Note :—The letter ह occurs twice in the above aphorisms, first in aphorism five, and then in the last. The object of the first ह is to include that letter in the Pratyāhāras अट्, अश्, हश् and इण् ; so that the rules applicable to these Pratyāhāras, should apply to ह also. Thus अर्हेण, the न changed to ण though ह intervenes (VIII. 4. 2. S. 197). देवा हसन्ति, here the visarga is elided before ह by VIII. 3. 17. S. 167. देवो हसति, here the visarga is changed to ङ by VI. 1. 114. S. 166. लिलिहिध्वे or लिलिहिह्व, here ध is optionally changed to ङ after ह by VIII. 3. 79.

S. 2325. The second ह in the last sūtra, is for the purpose of including it in the Pratyāhāras, वल्, रल्, झल् and शल् ॥ As स्वपिहि, रुविहि, here इह् is added before ह by VII. 2. 35. S. 2184. स्निह्त्वा or स्नेह्त्वा, here the इ is optionally changed into ए by I. 2. 26. S. 2617. अदाग्धाम् here स is elided by VIII. 2. 26. S. 2281. अलिङ्गन् here the aorist is formed with the affix क्स after the root ending in ह, by III. 1. 45. S. 2336.

Note.—The अ in लण् is made इत्, for the sake of forming the Pratyāhāra र, so that र, may denote not only the single letter र, but the two letters र and ल ॥ This is useful in sūtra I. 1. 51. S. 70, by which the Guṇa and Vṛiddhi of ल becomes अल् and आल् ॥

१। हलन्त्यम् । १। ३। ३ ॥

हलिति सूत्रेऽन्यमित्यात् ॥

1. In the (or of the) sūtra हल् (14th sūtra in the above) let the final letter (i. e. ल्) be इत् ॥

Note.—The sūtra has been explained in two different ways by the author. First: "In the (or of the) sūtra हल् (14 sūtra of the alphabet), the final consonant (i. e. ल्) is इत् ॥" The second explanation, and the authoritative one is that which is given later on in the text, i. e. "In upadeśa or technical formulæ and terms of grammar, the final consonant is non-efficient."

२। आदिरन्त्येन सहेता । १। १। ७१ ॥

अन्येनेता सहित आदिर्नध्यगानां स्वस्य च संज्ञा स्यात् । इति हल्संज्ञायाम् ॥

2. An initial letter, with a final इत् letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

Applying this sūtra to the technical term हल्; (i. e. to the word हल् taken as a संज्ञा or technical term denoting all the consonants beginning with ह of sūtra 5, and ending with ल् of the last sūtra, and not as the sūtra 14th, of the above alphabets; we come to the second interpretation of the sūtra हल् अन्यम् ॥

२। हलन्त्यम् । १। ३। ३ ॥

उपदेशेऽन्यं हल् इत् स्यात् । उपदेश आद्योच्चारणम् । ततो अण् अच् इत्यादि संज्ञासिद्धौ ॥

2 a. In an Upadeśa, let the final hal or consonant be called इत् ॥

Upadeśa means the first enunciation of a term in Grammar. (Really it is the name of those technical terms of grammar which are formed for this purpose of instruction only, but which are not the current words of the language). Thus we get the sanjñās or terms like अण्, and अण् &c.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes &c. are indicative. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras अ इ उ ण्; here ण् is इत् ॥ क् ल क्; here क् is इत् ॥

औद् ; here ङ् is इत् ॥ ऐ औच् ; here च् is इत् ॥ It is only in upadeśa, that a final consonant is इत् ॥ Not therefore, in अग्निचित् or सोमसुत्, which are complete words.

Note :—This sūtra आदिरन्येन सहेता explains the mode of interpreting pratyāhāras. Thus the pratyāhāras अक् means those letters whose beginning is अ and whose final इत् is क् ॥

Why do we say with the 'final indicatory letter?' Because a pratyāhāra like सुद् would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final द् of औद् and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial द् of दा and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sūtra clears up the doubt. A pratyāhāra is formed with the final इत् and not with the initial इत् ॥

३। उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् । १। ३। २ ॥

उपदेशेऽजनुनासिकोऽजित्संज्ञः स्यात् ॥ प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ॥ लण्सूत्रस्थावर्णेन सङ्गोच्चार्यमाणं रक्ता रलयोः संज्ञा । प्रत्याहारवितां न ग्रहणम् । अनुनासिक इत्यादिनिर्देशान् । नह्यत्र ककारि परेऽच्कार्ये दृश्यते । आदिरन्येनेत्येतस्मैवेण कृताः संज्ञाः प्रत्याहारशब्देन व्यवहियन्ते ॥

3. The nasalized vowels are इत् in Upadeśa, or original enunciation.

The followers (or knowers of) Pāṇini's Grammar say that the Anunāsika words in the sūtra should be inferred by the way in which it is treated by Pāṇini. Thus the अ of the sūtra लण् (6th alphabet sūtra), is considered as anunāsika, and therefore, it is इत्; the result of which is that we can form a Pratyāhāra र with the र् of the sūtra इयवरद् and the अ of the sūtra लण्; and thus this Pratyāhāra र Ra denotes the two letters र् and ल् ॥ (This gives the reason why अ of लण् was said to be इत् in the 1st page.)

In counting the letters denoted by a Pratyāhāra the इत् letters should not be counted. Thus अच् denotes all the vowels only; the इत् letters ण् क्, ङ् and च्, are not included. For letters ण्, क्, ङ् are not vowels, by Pāṇini himself treating them as consonants; as the word अनुनासिक in this very sūtra shows. For had क् been a vowel, then the इ of anunāsika would have been changed to च् before क् ॥ Similarly in other places also Pāṇini has shown that क् is not a vowel.

The technical terms formed with the help of the sūtra, आदिरन्येन &c. (I. 1. 71 S 2) are called Pratyāhāra.

Note :—Anunāsika or nasalized vowels are इत् that is indicatory, when occurring in technical words. Thus in क्विन्, विद्, विच्, the anunāsika इ is इत्. The original sūtra contains the word 'upadeśa' which we have translated as technical term. 'Upadeśa' literally means 'instruction' or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sūtrapāṭha, or ganapāṭha or dhātupāṭha &c.

Note:—From this sūtra up to sūtra 9 of the third Pāda of the 1st Adhyāya of Pāṇini there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called इत् “In Pāṇini’s Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini’s explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal.” An upadeśa is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (agama), or a verbal root (dhātu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root एध ‘to increase,’ the final अ is indicatory, the real root is एध् ॥ So also the final अ of स्पृज् is इत् ॥

Note:—If the word is not an upadeśa, then the nasal vowel is not इत् ॥ As अञ्च औ अपः ॥ A word may be an upadeśa and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इत् as the affix मनिन् in sūtra III. 2. 74 S. 3418 (आतो मनिन् वनिन् वनिषञ्च) It is only the nasal vowel of an upadeśa that becomes इत्, and not all the vowels. The word इत् occurs in sūtras VII. 2. 16. S. 3036 (आदितञ्च &c.).

४। ऊकालोऽङ्गस्वदीर्घप्लुतः। १। २। २७ ॥

उञ्च ऊञ्च उञ्च वः। वां काल इव कालो यस्य सोऽङ्ग क्रमात् द्वस्वदीर्घप्लुतसंज्ञः स्यात्। स प्रत्येकपुत्रात्तादिभेदेन विधा ॥

4. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *ū* and the prolated *u*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dīrgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

उ+ऊ+उ३=वः; that is, the वः is the plural of उ, (as साधवः is the plural of साधु) ॥ (This वः denotes the three kinds of उ ॥ The genitive plural will be वाञ्च meaning “of u’s”). Let the vowels whose time is like the three उ’s, get respectively the name of *hrasva*, *dīrgha* and *pluta*. Each one of these again will be of three sorts, according as it is *udātta*, *anudātta* *svara*ita.

The उ *u* having one *mātrā* or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is *pluta*. This sūtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their *mātrā*. The letter ऊ *ū* has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase द्वस्वदीर्घप्लुतः is a *Samāhāra* *Dvandva* compound, in the singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the general rule II. 4. 17 S. 821.

The word *Kāla* means measure of time required for pronouncing a vowel.

As इधि ‘curd’ मधु ‘honey’ here इ and उ are short. कुमारी, गौरी, here ई is long. देवदत्तः अन्वासा Devadatta! Here अ *a* is *pluta* or prolated.

These words are used in the following sūtras I. 2. 47 S. 318. VII. 4. 25. S. 2298 VIII. 2. 82 S. 93.

५ । उच्चैरुदात्तः । १ । २ । २६ ॥

ताल्वान्विषु सभागेषु स्थानेषुर्ध्वभागे निष्पन्नोऽनुदात्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । आ ये ॥

5. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udātta* or acutely accented.

Let that vowel be called udātta which is pronounced from the higher part of its proper place of pronunciation such as throat &c. as औ; यँ ॥ Here आ being an indeclinable is udātta by the rule that declares all Nipātas are acutely accented on the first (निपाता आद्युदात्ताः) ॥ ये is the nom. Plural of यत् 'who' यँ is acute on the final, being a substantive; for all किट् (Prātipadikas) are antodātta by the rule किबोऽन्त उदात्तः (Phit Sūtra I. 1.). यत् + जस् Here जस् being a सुप् termination is anudātta by III. 1. 4 S. 3709. Then त् of यत् is replaced by अ; the affix जस् is replaced by झी (VII. I. 17 S. 214.), and we have यँ + ई = यँ, the ए the single substitute for यँ + ई is udātta by VIII. 2. 5. S 3658.

With this sūtra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is called udātta or *acute* accent. The udātta is not marked in writing in Sanskrit. We have followed the German system, by putting a small ऌ above the vowel. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and profane literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udātta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate &c. if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udātta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone, as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent.

६ । नीचैरनुदात्तः । १ । २ । ३० ॥

स्पष्टम् । ध्रुवाङ् ॥

6. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called *Anudātta* or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sūtra. As अर्वाङ् ॥ This is a compound of the noun अर्वन् with the verb अरुच (अर्वन्तमंचति) ॥ The word अर्वन् is formed from the root कृ 'to go' with the affix वनिप्, there is guṇa of कृ and we have अर्वन् ॥ The affix वनिप् is anudātta, being a पिठ् affix, (III. 1. 4 S. 3709); and कृ being a dhātu is udātta (VI. 1. 162 S. 3671.)

and so the word अवन् is also âdyudâtta. The अ of अञ्च is also udâtta, because it is a dhātu (VI. 1. 162 S. 3671). Then by II. 2. 19. S. 782 (उपपदमतिङ्) we compound the upapada अवन् with अञ्च्, and add the affix क्विन् by III. 2. 59. S. 373 (क्वितिङ् &c.). Then by samâsa accent (VI. 1. 223. and 3734.) or by kṛit accent (VI. 2. 139 S. 3873) the word अञ्च् retains its accent, while the first member of the compound loses its accent. Then the न् of अवन् is elided, and we have अव + अञ्च् = अवाङ्. The loss of accent takes place by VI. 1. 158 S. 3650. The vowel accent known as grave or anudâtta is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the anudâtta is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the grave accent.

In pronouncing an anudâtta vowel, there is slackening of the organs, and mildness, as well as softness and sweetness of tone: while there is expansion and widening of the larynx.

७। समाहारः स्वरितः । १ । २ । ३१ ॥

उदात्तानुदात्तत्वे वर्णधर्मौ समाद्वियेते यस्मिन्तोऽच्च स्वरितसङ्गः स्यात् ॥

7. The vowel that has the combination of *Udâtta* and *Anudâtta* tones is said to be *svarita* or circumflexly accented.

The word "vowel" of I. 2. 28 S. 35 is understood here also. The *svarita* or circumflexed accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice. It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter.

The word is used in sūtra VI. 1. 185 S. 3729. "The affixes having an indicatory न् t have *svarita* accent." As कन्या kanyā शिष्यश्च शिष्याम्, क्वे kve.

This sūtra is not to be understood to mean that a *svarita* is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an udâtta vowel with an anudâtta vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as *acute* and *grave* accents.

८। तस्यादित उदात्तमर्धह्रस्वम् । १ । २ । ३२ ॥

ह्रस्वग्रहणमतन्त्रम् । स्वरितस्यादितोऽर्धमुदात्तं बोध्यम् । उत्तरार्धं तु परिशेषानुदात्तम् । तस्य चोदात्तस्वरितपरत्वे श्रवणं स्पष्टम् । अन्यत्र तूदात्तश्रुतिः प्रातिशाख्ये प्रसिद्धा । क्वश्च बोध्याः । रथानां न ये राः । शतचक्रं शोऽहो ॥ इत्यादिष्वनुदात्तः । अग्निमलिं इत्यादितुदात्तश्रुतिः । स नवावेधोऽपि प्रत्येकमनुनासिकाननुनासिकत्वाभ्यां द्विधा ॥

8. Of it (*svarita*) the first portion is *udâtta*, to the extent of a half measure, or prosodial length.

The word *hrasva* in the Sūtra is redundant. In a *Svarita* accent, the first half portion is to be understood to have the udâtta accent. The remaining

half, will consequently be anudātta. If an udātta or another svarita follows it then this anudātta portion of the accent is distinctly heard. Otherwise, according to Prātiśākhya, the udātta portion is only heard. In the following, the anudātta is heard : क्व॑वोऽद्वाः ; रथानां॑ न ये॑ ऽडाः ; शतचक्रं॑ द्यो॑ ऽद्वाः ॥ While in the following the udātta is heard : अग्निमोले॑ पुरोहितम् ॥

Thus each vowel has nine forms, as it is hrasva, dīrgha or pluta, as it is udātta, anudātta or svarita. Every one of these nine, has two more forms : nasal and not nasal : as is taught in the next sūtra.

Note :—According to Siddhānta, the word इस्व is useless. According to Kāśikā, it is important, as given below.

It has been defined that svarita accent is a combination of udātta and anudātta. It remained doubtful what portion was acute and what grave. The present sūtra clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in svarita, the first half is acute and the other grave.

The phrase *ardhahrasva* is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is *svārita*, its mātrā being one, half will be *udātta* and the other half *anudātta*. If a long vowel, whose mātrās are two, be *svārita*, then $\frac{1}{2}$ will be *udātta*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ will be *anudātta*. If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svārita*, then first half measure will be *udātta*, and the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures will be *anudātta*. In short, the udātta portion of a *svārita* must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in शिष्यम् *ṣikyam* the *a* is *svārita*, half being acute, the other half, grave or monotony ; in कन्या *kanyā*, the long *ā* is *svārita*, its first half measure is acute, the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ is grave ; in मानवका ३ *manavakā*, here *a* prolated is *svārita*, its first $\frac{1}{2}$ is acute, the balance $2\frac{1}{2}$ measure is grave.

In the above examples, क्व॑ वोऽद्वाः &c., the accents are thus formed. The word क्व is the Locative form of किम्, formed by adding the affix वन् (V. 3. 12. S. 1959) and substituting क्व (VII. 2. 105. S. 1960). The word क्व is therefore svarita-accented, because formed by the निन् affix वन् (VI. 1. 185, S. 3729). The word वः becomes anudātta by VIII. 1. 18, S. 403. अद्वाः is ādyudātta, because it is derived from the root अश् with the affix वनिन् ; the affix being निन् makes the word ādyudātta (VI. 2. 197, S. 3686). Now वुः + अद्वाः = वोऽद्वाः, the anudātta combining with udātta becomes udātta (VIII. 2. 5, S. 3658) : therefore अद्वा॑ of वो becomes udātta. The svarita व्व being followed by the udātta वा, causes the latter half i.e. the anudātta half of the svarita to be heard. This is indicated by ऽ namely svarita above and anudātta below. This is a short svarita.

In the example रथानां॑ न येऽडाः, the svarita is a long vowel. The word ये॑ is udātta by Phīṭ accent, as shown above (S. 5). अरा॑ः is also finally udātta by Phīṭ accent. The udātta ऐ of ये combining with the anudātta अ of अरा॑ः,

becomes svarita (VIII. 2. 6. S. 3659), वे' ; this svarita followed by udātta औ of अर्वाः, is heard in its anudātta portion वे ५ ॥

In the third example शतचक्रं शो ५ ङः, the svarita is followed by another svarita, and in this case also, the anudātta portion of the svarita is heard. The word शैः is antodātta by Phit accent (See S. 5); the visarga is changed to ङ, and शै+ङ=शो by guṇa, and this शो becomes udātta, the resultant of udātta plus anudātta is udātta. In अहं the final अ is svarita, the first अ is therefore anudātta. The anudātta अ of अहं combining with the udātta शो of शैः, becomes all svarita (VIII. 2. 6, S. 3659) i.e. शो' ङ; this-svarita शो' is followed by the svarita अ of हं, and hence the anudātta portion of svarita शो' is heard here also. The word अहं is svarita ending because it is formed by adding the तित् affix ण्यत् to the root अह् (VI. 1. 185, S. 3729). The अ of अह् does not take Vṛddhi substitution, because of the

Paribhāṣā II.—संज्ञापूर्वकविधेरनित्यत्वात् ॥

A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term.

In the last example अग्निमीले पुरोहितं, the ई of ईले is svarita, the ले has eka-ṣruti accent by the rule प्रचयापरपर्याया एकश्रुतिः ॥

Hence here the svarita being followed by anudātta, the udātta half of the svarita is heard.

९ मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः । १ । १ । ८ ॥

मुखसहितनासिकयोच्चारमाणो वर्णोऽनुनासिकसंज्ञः स्यात् । तद्विध्यम् । अ इ उ ऋ एषां वर्णानां प्रत्येकमष्टादश भेदाः ॥ ऋवर्णस्य द्वादश । तस्य दीर्घाभावात् ॥ एचामपि द्वादश । ऐषां ह्रस्वाभावात् ॥

9. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called *Anunāsika* or nasal.

Let a letter which is uttered by the mouth in combination with the nose be called *anunāsika*.

The result of the six sūtras given above, is this: The vowels अ, इ, उ, and ऋ have each eighteen forms. The vowel लृ has twelve forms, because it has no long form. The diphthongs ए, ऐ, ओ and औ have also twelve forms, because they have no short forms. Thus there are altogether one hundred and thirty two vowels in Sanskrit.

१० तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् । १ । १ । ९ ॥

तात्वादित्यानामभ्यन्तरप्रयत्नश्चेत्येतद्व्यं यस्य येन तुल्यं तन्मिथः सवर्णसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥ अङ्कुहविसर्जनीयानां कण्ठः । इच्छुयशानां तालु । कटुरपाणां मूर्धा । लृतुलसानां दन्ताः । उपपृथ्मानीयानामोष्ठौ । अमङ्गनानां नासिका च । एतैः कण्ठतालु । ओष्ठैः कण्ठोष्ठम् । वकारस्य दन्तोष्ठम् । जिह्वामूर्ध्नीयस्य जिह्वामूलम् ।

नासिकां तु स्वारस्य ॥ इति स्थानानि ॥ यन्नो द्विधा । आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥ आद्यश्चतुर्धा । स्पृष्टेयस्स्पृष्टविवृतसंवृतभेदात् ॥ तत्र स्पृष्टं प्रयतनं स्पर्शानाम् । ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तस्थानाम् । विवृतमूष्मणां स्वराणां च । इष्वस्यावर्णस्य प्रयोगे संवृतम् । प्रक्रियादशायां तु विवृतेभ्यः । एतच्च सूत्रकारेण ज्ञापितम् । तथा हि ॥

10. Those whose place of utterance and effort are equal are called *savarṇa* or homogeneous letters.

Let those letters be called *savarṇa*, which have with each other a common place of utterance, such as throat, palate &c., as well as a common *ābhyantara prayatna*. That is, when the place and *prayatna* are the same, then the letters are *savarṇa*.

1. The letters अ, क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, ह, ः have throat as their place and are gutturals or *Kanṭha*.
2. The letters इ, च, छ, ज, झ, ञ, य, ण, have the palate and are palatals or *Tālavya*.
3. The letters कू, ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ण, र, ष, have the *murdhā*, and are cerebrals or *Murdhanya*.
4. The letters ल, त, थ, द, ध, न, ल, स, have the teeth and are dentals or *Dantya*.
5. The letters उ, प, फ, ब, भ, म, × प, have the lips and are labials or *Oshṭhya*.
- a. The letters ङ, ञ, ण, न, म, have also the nose, and are *also* nasal.
- b. The letters ए, ऐ, have the throat and palate, and are *Kantha—tālavya i. e. gutturo—palatals*.
- c. The letters ओ, औ, have the throat and the lips, and are *Kantha-oshṭhya i. e. gutturo-labials*.
- d. The letter व has the teeth and the lips, and is *dant-oshṭhya i. e. dento-labial*.
- e. The letter × क is *Jihvā-mulīya* or root of the tongue.
- f. The letter • म *anusvāra* is pure nasal.

The above are the *sthāna* or places of utterance of the letters.

The *Prayatna* is of two sorts, the inner called *ābhyantara*, and the external called *bāhya*. The first or *ābhyantara* is of four kinds, namely, *sprishṭa*, *īshat sprishṭa*, *vivṛita* and *samvṛita*.

1. The *sparsā* letters have *sprishṭa prayatna*.
2. The *antastha* letters have *īshat-sprishṭa prayatna*.
3. The *ushma* letters and the vowels have *vivṛita prayatna*.

4. The short अ is samvṛita in usage (prayoga) but in Grammar, as a formative element, it is always treated as vivṛita. This fact is indicated by Pāṇini himself in the last sūtra of his Grammar, *i. e.* in the sūtra अ अ (VIII.4. 68 S. 11), which means that the letter अ which has been all along treated in Grammar as vivṛita, is now made samvṛita. (See the following sūtra).

११ अ अ इति । ८ । ४ । ६८ ॥

विवृतमनूय संवृतोऽनेनविधीयते । अस्य चाष्टाध्यायी संपूर्णोऽप्रत्यसिद्धत्वाच्छास्त्रदृष्ट्या विवृतत्वम्
स्त्विव । तथा च सूत्रम् ॥

11. The अ which was considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥

The first अ is here विवृत or open; the second is संवृत or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ "In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is *contracted*; but it is considered to be *open* only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneous-ness* mentioned in I. 1. 9. S. 10. would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneousness would be debarred. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Ashtādhyāyī, Pāṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise.' (Dr. Ballantyne).

The present sūtra occurs in the second division of Ashtādhyāyī, *i. e.* the last three Padas. The whole Ashtādhyāyī has 32 padas; they are divided into two parts—the first 29 Padas forming one group, the last three, the second group. For the purposes of the application of a rule in the first set (7½ Adhyaya) the rules in the second set are considered as non-existent. Therefore though the अ is made samvṛita by this rule, it does not interfere with the अ being considered as vivṛita throughout the rest of the Grammar. The sūtra which declares the rules in the last 3 padas (Tripādi), as non-existent for the purposes of the rules in the 29 padas (7½ Adhyaya) is the following.

१२ पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् । ८ । २ । १ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । तेन सपादसप्तध्यायी प्रति त्रिपाद्यसिद्धा त्रिपाद्यानापि पूर्वं प्रति परं शास्त्रमसिद्धं
स्यात् ॥ बाह्यप्रत्यक्षस्त्वैकादशधा ॥ विवारः संवारः श्वासो नासो वैषोऽवोषोऽल्पप्राणो महाप्राण उदात्तोऽनु-
दात्तः स्वरितश्चेति ॥ खयां यमाः खयः कः पौ विसर्गः शर एव च । एते श्वासानुप्रदाना अधोप्राश्च विवृण्वते ।

कण्ठमध्ये तु घोषाः स्युः संवृता नादभागिनः । अयुग्मा वर्गयमगा यणश्चाल्पासवः सृताः ॥ वर्गेष्वाद्यानां
चतुर्णां पञ्चमं परं मध्ये यमो नाम पूर्वसदृशो वर्णः प्रातिशाख्ये प्रसिद्धः । पलिकर्त्ता । चख्खनतुः ।
अग्निः । घृन्नन्तीत्यत्र क्रमेण कखगघेभ्यः परं तत्सदृशा एव यमाः । तत्र वर्गाणां प्रथमाद्वितीयाः खयस्तथा
तथामेव यमाः जिह्वाभूलीयोपध्मानीयौ विसर्गः शषसाश्चेत्येतेषां विवारः श्वासोऽघोषश्च । अन्येषां तु संवारो
नादो घोषश्च ॥ वर्गाणां प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमाः प्रथमतृतीययमो यरलवाश्चाल्पप्राणाः । अन्ये महाप्राणा इत्यर्थः ।
बाह्यप्रत्यक्षं यद्यपि सर्वणसंज्ञायामनुपयुक्तास्तथाप्यान्तरतन्म्यपरीक्षायामुपयोक्ष्यन्त इति बोध्यम् ॥ कादयो
मावसानाः स्पर्शाः । यरलवा अन्तस्थाः । शषसहा ऊष्माणः । अचः स्वराः । *क-प्रावति कपाभ्यां प्रागर्ध-
विसर्गसदृशौ जिह्वाभूलीयोपध्मानीयौ । अं अः इत्यचः परावतुस्वारविसर्गौ ॥ इति स्थानप्रत्यक्षविवेकः ॥
* ऋलृवर्णजोर्मिथः सावर्ण्यं वाच्यम्* ॥ अकारइकारयोरिकारशकारयोर्ऋकारषकारयोर्यकारसकारयोश्च मिथः
सावर्ण्यं प्राप्ते ॥

12. Whatever will be taught hereafter, upto the end of the work, is to be considered as not taken effect, in relation to the application of a preceding rule.

This is an Adhikāra. Sūtra. Therefore the Tripādī rules are asiddha with regard to the 7¼ Adhyāyī rules. Even in the Tripādī, a previous rule is asiddha with regard to the subsequent.

Thus the letter **ख** is samvṛita really, though treated as vivṛita.

As regards the Bāhya-prayatna, we have eleven modifications: namely 1 vivāra, 2 samvāra, 3 śvāsa, 4 nāda, 5 ghosha, 6 a-ghosha 7 alpa-prāṇa, 8 mahāprāṇa, 9 udātta, 10 anudātta, 11 svarita.

Verse :—The double of khay (ख, क, छ, ठ, थ, च, ट, त, क, प) letters, the khay letters themselves, the *क and *प, the visarga, the śar letters (श, ष, स) are svāsa, aghosha, and expand the throat, i. e. are of vivāra prayatna. The other letters (i. e. the हश्च, letters, the yamas of हश्च letters and the anusvāra) are ghosha, samvāra, and nāda prayanta. The odd letters of the vargas, the doubles of first and third, and यण् letters are alpa-prāṇa.

Explanation :—The word यम is a Prātisākhya term. It is the name of the letter when doubled, on account of any one of the first four letters of the varga being followed by the fifth i. e. by a nasal. Thus पलिकर्त्ता, चख्खनतुः, अग्निः, घृन्नन्ति, here the doubled letters क्, ख्, ग् and घ् are yama i. e. only those letters which have the same form i. e. the second क्, ख्, &c. are called yama. The खश्च letters are the first and second letters of the varga: the ten letters क ख, च, छ &c. The yamas of these खश्च letters, so also the Jihvāmūliya, Upadhmanīya, the visarga and the sibilants are vivāra, svāsa, and aghosha.

The other letters are samvāra nāda, and ghosha. The first, third and the fifth letters of a varga, the yamas of first and third, and य, र, ल and व are alpa-prāṇa. The others i. e. the second and fourth letters of the varga, and श, ष, स, ह are mahā-prāṇa.

Though the Bâhya-prayatna is of no use in determining the savarna-hood of letters, yet they are of use in finding out the *nearest* equivalent to letters to be replaced &c.

The 25 letters क to ऋ are sparsa. The four letters अ, इ, ए, औ, are antastha. The four letters श, ष, स, ह are Ushma. The vowels are Svara. The × क and × प are called Jivamûlhyā and Upadhmāniya. (They represent the lost sibilants of क varga, and प varga).

अं ऋ अः ह these are anusvāra and visarga. Here ends the determination of sthāna (organ of utterance) and prayatna (effort).

1. *vart* :—The letters क and ल should be stated to be homogeneous with one another.

From the explanations in the above two sūtras (10 and 12), the letter.

अ becomes homogeneous with ह

इ " " श

क " " ष

ल " " स

To prevent this incongruity, we have the following sūtra which declares that there can be no homogeneity between a vowel and a consonant.

Note:—The following lines summarise the above, the *vowels* are vivāra, svāsa, and aghosha. The *हस्* letters are samvāra, nāda, and ghosha. The first, third, fifth letters of the varga, and अण् letters are alpa-prāna. The second and the fourth letters of the varga, and शल letters are mahā-prāna.

१३ नाऽऽहलौ । १ । १ । १० ॥

आकारसहितोऽच् आच् स च हल् चेत्येतौ मिथः सवर्णौ न स्तः । तेन वधीत्यस्य हरति शीतलं षष्ठं सान्द्रमित्येतेषु परेषु यणादिकं न । अन्यथा दीर्घादीनामिव हकारादीनामपि ग्रहणकशास्त्रबलादृच्छं स्यात् । तथा हि ॥

13. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

The words of this sūtra are न, आच्, हलौ ॥ The word आच् is a compound of आ + अच्; and means "a vowel along with आ" ॥ There is no homogeneity between the आच् letters and the consonants. Therefore in वधि + हरति the इ of वधि is not changed to ए before ह, nor in वधि + शीतलं the इ is lengthened before श; nor in वधि + षष्ठं, and वधि + सान्द्रं any change takes place. But for this sūtra, the letters ह &c. would have been treated as vowels, just as long and pluta letters are also vowels.

१४ । अणुविसवणस्य चाऽप्रत्ययः । १ । १ । ६६ ॥

प्रतीयते । वधीयन् इति प्रत्ययः । अविधीयमानोऽण उद्दिष्ट सवर्णस्य संज्ञा स्यात् । अत्राण परेण णकारेण ॥ कु चु ङु तु पु एन उदितः ॥ तद्वन् अ इयडादशानां संज्ञा । तथेकारकारौ । ऋकारश्चिञः । एवं ऌकारोऽपि । एचो ह्रादशानाम् ॥ एतेतारेतेनाश्च न मिथः सावर्ण्येन । ऐऔञिति सूत्रारम्भसामर्थ्यात् । तेनैवश्चतुर्विंशतेः संज्ञाः स्फुरिति नापादनीयम् । नाङ्गलविति निषेधो यद्यप्याक्षरसमाज्ञायाधिकानामिव तथापि हकारस्याऽऽकारो न सवर्णः । तत्राऽऽकारस्यापि प्रभिलष्टत्वात् । तेन विश्वपाभिरित्यत्र होढ इति दत्वं न भवति ॥ अनुनासिकाननुनासिकोभेदेन यत्ना द्विधा । तेनाननुनासिकास्त द्वयोर्द्वयोः संज्ञा ॥

14. The letters of the Pratyāhāra अण् i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having उ for its indicatory letter, refer to their own form as well as to their homogeneous letters, (except when they are used as pratyāyās or affixes or) except when specifically so ordained.

The pratyāhāra अण् in this sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अण् pratyāhāra refers to the second ण् of लण्. The letters included in अण्, and the letters having an indicatory उ refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus कु refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly चु, ङु, तु, and पु, as in sūtra I. 3. 8. S. 195. Similarly अ includes short, long and protracted अ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra. Thus sūtra आद्युणः (VI. 1. 87 S. 69), 'when a vowel comes after अ, guṇa is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short अ, we take the long आ also. Thus not only नर + ईशः = नरेशः ; but महा + ईशः = महेशः । So also in sūtra अस्य चो (VII. 4. 32 S. 2118), 'there is long ई in the room of अ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50 S. 2117) follows.' Here long आ is also included ; thus कृष्ण + करोति = कृष्णीकरोति and खट्वा + करोति = खट्वाकरोति. So also in sūtra यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). 'When long ई follows, there is elision of the इ or अ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई and आ also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sūtra III. 2. 168. S. 3148. says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words āsana and bhiksha, there is उ.' Here उ is an affix and therefore does not include long ऊ. Thus भिक्षुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV. 3. 9, S. 1379. the short अ only is to be taken and not the long one.

The word अप्रत्ययः in the sūtra means "that which is not ordained (pratiyate = vidhiyate)." That is unless where a letter is specifically ordained, it always includes its homogeneous letters, in certain cases. The sūtra means "The अण् letters (vowels and semi-vowels) when not specifically so propounded by name, as well as the letters having an indicatory उ denote their savarna letters also." The अण् here is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ण् of लण्. The words कु, चु, ङु, तु, पु, are formed by उ and are उदित ॥

The result of this is, that अ denotes 18 letters ; so also इ and उ . The ऋ denotes 30 letters, and so also ॠ. The diphthongs ए ऐ, ओ औ denote 12 letters.

2. *Vart.*—The letter ए is not to be considered homogeneous with ऐ nor ओ with औ ॥ For had ऐ been included in ए, and ओ in औ, then where was the necessity of the sūtra ऐ औच् ? These letters need not have been taught separately. Therefore, the diphthongs do not denote 24 letters each, but 12 letters only.

Though the prohibition of the sūtra नाञ् हलौ (I. 1. 10 S. 13) applies, according to the literal interpretation of the sūtra, to the अच् letters only, namely, to the nine letters specifically taught in the Maheshvara sūtras, and not to the letter आ which is not so taught there, yet there is no homogeneity between आ and इ ॥ For according to our interpretation of the sūtra, the letter आ is specifically mentioned in it. For we do not analyse it as न अच् हलौ, but as न आ-अच्, हलौ, and we translate it as “There is no homogeneity between a hal letter and आ and ach letters.” Therefore in विश्वपाणिः the letter आ is not changed to ढ by VIII. 2. 31 S. 3579. (ढ is substituted for इ before a jhal letter and at the end of a word). The word akshara-samâmnâya means the sūtras teaching the alphabets i. e. the 14 Maheshvara sūtras.

The letters अ, व, ल are of two kinds according as they are nasalised or not nasalised. Therefore, a non nasalised अ, व, ल will denote also the nasalised letter : i. e. the simple letter अ, व, ल include the nasalised अँ वँ लँ ॥

The sense of this sūtra अणुद्त् &c therefore is that the अण् letters, namely the fourteen letters taught in the Mâhesvara sūtras, they *alone* denote their homogeneous letters also. But र and इ though included in अण् pratyâhâra, denote their single forms only, for they have no other letter homogeneous to them.

१५ । तपरस्तत्कालस्य । १ । १ । ७० ॥

तः परो यस्मात्स च तात्पर्यश्चोच्चार्यमाणसमकालस्यैव संज्ञा स्यात् । तेन अत् इत् उत् इत्यादयः षण्णां षण्णां संज्ञा । ऋदिति द्वादशानाम् ॥

15, The letter which has त् after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time,

By the last sutra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus अ includes आ ; and इ, ई ; &c. This sūtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a त् either after or before the

letter. Thus अत् means the very letter अ and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly इत् means short इ only and not long or protracted इ.

The sūtra consists of two words तपरः and तत्कालस्य. Taparāḥ means that which has a त् after it or that which is after त्. Tat-kāla means having the same time. According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त् refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अत् will include the udātta, anudātta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अ and not the long and protracted form, in all 6 forms.

This sūtra declares an injunction. The anuvṛitti of अण् of the previous sūtra does not run into this sūtra. Any other letter than अण् may be followed by त् and the rule of this sūtra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sūtra which would therefore mean that an अण् letter which is not followed or preceded by a त् includes its homogeneous letters also.

Thus in the sūtra VII. I. 9 S. 203. अतोभिस एस्. 'After words ending in अत् (i. e. short अ), एस् takes the place of भिस्' Thus वृक्षैः ॥ But in खट्वा which ends in long आ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खट्वाभिः ॥

Therefore अत्, इत्, उत् denote six letters each, namely अ, ऐ, अँ, औ, अँ, औ ॥ कत् denotes twelve letters.

१६ । वृद्धिरादैच् । १ । १ । १ ॥

आत् ऐच् वृद्धिसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

16, आ, ऐ and औ are called vṛiddhi,

This defines the word vṛiddhi. The letters आ, ऐ and औ are vṛiddhi letters. The sūtra consists of three words vṛiddhi, ât and aich. आत् means the long आ, the final त् being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyâhâra aich, and the pratyâhâra ऐच् means the letters ऐ and औ.

The indicatory त् in आत् serves the purpose of showing that the very form आ having two mâtṛās or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This त् also joins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and औ by the rule of तपरः (I. I. 70 S. 15.) or that "which precedes or succeeds त्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mâtṛās only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mâtṛās may be more than two. A short vowel has one mâtṛā, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mâtṛā. Thus by a rule of सन्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters आ + आ = आ, as

महा + आशयः = महाशयः ॥ Here हा has two matras and not four. So also in खदेडकः the vowel ऐ the resultant of आ + ए has only two, not four, mât-râs.

१७। अदेङ् गुणः। १। १। २ ॥

अत् एङ् च गुणसंज्ञः स्वात् ॥

17. अ, ए and ओ are called *guna*.

Each one of the letters अ, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary is called a *guna* letter; as the initial vowels in the following:—अस्ति, “he moves”; एति “he comes”, ओयाति “he goes.” Here the initial vowels of the roots कृ, इ, and उच्छ् have been respectively gunated into अर्, ए, and ओ before the third person singular termination ति ॥

The term *Guna* occurs in sūtras like निद्विर्गुणः (VII. 3. 82 S. 2346). “Let there be *guna* substitute for the ik of the root निद् ‘to melt.’”

१८। भूवादयो धातवः। १। ३। १ ॥

क्रियावाचिनो भवादयो धातुसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

1. The words beginning with bhû ‘to become,’ and denoting action, are called *dhātu* or verbal roots.

This defines the word *dhātu* or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû ‘to be.’ Sanskrit Grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows:—

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad. 3. Hu. 4. Div. 5. Su. 6. Tud. 7. Rudh. 8. Tan. 9. Kri. 10. Chur.

The वा in the sūtra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of भू + आदि is भ्वादि and not भूवादि; while Tatvabodhini considers that वा is a separate root. According to it the sūtra should be analysed thus भू + वा = भूवौ, भूवौ आदी येषां भूप्रभृतेत्या वा सदृशाः “word Bhû &c., and like वा denoting action are called *Dhātu*.” वा “to blow.”

१९। प्राग्रीश्वरान्निपाताः। १। ४। ५६ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

19. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhirî-śvare (I.4.97 S. 644), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of *Nipâta* or Particles.

The word प्राक् of this sūtra serves the same purpose as the word चा of I. 4. 55 S. 2575; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapra-vachniya take two names, *i. e.*, their own name as well as the name *Nipâta*.

The letter **र** in **प्राप्तीश्वरात्** is to remove doubt, *i. e.*, aphorism I.4. 97 S. 644. should be taken as the limit, and not **sūtra** III. 4. 13 S. 3440. which has the word **isvare** also.

२० । चादयो ऽसत्त्वे ॥ ५७ ॥

अद्वयार्थाश्चादयो निपातसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

20. The word **cha** 'and,' &c., are called **Nipāta** or **Particles**, when they do not signify substances.

२१ । प्रादयः । १ । ४ । ५८ ॥

अद्वयार्थाः प्रादयस्तथा ॥

21. The words **pra**. &c., are called **Nipāta** when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of **प्रादयः** or 'prepositions:' **प्र**, **परा**, **अप**, **सम्**, **अनु**, **अव**, **निस्**, **दुस्**, **वि**, **आङ्**, **नि**, **अधि**, **अपि**, **सु**, **उत्**, **अभि**, **प्रति**, **परि**, **उप** ॥

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the **pra** &c., words two names, namely, those of **Nipātas**, as well as **upasargas** under certain circumstances, *i. e.*, when they are in composition with verbs. Not so, however, the **chā** &c., words. They never get the designation of **upasargas**.

When these words signify substances they are not **Nipātas**. As **परा जयति सेना** "the excellent army conquers". Here the word **परा** is not a **Nipāta**.

२२ । उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे । १ । ४ । ५९ ॥

22. The words **pra** &c., get the designation of **upasarga** or **prepositions**, when in composition with a verb.

As **प्र + नयति = प्रणयति**. Here the dental **न** is changed into cerebral **ण** because of the **प्र** getting the designation of **upasarga** (See **sūtra** VIII. 4. 14 S. 2287). Similarly **परिणयति**, **प्रणायकः**, **परिणायकः** ॥

२३ । गतिश्च । १ । १ ॥ ६० ॥

प्रादयः क्रियायोगे उपसर्गसंज्ञा गतिसंज्ञाश्च स्युः ॥ **प्र परा अप सम् अनु अव निस् निर दुस् दुर वि आङ् नि अधि अपि अति सु उत् अभि प्रति परि उप** । एते प्रादयः ॥

23. The words **pra** &c., are called also **Gati** (as well as **upasarga**) when in composition with a verb.

२४ । न वेति विभाषा । १ । १ । ४४ ॥

निषेधविकल्पयोर्विभाषा संज्ञा स्यात् ॥

24. "May or may not" is called vibhâshâ or option.

This sūtra defines the word विभाषा. Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhâshâ. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhâshâ :—prâpta-vibhâshâ aprâpta-vibhâshâ and prâptâprâpta-vibhâshâ. The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule ; the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two. This sūtra specially applies to the last class.

Thus the root श्वि 'to swell,' by virtue of the rule विभाषा इवे (V. 1. 30 S. 1695) forms its perfect tense, either by samprasâraṇa. or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either शुश्राव or शिश्राव ॥

२५ । स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा । १ । १ । ६८ ॥

शब्दस्य स्वं रूपं संज्ञि शब्दशब्दे या संज्ञा तां विना ॥

25. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word स्वं which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' and the word रूपं denotes 'the individual form of a word'. The sense of the sūtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words स्वं and रूपं, viz., its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to अग्नि will be applicable to the word composed of अ, ग्, न्, इ and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, पावकः, उग्रलनः &c.

२६ । येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य । १ । १ । ७२ ॥

विशेषणं तदन्तस्य संज्ञा स्यात् स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥ * समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः * ॥ उगिद्वर्णमहणवर्जम् ० ॥

26. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sūtra consists of three words :—येन 'by what (attribute),' विधिः 'rule,' तदन्तस्य 'having that (attribute) at its end.'

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97, S. 2842.) declaring "let there be the affix अत् after the vowels." Here the phrase "after the vowels" means

and includes "after the roots *ending* in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus चि + यत् = चयम्. Therefore, this sūtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words *ending* in vowels ; a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words ending in those forms.

Thus the sūtra एरच् (III. 3. 56, S. 3231.) 'after इ there is अच्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ ॥ Thus इ + अच् = अयः, चि + अच् = चयः ॥

Vart :—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samāsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sūtra II. 1. 24, S. 686. declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कष्टं + भितः = कष्टभितः 'involved in pain.' The present sūtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that *ends* in śrita ; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्टं + परमभितः ॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 99, S. 1101, declares "that the words नड &c., take the affix फक्." Thus नड + फक् = नाडायनः । But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूत्रनड, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूत्रनड will be called सौत्रनाडिः and not as above.

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following :—

Vart :—The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes that have an indicator डक् (ड, ऋ, लृ), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktavatu (I. 1. 26, S. 3012) has an indicator ड, and we have कृतवत्. A rule which will apply to kritavat will apply also to the word which ends in kritavat. Thus the feminine of kritavat is कृतवती (IV. 1. 6, S. 455) the feminine of sukritavat will be sukritavati. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 अत इञ्च says "after अ there is the affix इञ्च." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus दक्ष + इञ्च = दक्षिः the son of Daksha.'

२७ । विरामो ऽवसानम् । १ । ४ । ११० ॥

वर्णानामभावोऽवसानसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

27. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasāna.

The word avasāna occurs in sūtras VIII. 3. 15, S. 76 &c.

२८ परः संनिकर्षः संहिता, । १ । ४ । १०९ ॥

वर्णानामतिशयितः संधिः संहितासंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

28, The closest proximity of letters, (*there being the intervention of half a mâtṛā or prosodial length between them*) is called contact or sanhitâ.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As इच्छन्न = इधि + अन्न.

२९ सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् । १ । ४ । १४ ॥

सुबन्तं तिङन्तं च पदसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

29. That which ends in sup (case-affix IV. 1. 2. S. 183) or in tin (III. 4. 78 S. 2154 tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

३० हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः । १ । १ । ७ ॥

अङ्गिभ्यव्यवहिता हलः संज्ञाः स्युः ॥

30. Consonants unseparated by vowels are called conjunct consonants.

३१ ह्रस्वं लघु । १ । ४ । १० ॥

31. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

३२ संयोगे गुरु । १ । ४ । ११ ॥

संयोगे परे ह्रस्वं गुरुसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

32. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

३३ दीर्घश्च । १ । ४ । १२ ॥

33. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).



अथ परिभाषा प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER II.

PARIBHÂSHÂS OR RULES OF INTERPRETATION.

३४ । इको गुणवृद्धी । १ । १ । ३ ॥

गुणवृद्धिशब्दाभ्यां यत्र गुणवृद्धी विधीयते तत्रैक इति षष्ठ्यन्तं पदमुपतिष्ठते ॥

34. In the absence of any special sthânî, whenever *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi* is enjoined about any expression by using the terms *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi*, it is to be understood to come in the room of the *ik* vowels only (*i*, *u*, *ri*, and *li* long and short,) of that expression.

Wherever in any rule in this Grammar, *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi* is ordained by employing the terms *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi*, there the word “*ikaḥ*” in the genitive case, meaning “in the place of *ik*,” is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The present rule will apply where there is the specification of no other particular sthâni or the letter to be replaced.

Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 S. 2164 declares:—“when a sârvadhâtuka or an Ardhadhâtuka affix follows there is *guṇa* of the base.” Here the sthâni or the letter which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word “*ikaḥ*” must be read into the sūtra. The rule then being, “when a S. or an A. affix follows there is *guṇa* of the *ik* vowels of the base.” The *guṇa* of इ or ई is ए ; of उ or ऊ, is ओ, of ऋ or ॠ is अर्, of लृ is अल् ; and their *Vṛiddhi* is ऐ, औ, आर् and आल् respectively. Thus नी + अति = ने + अति = नयति “he leads.”

३५ । अचश्च । १ । २ । २८ ॥

ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतशब्दैर्यत्राज्जिधीयते तत्राऽच इति षष्ठ्यन्तं पदमुपतिष्ठते ॥

28. The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

When in this book ‘short’ ‘long’ or ‘prolated’ is taught by using the words *hrasva*, *dīrgha* or *pluta*, there the word *achaḥ*, in the genitive case, meaning “in the place of the vowel” is to be supplied to complete the sense.

As will be found in the sūtra I. 2. 47. S. 318 "there is the substitution of *harsva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'in the place of the vowel' must be inserted in this sūtra to complete the sense. That is:— the *harsva* is substituted in the place of the *vowel* of the crude-form. As *इ* is shortened to *रि* in forming the compound with *अति* in *अतिरि*, नौ to *अतिरु*, गा to *उपयु* ॥

३६ । आद्यन्तौ ट्कितौ । १ । १ । ४६ ॥

दिक्कितौ यस्योक्तौ तस्य क्रमादाद्यन्तावयवौ स्तः ॥

36. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory *ट्* or *क्*, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sūtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters *ट्* and *क्*. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is *ट्* that augment is to be placed *before* the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a *क्* augment is to be added *after* the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sūtra (VII. 2. 35 S. 2184) which says "ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with a consonant except *य*, have *इट्*". The question may arise where is this *इट्* to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ārdhadhātuka affix? This sūtra answers the question. The indicatory *ट्* shows, that it is to be placed before the ārdhadhātuka affix. Thus the future termination *स्याति*, is an ārdhadhātuka affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment *इट्*. Thus *भू + इट् + स्याति = भविष्यति*, 'he will be.' Similarly *लुप्तिता* 'he will cut'.

Similarly by sūtra VII. 3. 40. S. 2595 the root *भी* takes the augment *पुक्* in forming the causative. This having an indicatory *क्* is to be added after the word *भी*, as, *भी + पुक् + णिच् + ते = भीषयते* 'he frightens.'

३७ । मिदचोऽन्यात्परः । १ । १ । ४७ ॥

अच इति निर्धारणे षष्ठी । अचां मध्ये योऽन्यस्तस्मात्परस्तस्यैवान्तावयवो मित्स्यात् ॥

37. The augment that has an indicatory *म्* comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final portion of that which it augments.

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory *म्*. The augments having an indicatory *म्*, technically called 'मित्' augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called *नुम्*, in which *उ* and *म्* are *इत्*, and the actual augment is *न्*. When, therefore, it is said "let *नुम्* be added to the word," the letter *न्* is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of *पयस्*, 'milk' is formed in the following way:—*पयस्*

+ नृन् + इ (VII. 1. 72 S. 314) = पयान्ति (VI. 4. 8 S. 250). Here न् is added between य and स् i. e. after the अ of य, which is the final vowel of the word : and before this न् the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly वृत् + श + ति (III. 1. 77 S. 2534) = वृत् + वृत् + श + ति (VI. 1. 59 S. 2402) — वृत्चति । Similarly विहृणद्भि ।

The word अचः is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhāraṇa or specification; it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class. The meaning is 'among the vowels.' This sūtra is an exception to sūtras I. 1. 49 S. 38 and III. 1. 2, S. 181 by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

३८ । षष्ठी स्थानयोगा । १ । १ । ४६ ॥

अनिर्धारितसंबन्धविशेषा षष्ठी स्थानयोगा बोध्या । स्थाने च प्रसङ्गः ॥

38. The force of the genitive case in a sūtra is that of the phrase "in the place of" when no special rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sūtras of Pāṇini. The genitive case or śāshṭhi denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation, possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c. So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sūtra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used. This aphorism lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of.'

Thus in the sūtra 34. the word इक् is in the genitive case ; the literal translation being :—"of ik there is guṇa and vṛiddhi." But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sūtra means 'in the place of इक्.'

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence दर्भाणां स्थाने शरैः प्रस्तरितव्यम्, the word sthāne, means 'prasange' i. e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead. Similarly in sūtras अस्तेभूः (II. 4. 52 S. 2470), or ह्रुवो वचिः (II. 4. 53 S. 2453), the words 'asti,' and 'brū' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs अस or ब्रू use there the verbs भू or वच् instead respectively.' Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of भस् ; so also, वक्ता, वक्तुम् and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of वृ.

The word स्थानयोगा is a bahuvrīhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi, see II. 2. 24 and 35), and it qualifies the

word shashthī. The compound means स्थाने योगोऽस्यो, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthāna.' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound ; on the analogy of compounds like कण्ठेकालः &c. Or स्थानेन योगोऽस्या अस्ति, the ए in sthāne is anomalous.

३६ । स्थानान्तरतमः । १ । १ । ५० ॥

प्रसङ्गे सति सदृशतम आदेशः स्यात् ॥ यत्रानेकविधमान्तये तत्र स्थानत आन्तये बलीयः ॥

39. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likeliest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness :—(1) nearness in place or स्थान (i. e. palate, throat &c.) ; (2) nearness in meaning or अर्थ (such as, singular terminations to be used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or प्रमाण (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or गुण (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first viz., the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, S. 85 "when a homogeneous vowel follows ak, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sūtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus—एङ् + अञ् = एङ्गञ् ; here the substitution of the long आ, for the two short अ's, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both अ and आ are gutturals.

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, i. e., there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of इ and उ out of the three guṇa letters अ, ए and ओ, we find that अ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, i. e. अ and इ and उ have all one mâtṛā ; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ए and ओ ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first ; as, चेता स्तोता.

४० । तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य । १ । १ । ६६ ॥

सप्तमीनिर्देशेन विधीयमानं कार्यं वर्णान्तेरेणाव्यवहितस्य पूर्वस्य बोध्यम् ॥

40. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these sūtras, the operation directed, is to be understood

as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting sūtra. When in a sūtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sūtra is to be performed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77. S. 47) the word अचि is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऋ, ए followed by a vowel (अच्) are changed into य्, व्, र्, ल् (यण्). The literal translation of the sūtra being:—‘Of इक् there is यण् in अच्.’ The force of ‘in’ or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus इधि + उदकम् = इधुदकम्; so माध्विदम्, पचत्योदनम् ॥

४१। तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य । १। १। ६७ ॥

पञ्चमीनिर्देशेन क्रियमाणं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेणाव्यवहितस्य परस्य ज्ञेयम् ॥

41. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sūtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sūtra VIII. 4. 61, S. 118 declares that ‘after उद्, of sthā and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.’ Thus उद् + स्थानम्. Here the word उद् is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter य् must be substituted in the place of stha, and by I. 1. 54, S. 44 this dental takes the place of स् we have उद् + स्थानम् = उत्थ-थानम्.

४२। अलोन्त्यस्य । १। १। ५२ ॥

षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टाऽन्त्यस्यादेशः स्यात् ॥

42. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sūtra VII. 2. 102, S. 265 it is declared त्यादहीनाम्: “in the place of त्याद् &c., there is अ.” It does not mean that the whole word त्याद्, is replaced by अ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so; but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sūtra, that the last letter of त्याद्, namely द् is to be replaced by अ.

४३ । डिच्च । १ । १ । ५३ ॥

अथनप्यन्यस्यैव स्यात् । सर्वस्येत्यस्यापवादः ॥

43. And the substitute which has an indicatory ड (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sūtra is an exception by anticipation to sūtra I. 1. 55, S. 45. By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of मातृ and पितृ there is a rule (VI. 3. 25, S. 921) by which it is declared:—‘In the place of words ending in क there is the substitution of आनङ् in forming dvandvas.’ Now the substitute आनङ् is a डित् substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, *viz.* the क of मातृ is only changed into आ and not the whole word ; and we have the compound मातापितरौ, so also ह्येतापोतारौ.

४४ । आदेः परस्य । १ । १ । ५४ ॥

परस्य यद्विहितं तत्तस्यादेर्बोध्यम् । अलोऽन्यस्येत्यस्यापवादः ॥

44. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

When any operation is to be made in a word *following another*, such operation is to be made in the *initial* letter of such subsequent word. This is an exception to sūtra I. 1. 52, S. 42. (अलोऽन्यस्य) To give an illustration:—there is a rule (VI. 3. 97, S. 941) by which it is declared : “In the place of अप् used after the words द्वि and अन्तर् and the particles called उपसर्गः there is ई.” This rule may be stated in other words as:—‘In the place of अप् there is ई when अप् follows द्वि or अन्तर्.’ Now it is clear that ई is not to replace all the letters of अप् but only one. By sūtra 42 that letter would have been the last letter of अप्, but this sūtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, simply by reason of its being placed *after* another word ; such change is to be made in the *beginning* of such second word. Therefore, the ई replaces the अ of अप् and we have द्वि + अप् = द्वीपं (the final अ is added by V. 4. 74. S. 940) ‘an island,’ अन्तरापि ‘promontory.’

४५ । अनेकाल शित्सर्वस्य । १ । १ । ५५ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अलोऽन्यस्येत्यस्यापवादः । अष्टाभ्य औशित्यादावादेः परस्येत्येतरपि परस्वादानेन बाध्यते ॥

45. A substitute consisting of more than one letter,

and a substitute having an indicatory श take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.

This sūtra is an exception to sūtra I. 1. 52, S. 42 by which it was declared that an âdeśa or substitute replaces only the last letter. This sūtra on the contrary enjoins that an âdeśa consisting of more than one letter replaces the whole expression in the genitive case, and not only its last letter. Even where an âdeśa consists of a single letter, but if it has a श् as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

Thus, there is a sūtra वृत्तो वच्चिः (II. 4. 53, S. 2453) which means 'in the place of वृ let there be वच्चिः' Here the âdeśa वच्चिः consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word वृत्त and not only the last letter क्त. That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb वृत् is replaced by वच्चिः. Thus the future tense of वृत् is वक्ता 'he will speak.'

Thus in the sūtra अष्टा औश् (VII. 1. 21, S. 372) "after the stem of अष्टा औश् is substituted for the ending of the Nominative and Accusative plural." The substitute औश् is a शिन् substitute and therefore it replaces the whole of the affixes शस् and जस् not only their initials as would have been otherwise required by the preceding rule आदेः परस्य. For by that rule the initials only of the affixes जस् and शस् would have been replaced by औ. This sūtra is in fact an exception to the last sūtra.

४६। स्वरितेनाधिकारः । १ । ३ । ११ ॥

स्वरितस्वयुक्तं शब्दस्वरूपमधिकृतं बोध्यम् ॥ परमित्यान्तरङ्गापवादानामुत्तरं बलीयः ॥ असिद्ध बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गं ॥ अकृतव्युहाः पाणिनीयाः ॥ निमित्तं विनाशोन्मुखं दृष्ट्वा तत्प्रयुक्तं कार्यं न कुर्वन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

46. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an adhikāra or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sūtras, there is any sūtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sūtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sūtras from the following.

As a rule, the sūtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sūtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sūtras, must evidently have svarita as they are governing sūtras; प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1. S. 180.) धातोः (III. 1. 91 S. 2829), अङ्गस्य (VI 4. 1 S. 200). भस्व (VI. 4. 129 S. 233).

Paribhāṣā. Of (these four kinds of rules,—viz) a subsequent (rule,) a nitya (rule) an antaranga (rule), and an apavāda (rule), each following

rule possesses greater force than any one of, or all, the rules mentioned before it.

Note.—By I. 4. 2, S. 175. we are taught that a subsequent (पर) rule supersedes a rule which precedes (पूर्व). This Paribhasha further expands the same.

An *anitya* rule is stronger than a Para (पर) rule. As तुदादिभ्यः ञ (III. 1. 77 S. 2534) तुदाति; रुधादिभ्यः ञ् (III. 1. 78, S. 2543) as रुणादि, Here the *nitya* affixes ञ and ञ् debar even the पर rule of Guna of the light penultimate vowel of VII. 3. 86. S. 2189. Similarly धिनवाव and धिनवाम Here the augment आद् by III 4. 92. S. 2204 being a *nitya* rule supersedes even the *subsequent* (पर) rule VI. 4. 107 S. 2333 which required the elision of the उ of धितु before the affixes व and म ॥

Thus तुद् + तिप् VII. 177 S. 3576. Vikarana ञ before Sarvadhâtuka; (*nitya*).

VII. 3. 86 S. 2189. Guna for उ (para but *anitya*). III. 1. 77 S. 2534. applies before the substitution of guṇa for उ and it would apply also if guṇa were substituted for उ, and if तुद् were changed to तौद् ॥ On the other hand VII. 3. 86 applies before ञ is added to तुद्, but after the addition of ञ to तुद् guṇa could not by VII. 3. 86 be substituted for उ, because the latter would have ceased to be penultimate. Accordingly III. 1. 77 is *nitya* and VII. 3. 86 is *anitya*; III. 1. 77 takes, therefore, effect first and we have तुद् + ति, and subsequently VII. 3. 86 is no longer applicable. A *nitya* is thus defined :—A rule which would apply if another rule that applies simultaneously were to have taken effect, and which applies when that other rule does not take effect, is *nitya*, a rule with which such is not the case, is not *nitya*.

An *antaranga* rule possesses greater force than even a *nitya* rule. *Antaranga* is a rule the causes of the application of which lie within (or before) the sum of the causes of a *bahiranga* rule; in like manner that rule the causes of the application of which lie without or beyond the sum of the causes of that *antranga* rule is *bahiranga*. In the formation of ग्रामणिनी nom. dual of the neuter noun ग्रामणी, we have two rules, first VII. 1. 73. S. 320. by which न्, is added before the dual case affix ङी; and I. 2. 47 S. 318. which requires the shortening of the stem ग्रामणी to ग्रामणि ॥ Though the न् augment is *nitya*, it is for the time being suspended in favour of the *antaranga* rule causing shortening and when the stem is shortened then the न् is added. For had न् been added first, then ग्रामणीन् would end in a consonant and the rule of shortening I. 2. 47 S. 318 would not have applied, as the stem was not vowel-ending.

An *apavâda* possesses greater force even than an *antaranga* rule. A rule which is given in reference to a particular case or particular cases, to which or to all of which another rule can not but apply, or in other words

which all fall already under some other rule, supersedes the latter. Thus दैत्यारिः, श्रीशः ॥ दैत्य + अरि or श्री + ईश, here the antaranga rules आद्युणः and इकोयर्णाच्च would supersede even the पर rule of savarna-dīrgha, and अ + अ would be अ ई + ई would be श्री ॥ But savarna-dīrgha rule being an apavāda rule supersedes the antaranga guṇa and yaṇ-ādesā.

Paribhāṣā. That which is *bahiranga* is regarded as not having taken effect (or as not existing), when that which is *antaranga* (is to take effect). Thus, in the formation of स्योन, from सिञ् + न, ऊ is substituted for the व् of सिञ् by VI. 4. 19 S. 2561. we obtain thus सिऊ + न. Here two rules apply simultaneously, viz. VI. 1. 77 S. 47. which teaches the substitution of य् for इ before ऊ and VII. 3. 86 by which guṇa should be substituted for the penultimate इ before the affix न, and the question arises, which of these two rules should take effect? The substitution of य् for इ is caused by ऊ, that of guṇa for इ by न; as then the cause ऊ of the substitution of य् lies within or before the cause न of the substitution of guṇa, and, on the other hand, the cause न of the substitution of guṇa without or beyond the cause ऊ of the substitution of य्,—the substitution of य् for इ and the rule VI. 1. 77 that teaches it, is *antaranga*; and the substitution of guṇa for इ and the rule VII. 3. 86 that teaches it, is *bahiranga*. Accordingly VI. 1. 77 must take effect, because VII. 3. 86, so far as the taking effect of VI. 1. 77 is concerned, does not exist.

Paribhāṣā. The followers of Pāṇini do not insist (on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause or causes disappear).

In other words, ' an *antaranga* (operation) does not take place when subsequently, (in case the *bahiranga* operation were to take place), the cause or causes of the *antaranga* (operation) would disappear by (the taking effect of) that *bahiranga* (operation).

अचसंधि प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER III.

ON VOWEL—SANDHIS.

४७ । इको यणचि ॥ ६ । १ । ७७ ॥

इकः स्थाने यण् स्यादचि संहितायां विषये । सुधी उपास्य इति स्थिते । स्थानत आन्तर्यामीका-
रस्य यकारः । सुध् उपास्य इति जाते ॥

47. The semivowels य्, व्, र्, ल्, are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ॠ (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

This sūtra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. 1. 101, S. 85 namely, the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding, for the application of this rule. Thus सुधी+उपास्यः Here the long ई of सुधी is replaced by य् which is the nearest substitute, having regard to sthāna or organ of utterance.

Thus we get सुध्+उपास्य ॥

This gives occasion to the application of the following rule requiring reduplication :—

४८ । अनचि च ॥ ८ । ४ । ४७ ॥

अचः परस्य यरो द्वे वा स्तो न त्वचि ॥ इति धकारस्य द्वित्वम् ॥

48. When a vowel does not follow, there is optionally reduplication of य् (all the consonants except ह), after a vowel.

Therefore, the letter य् is doubled, and we have :—

सु ध् ध् य् + उपास्य

Now, a doubt arises as to the applicability of this rule of doubling by the following consideration ;—

४९ । स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ ॥ १ । १ । ५६ ॥

आदेशः स्थानिवत्स्यान्न तु स्थान्यलाभ्यविधौ । अनेनेह यकारस्य स्थानिवद्भावेनाच्स्वमाश्रित्या-
चिचोति द्वित्वनिषेधो न शङ्क्योऽनल्विधाविति तन्निषेधात् ॥

49. A substitute (ādeśa) is like the former occupant (sthāni) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the open-

ration of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

Now the substitute य् should be considered as ई which it has replaced; and as ई is a vowel, this य् should be considered as a vowel. That being so, य् is not followed by a consonant, but by a vowel, and so अनाचिच does not apply, and य् should not be reduplicated.

This doubt, however, is set at rest by the next half of this sūtra itself, which says अनाल्विधौ—“not when a rule of letter is to be applied.” The य् is like ई, but not for the purposes of the application of the Letter—rule like अनाचि च ॥ The य् therefore is properly doubled.

But is not this अनाल्विधौ exception set aside by the following sūtra ?

५० । अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ १ । १ । ५७ ॥

अल्विध्यर्थमिदम् । परनिमित्तोऽजादेशः स्थानिवत्स्यात् स्थानिभूताश्चः पूर्वत्वेन दृष्टस्य विधौ कर्तव्ये ॥ इति स्थानिवद्भावे प्राप्ते ॥

50. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes, when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This sūtra consists of three words:— अचः genitive of the pratyāhāra अच् meaning ‘of a vowel,’ and means an ādeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words ādeśa and sthānivat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding sūtra. The second word is ‘parasmin’ loc. sing. of ‘para’ meaning ‘in the subsequent.’ The locative has the force of ‘on account of or by reason of.’ The third word is pūrva-vidhau loc. sing. of pūrva-vidhi meaning ‘a rule applicable to a preceding thing.’ The whole sūtra thus comes to mean that an ādeśa which replaces a vowel, becomes sthānivat (like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to anything preceding such an ādeśa.

Therefore य् would be स्थानिवत् to ई because it is a vowel substitute caused by something which follows namely उ of उपास्य and the rule of doubling is to be applied to य् a letter which precedes य् ॥

To this we answer “No”, because of the following sūtra.

५१ । न पदान्तद्विर्वचनचरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णाऽनुस्वारदीर्घजश्चर्विधिषु ॥ १ । १ । ५८ ॥

पदस्य चरमावयवे द्विर्वचनादौ च कर्तव्ये परनिमित्तोऽजादेशो न स्थानिवत् । इति स्थानिवद्भावे निषेधः ॥

51. Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvâra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of jaś and char letters.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the previous sūtra, by which it was ruled that an âdeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthânivat under certain conditions. This sūtra says that a vowel âdeśa is not sthânivat under the following circumstances.

1. पदान्तविधिः—‘A rule relating to the last letter of a word.’

2. द्विचनविधिः ‘a rule relating to the doubling of letters.’ In the sandhi of सुधी + उपास्य we have सुध्धु + उपास्य Here ई is changed into ॠ If this ॠ were sthânivat to ई, then the rule by which ध् could be doubled before ॠ would be inapplicable. But ॠ is not equivalent to ई, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of ध् and get the form सुध्धुपास्य Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the âdeśa is not equivalent to the sthâni.

3. वरेविधिः, ‘a rule relating to the affix वरच्.’

4. यलोपविधिः ‘a rule relating to the dropping of ya.’

5. स्वरविधिः ‘a rule relating to accent.’

6. सवर्णविधिः ‘a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.’

7. अनुस्वारविधिः ‘a rule relating to anusvâra.’

8. दीर्घविधिः ‘a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.’

9. जश्चिधिः ‘a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyâhâra जश्च, in the place of hard consonants.’

10. चरविधिः ‘a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चर pratyâhâra instead of other consonants.

५२ । भलां जश्चशि ॥ ८ । ४ । ५३ ॥

स्पष्टम् । इति धकारस्य स्कारः ॥

52, In the room of जश्च letters, there is substitution of जश्च letters, when जश्च letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus सुध्धु + उपास्य = सुध्धु + उपास्य ॥

At this stage, the sūtra after the following turns up for application.

५३ । अदर्शनं लोपः ॥ १ । १ । ६० ॥

असक्तस्यादर्शनं लोपसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

53. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision.

५४ । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ ८ । २ । २३ ॥

संयोगान्तं यत्पदे तदन्तस्य लोपः स्यात् । इति यलोपे प्राप्ते ॥ यणः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ यणो मयो द्वे वाच्ये * ॥ मय इति पञ्चमी यण इति षष्ठीति पक्षे यकारस्यापि द्वित्वम् । तदिह धकारयकारयोर्द्वित्वविकल्पाच्चत्वारि रूपाणि ॥ एकधमेकयम् । द्विधं द्वियम् । द्विधमेकयम् । एकधं द्वियम् । सुद्युपास्यः । मध्वरिः । धान्नशः । लाकृतिः ॥

54. When a word ends in a double consonant, the last consonant is dropped.

Therefore in सुद्धृश्+उपास्य, the final letter of the conjunct consonant, namely the letter श् should be elided. But this mishap to the letter श् is prevented by the following *Vārtikā*. यणः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः "Prohibition must be stated with regard to the elision of semivowels." Therefore the श् is not elided.

But then appears the following *Vārtikā* which requires the doubling of श् also, यणोमयोद्वेवाच्ये "The letters of the यण् class are reduplicated after letters of the मय् class."

Thus we have four forms with the doubling of ध् and श् optionally.

1. One ध् and one श् as सुद्युपास्यः ।
 2. Two ध्स and two श्स as सुद्धृशुपास्यः ।
 3. Two ध्स and one श् as सुद्धृशुपास्यः ।
 4. One ध् and two श्स as सुद्धृशुपास्यः ।
- So also मधु + अरिः = मध्वरिः ; धान्नशः, लाकृतिः ।

५५ । नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ४८ ॥

पुत्रशब्दस्य न द्वे स्त आदिनीशब्दे परे आक्रोशे गम्यमाने । पुत्रादिनी त्वमसि पापे । आक्रोशे किम् । तत्त्वकथने द्विर्वचनं भवत्येव । पुत्रादिनी सर्पिणी ॥ तत्परे च * ॥ पुत्रपुत्रादिनी त्वमसि पापे ॥ वा हतजग्धयोः * ॥ पुत्रहती । पुत्रजग्धी । पुत्रजग्धी ॥

55. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word ādinî follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debars the reduplication required by sūtra 48. Thus पुत्रादिनी

स्वमसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुत्रादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आक्रोश, the reduplication necessarily takes place. Thus पुत्रादिनी सर्पिणी 'a kind of serpent, that eats up her young ones'.

Vart:—So also when पुत्र is followed by पुत्रादिनी ॥ As पुत्रपुत्रादिनी स्वमसि-पापे ॥ So also पुत्रपौत्रादिनी ॥

Vart:—Optionally so when the words हत and जग्ध follow. As पुत्रहती or पुत्रहती, पुत्रजग्धी or पुत्रजग्धी ॥

५६ । त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५० ॥

अथादिषु वर्णेषु संयुक्तेषु वा द्वित्वम् । इन्द्रः । इन्द्रः । राष्ट्रम् । राष्ट्रम् ॥

56. According to the option of Śākatāyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः इन्द्रः, राष्ट्रम्, राष्ट्रम् ॥

५७ । सर्वत्र शाकट्यस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५१ ॥

द्वित्वं न । अर्कः । ब्रह्मा ॥

57. According to the opinion of Śākalya, there is reduplication no where.

As अर्कः, ब्रह्मा ॥

५८ । दीर्घादाचार्याणाम् ॥ ८ । ४ । ५२ ॥

द्वित्वं न । दात्रम् । पात्रम् ॥

58. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As दात्रम्, पात्रम्,

५९ । अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ८ । ४ । ५६ ॥

अचः पराभ्यां रेहकाराभ्यां परस्य यरो द्वे वा स्तः । इत्यनुभवः ॥ न ह्ययस्ति ॥

59. There is reduplication of यर्, i. e. all the consonants except ह, after the letters र् and ह following a vowel.

The word अर् of VIII. 4. 45 S. 11 6. is understood here. According to others, the वा is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus इत्यनुभवः, न ह्ययस्ति ॥

६० । हलो यमां यमि लोपः । ८ । ४ ॥ ६४ ॥

हलः परस्य यमो लोपः स्याद्वा यमि । इति लोपपक्षे द्वित्वाभावपक्षे चैकयं रूपं तुल्यम् । लोपारम्भफलं तु आदित्यो देवताऽस्येत्यादित्यं हविरित्यादौ ॥ यमां यमीति यथासंख्यविज्ञानान्नेह ॥ माहात्म्यम् ॥

60. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

In the case of elision (as required by this rule) as well as in the case of want of reduplication, (for the reduplication is after all *optional*), there would be one common form. Why then teach this lopa rule at all? This lopa rule is particularly applicable in cases like आदित्यं हविः To the word आदित्य is added the affix य (प्यत्) by IV. 1. 85, S. 10 77. and we have आदित्यं, now this य not having been obtained by *doubling*, would not have disappeared by any one of the preceding rules. Hence this lopa-rule. Thus âditya + ya (IV. 1. 85) = âdity + ya (the *a* is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 3 11.) = âdityya. Then by applying the present rule we have âditya with one y only.

There are nine letters in यम् pratyâhâra, i. e. य, व, र्, ल, झ, न, ङ, ञ and म; when यम् follows another यम्; here the substitute and sthâni contain equal number of letters, therefore the rule of yathâ sankhya I. 3. 10., S. 128 applies. Namely य must be followed by य, व by व, र by र and so on : and not य followed by व, or र etc. Therefore there is no elision of न in महात्म्यम् though न a yam letter is followed by य another yam letter.

६१ । एचोऽयवायावः ॥ ६ । १ । ७८ ॥

एचः क्रमादय् अच् आच् आच् एते स्युरयि ॥

61. For the vowels ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are respectively substituted अच्, आच्, अच् and आच् when a vowel follows.

Note.—The yathâ sankhya rule I. 3. 10 S. 128 applies here also, and so ए is replaced by अच्, ऐ by आच्, औ by अच् and औ by आच् ॥ Or अच् would be the proper substitute of ए, अच् of ओ etc. by the rule of sthâne-antartama I. 1. 50 S 39. For ए etc. are compound letters or diphthongs, ए = अ + इ, ओ = अ + उ etc. and so their most approximate substitutes are अच्, अच् etc. Hence the author of Siddhânta has not read the yathâ sankhya rule here, but later on.

Here arises a doubt, are not the final य् and व् in these substitutes, इत् letters? For were we not taught in sūtra हलन्त्यम् 1. 3. 3. S. 1. that all final consonants are इत्? If then, these य् and व् be इत्, then they require to be elided by the following rule.

६२ । तस्य लोपः ॥ १ । ३ । ६ ॥

तस्येतो लोपः स्यात् । इति यवयोर्लोपो न । उच्चारणसामर्थ्यात् । एवं चेत्येसापीह न भवति । ह्रये । विष्णवे । नायकः । पावकः ॥

62. Of this, (namely of what which has been called इत्), there is elision.

There is no elision of the final इ, and ए in अइ, अए, आइ and आए, because these letters are not इत् or indicatory. Why are they not indicatory? Because the very fact of their being expressly so taught shows it: otherwise the substitutes would have been अ and आ only: in fact, the इ and ए do not get the designation इत् at all here.

Now applying this rule of diphthong sandhi, we have: हरे + ए = हरये; विष्णो + ए = विष्णवे, नै + अकः = नायकः; पौ + अकः = पावकः ॥

६३ । वान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ ६ । १ । ७६ ॥

यकारादौ प्रत्यये परे ओहैतोरव् आइ एतौ स्तः । गोर्विकारो गव्यम् । गोपयसोर्यदिति यत् । नावा तार्यं नाव्यम् । नौवयोधर्मैत्यादिना यत् ॥ गोर्युतौ छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अध्वपरिमाणे च * ॥ गव्यूतिः । ऊतियूतीत्यादिना यूतिशब्दो निपातितः ॥ वान्त इत्यत्र वकारादुगोर्युतावित्यत्र छकाराद्वा पूर्वभागे लोपोव्योर्वलीति लोपेन वकारः प्रश्लिष्यते । तेन श्रूयमाणवकारान्त आदिशः स्यात् । वकारो न लुप्यत इति यावत् ॥

63. The substitution of अच् and आच् for ओ and औ also takes place before an affix beginning with य ॥

The वान्त are those which end in इ viz अच् and आच्. Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding sūtra, those which end in इ (viz. अच् and आच्) also come when an affix with an initial य follows. It follows that the substituted letters must be ओ and औ. Thus गो + य = गव् + य = गव्यं milk. By sūtra IV-3-160S 1538 the affix यत् is added to गो and पयस् in the sense of modification. Similarly नौ + य = नाव्यम् (what can be crossed by a boat). Here also यत् is added by IV-4-91 S. 1643 in the sense of "to be crossed," the word so formed meaning 'a river' &c.

Vart:—The word गो is changed before यूति in the Vedas. As गो + यूति = गव्यूति as आनो मित्रा वरुणा धृतैर्गव्यूतिमुक्षतम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe गौयूतिः ॥

Vart:—This substitution takes place in secular literature even, when referring to the measure of a road:—as, गव्यूति मात्रमध्वानं गतः ॥ गव्यूति meaning क्रोशयुगम् ॥ The word यूति is an irregularly formed word so taught in sūtra III. 3. 97. S. 3274.

Now a doubt arises in the case of गव्यूति; should not the इ be elided by VIII. 3. 22. S. 171 or by VIII. 3. 19. S. 67. No. For the sūtra वान्तो यि प्रत्यये has really a इ in latency before it; the real sūtra being ववान्तो &c. This इ is invisible by the rule लोपो व्योर्वलि VI. 1. 66 S 873. So also in the vārtika गोर्युतौ छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम्, there is this invisible इ before छ ॥ Therefore the ādeśa is अच् with the इ, that is, the इ is not elided.

Why the **वृ** is not liable to elision in **गव्यं** and **नान्यं** by the application of VIII. 3. 19 or 22, and why should it be so liable in **गव्युति** only? The rules VIII. 3. 19 & 22 apply to pada bases only. Now **गो** before **युति** is a Pada; while **गो** or **नौ** before **यत्** is not a Pada but a Bha base, by I. 4. 18. S. 231.

६४ । धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव ॥ ६ । १ । ८० ॥

धातौ प्रत्यये परे धातोरेचञ्चान्तविशस्तिर्हि तन्निमित्तस्यैव नान्यस्य । लव्यम् । अवभ्यलाव्यम् तन्निमित्तस्यैवेति किम् ॥ भोयते । भौयत ॥

64. For the final diphthongs **ओ** and **औ** of a root, are substituted **अव्** and **आव्** respectively, before an affix beginning with **य्**, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.

The words **एचः**, **वान्तोयि** प्रत्यये are understood in this sūtra. The word **तन्निमित्त** means 'caused by that' i. e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with **य** ॥ Thus **लू** forms its Future Passive Participle by **यत्** (III. 1. 97 S. 284 2.) this affix causes the guṇa of **ऊ** by VII. 3. 84: S. 2168. Thus **लृ + य = लो + य**, which according to the present sūtra becomes **लव्यम्** ॥ So also **पू — पो + य = पव्यम्** ॥ **लृ + प्यत्** (III. 1. 125 S. 3304.) = **लो + य = अवद्य लाव्यम्** and **अवभ्य पाव्यम्** ॥ Why do we say 'caused by that affix itself'? The substitution will not take place, when the change is not caused by that affix. Thus the Passive of **वे** with the upasarga **आ** is **आ + वे + यक् + ते** ॥ Hereby Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15 S. 2409), **वे** becomes **उ**, as **आ + उ + य + ते**; now by sandhi **आ + उ = ओ** VI. 1. 87 S. 69, we have **ओ + यते = ओयते** ॥ Since **ओ** is not caused by **य**, there is no **अव्** substitution. So also **भौयत**, **लौयमानिः**, **पौयमानिः** (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095). The word **एव** in the aphorism has force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, **ओ** and **औ** before **य** are changed then only to **अव्** and **आव्** when **य** has caused the production of **ओ**; **औ**; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the **य** has caused the production of **ओ** and **औ** or not.

६५ । क्षय्यजय्यौ शक्यार्ये ॥ ६ । १ । ८१ ॥

यान्तादिशनिपातनार्थनिदम् ॥ क्षेतुं शक्यं क्षय्यम् । जेतुं शक्यं जय्यम् । शक्यार्ये किम् । क्षेतुं जेतुं योग्यं क्षेयं पापं जेयं मनः ॥

65. In **क्षय्य** and **जय्य** there is substitution of **अय्** for **ए** only then when the sense is that of "to be possible to do".

The roots **क्षि** and **जि** before the affix **यत्** (III. 1. 97 S. 2842). assume these forms when meaning to be able to do the action denoted by the verb. As **शक्यः** **क्षेतुं = क्षय्यः** (**क्षि + य = क्षे + य**); so also **जय्यः** ॥ Why do we say when meaning "to be possible to do"? Observe **क्षेयं पापं, जेयं मनः** ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'necessity'.

६६। क्रय्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ६। १। ८२ ॥

तस्मै प्रकृत्यर्थयितुं तदर्थम् । क्रेतारः क्रीणायुरिति बुद्ध्या आपणे प्रसारितं क्रय्यम् । क्रयमन्यम् ।
क्रयणार्हमित्यर्थः ॥

66. In क्रय्य there is substitution of अय् for ए when the sense is that of 'exposed or put out for sale, saleable'.

The word क्रय्य is derived from क्री 'to buy', with the affix यत्; the guṇa ए being changed to य ॥ The word तदर्थम् means 'for the purpose of that' i. e., for the purpose of being bought by the purchasers. As क्रय्या गौः, क्रय्यः कम्बलः ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is that of saleable'? Observe क्रेयं नो धान्यं न चास्ति क्रय्यम् "we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale".

६७। लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ ८। ३। १९ ॥

अवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्यवयोर्वा लोपोऽस्ति परे ॥ पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति लोपशास्त्रस्यासिद्धत्वान्न स्वर-
सन्धिः । हर एहि । हरयेहि । विष्ण इह । विष्णविह । श्रिया उद्यतः । श्रियायुद्यतः । सुरा उत्कः । सुरावुत्कः ॥
कानि सन्ति कौ स्त इत्यत्रास्तेरलोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वेन यणावादेशौ प्राप्तौ न पदान्तोत्तिसूत्रेण पदान्तविधौ
सन्निषेधान्न स्तः ॥

67. व् and य् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अय् letter, according to the opinion of Śākalya.

When this *lopa* once takes place, there is no further combination of vowels; because the rule of पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् of VIII. 2. 1. S. 12. intervenes and makes this *lopa* as if non-existent. Thus, we have हरे + एहि = हरएहि or हरयेहि (O Hari; come). so also विष्णो + इह = विष्ण इह or विष्णविह । and श्रियै + उद्यतः = श्रियाउद्यतः or श्रियायुद्यतः; सुरौ + उत्कः = सुराउत्कः or सुरावुत्कः ॥

In the following examples कानि + सन्ति and कौ + स्तः the rule VI. 1. 77 S. 47 and this rule would have applied respectively because सन्ति, is really असन्ति and स्तः is really अस्तः the अ being elided. An ādeśa is equal to the स्थानि as we have been taught in Sutra I. 1. 56 S. 49. Therefore we ought to have forms like कान्यसन्ति and कास्तः, But this is prevented by Sutra I. 1. 58 S. 51. for an ādeśa is not equal to a स्थानि when a Padānta rule is to be applied. Now the substitution of semivowels by sūtra VI. 1. 77 S. 47 or the *lopa* of this Sūtra is a Padānta rule and hence the ādeśa is not equal to a Sthāni.

As क आस्ते or कयास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकयास्ते, अस्मा उद्धर or अस्मायुद्धर, श्वावन्न or ह्य भन्न, असावादित्यः or असा आदित्यः ॥

६८। एकः पूर्वपरयोः । ६। १। ८४ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

68. From here upto VI. 1. 111 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase "for the preceding and the following one is substituted".

This is an *adhikāra sūtra*. In every *sūtra* upto VI. 1. 112 S. 255. (excluding the last), whatever we shall teach, there in the room of the two, namely, the preceding and the succeeding, it should be understood, that the substitution is one. These form the well known rules of *ekādeśa*, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c.

६६ । आद्गुणः ॥ ६ । १ । ८७ ॥

अवर्णाच्चि परे पूर्वपरयोरेको गुणादेशः स्यात्संहितायाम् । उपेन्द्रः । रमेशः । गङ्गोदकम् ॥

69. The *guṇa* is the single substitute of the final अ or आ of a preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding (अ or आ + a vowel = *guṇa*).

The word अचि is understood here. For the vowel which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these vowels, there is the single substitute, namely, *guṇa*. Thus उप + इन्द्रः = उपेन्द्रः ; रमा + ईशः = रमेशः ; गङ्गा + उदकम् = गङ्गोदकम् ॥

७० । उरण् रपरः ॥ १ । १ । ५१ ॥

क्व इति त्रिधातः संज्ञेत्युक्तम् । तत्स्थानि योऽण् स रपरः सन्नेव प्रवर्तते । तत्रान्तरतम्यात्कुण्डलि-
रित्यबाड् । तवल्कार इत्यत्राडल् । अचो र्हाभ्यामिति पक्षे द्वित्वम् ॥

70. When a letter of अण् *pratyāhāra* comes as a substitute for क्व it is always followed by a र्.

This *sūtra* consists of three words *viz.*, उः which is the genitive singular of क्व and means literally 'of क्व' or 'in the place of क्व'; the second word is अण्, a *pratyāhāra* denoting अ, इ and उ long and short; the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means 'having a र after.'

This *sūtra* is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of क्व ल्. Thus, there are only three *guṇa* vowels अ, ए and औ. Of these what is the proper *guṇa* for क्व? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the *guṇa* of क्व; and further by this rule, this अ must have a र् after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the *guṇa* of क्व, the actual substitute is अर् ॥

The र् in the text has been taken by some to be a *pratyāhāra* formed by the letter र् and अ of लण्; and thus it includes the letters र् and ल्. In that case the *sūtra* would mean that अण् substitutes of क्व and ल् are always followed by र् and ल् respectively. Thus the *guṇa* of रि = ar, of लि = al.

It has already been taught that क् is the name of 30 letters. *Viz.*—18 forms of क् and 12 forms of ल्. In the place of these 30 Vowels, whenever an अ and इ or उ is substituted, it must always be followed by a र्. Therefore कृष्ण + काङ्क्षि = कृष्णङ्क्षिः Here अ is followed by र् as the nearest substitute of क्. Similarly तव + लकारः = तवल्लकारः Here अ is followed by ल् as the nearest substitute of क्. Similarly there is doubling when the rule अचो रहाभ्याम् (VIII. 4. 46 S. 59) is applied.

७१। झरोझरि सवर्णे । ङ । ४ । ६५ ॥

हलः परस्य झरो लोपो वा स्यात्सवर्णे झरि । द्वित्वाभावे लोपे सत्येकधम् । असति लोपे द्वित्वलोप बोर्वा द्विधम् । सति द्वित्वे लोपे चासति विधम् । कृष्णर्धिः । कृष्णङ्क्षिः । कृष्णङ्क्षिः ॥ यण इति पञ्चमी मय इति षष्ठीति पक्षे ककारस्य द्वित्वम् । लस्य त्वनाच्च चेति । तेन तवल्लकार इत्यत्र रूपचतुष्टयम् ॥ Verse: द्वित्वं लस्यैव कस्यैव नोभयोरुभयोरपि । तवल्लकारादिषु दुर्बोध्यं रूपचतुष्टयम् ॥

71. A mute or Sibilant (झर्) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

When there is not doubling and there is *lopa* under this rule, then we have only one ध्. But when there is no *lopa* or when there is doubling, then we have two ध्स. Thirdly, when there is doubling, but there is no *lopa*, then we have three ध्स. Thus Kṛishṇardhiḥ; or Kṛishṇarddhiḥ or Kṛishṇarddddhiḥ.

By the Vārtika यणो मयो द्वेवाच्ये (See Sutra 54), when यणः is taken in the ablative case and मयः in the genitive case; namely, when the Vārtika is translated as “after a यण letter, there is doubling of the मय letters,” in that alternative the क् is also doubled in तवल्लकारः. The ल् here also will be doubled by the rule of अनचिच्च (VII. 4. 47. S. 48). Therefore तवल्लकारः will have 4 forms as given in the verse above mentioned. As Tavalkārah; Tavallkārah; Tavallkkārah; Tavallkkārah.

७२। वृद्धिरेचि । ६ । १ । ८८ ॥

आदिचि परे वृद्धिरेकादिशः स्यात् । गुणापवादः । कृष्णेकत्वम् । गङ्गायः । देवैश्वर्यम् । कृष्णोत्कण्ठयम् ॥

72. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initial diphthong of the succeeding (अ or आ-l-diphthong=vṛiddhi).

The word आत् is understood here. For the diphthong which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz, the Vṛiddhi. This debars guṇa taught in the sūtra 69. Thus Kṛishṇa + Ekātvam = Kṛishṇai katvam; Gaṅgā + oghaḥ = Gaṅgaughah, Deva + aiśvāryam = devaiśvāryam. Kṛishṇa + autkaṇṭhyam = Kṛishṇaut kaṇṭhyam.

७३ । एत्थेधत्तूदसु । ६ । १ । ८६ ॥

अवर्णादिजाद्योरत्येधत्थोरूढे च परे वृद्धिरैकादेशः स्यात् । पररूपगुणापवादः । उपैति । उपैधते । प्रहोहः । एजाद्योः किम् । उपेतः । मा भवान्प्रविधत् । पुरस्तादपवादव्यत्येनेयं वृद्धिरिति पररूपमित्यस्यैव बाधिका न स्वामाहोश्चेत्यस्य । तेनावैहीति वृद्धिरसाधुरेव ॥ अक्षाबूहिण्यामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अक्षौहिणी सेना ॥ स्वादिरोरिणोः * ॥ स्वैरः । स्वेनेरितुं शीलमस्येति स्वैरी । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया स्वैरिणी । प्रहोहो-त्थेष्व्येषु * ॥ प्रौढः । प्रौढः ॥ अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम् ॥ “अश्नेतिसूत्रे राज्ञेः पृथग् भ्राजिग्रहणा-वज्ञापकात्” । तेन ऊढग्रहणेन नान्तेमव गृह्यते न तु क्तवत्स्वन्तस्यैकदेशः । प्रौढवान् । प्रौढिः ॥ इष इच्छायां तुहादिः । इष गतो दिवादिः । इष आभिर्भूय क्रयादिः । एषां यञि प्यति च एषः एष्यः इति रूपे । तत्र पररूप प्राप्त्यनेन वृद्धिः । प्रेषः । प्रेष्यः ॥ यस्तु ईष उज्छ । यश्च ईष गतिहिंसादर्शनेषु । तयोर्दीर्घोपधत्वात् ईषः । ईष्यः । तत्राहुणे प्रेषः । प्रेष्यः ॥ कृते च वृत्तियासमासे * ॥ सुखेन कृतः सुखा-र्तः । वृत्तियंति किम् । परमर्तः ॥ प्रवत्सतरकम्बलवसनार्णदशानामृणम् * ॥ प्रार्णम् । वत्सतरार्णमित्यादि ॥ ऋणस्यापनयनाय यदन्यदणं क्रियते तदणार्णम् । दशार्णो देशः । नदी च दशार्णा । ऋणशब्दो दुर्गभूमौ जाले च ॥

73. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-*प* of एति (root इ) and एधति (root एध), and for अ or आ-*ऊ* of ऊढ (the substitute of वा in वाह by VI. 4. 132 S. 329).

The whole of the last sūtra and आत् are understood here. The एच् of the last sūtra qualifies the root इ in एति, *i. e.* when the root इ assumes the form ए by internal changes, then applies this Vṛiddhi rule. The एच् does not qualify the root एध् as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does एच् qualify ऊढ् for ऊ is not a diphthong. Thus उप + एति = उपैति. उप-*प*-एधते = उपैधते प्रव-*प*-ऊढ = प्रवौह ॥ In the last example, guṇa was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87 S. 69, the present sūtra ordains Vṛiddhi instead. In the case of एति and एधति, the Vṛiddhi was debarred by VI. 1. 94, S. 78 this sūtra makes an exception to that rule. The present sūtra is an exception to VI. 1. 94 and not to VI. 1. 95, S. 80 because the maxim is पुरस्तादपवाश अनन्तरान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् “Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules.” Therefore the present rule does not apply here, :— उप + आ-*प*-इत = उप + एत = उपेतः (Here though इ is changed to ए, the rule does not apply). Therefore the form अपैहि is wrong. So also उप-*प*-इत = उपेतः for here the root इ has not assumed the form ए, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एचि qualifies the root इ ॥

Vart :—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when अक्ष is followed by ऊहिनी, as अक्षौहिणी सेना ॥

Vart :—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when स्व is followed by ईर or ईरिन्, or ईरिणी thus स्वैरम्, स्वैरी, स्वैरिणी ॥ The word ईर is formed by the affix घञ् added to ईरगतौः (Ad. 8. स्वेनाभिप्रायेण ईरण = स्वैरम् the compounding takes place by II. 1. 32. S. 694) Another form is स्वैरी = स्वेनाभिप्रायेणेत् गच्छति with the affix णिनि (III. 2. 78 S. 2988).

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by ऊढ, ऊढ, ऊढि, एष, एष्य; as प्रौढः, प्रौढः, प्रौढिः, प्रैवः, प्रैव्यः ॥ But by the maxim अर्थवद्महणे नानर्थक्यं ग्रहणम्, a maxim which we infer from the sutra VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 where the word भ्राज is taken separately from राज, the rule applies only to ऊढ and not to ऊढवान्. Therefore we have प्रौढवान् and not प्रौढवान्. The word एष is derived from the root इष् 'to wish' (Tud. 59), इष् 'to go' (Div. 18), and इष् 'to repeat' (Kry. 53), by adding the affix घञ्, and the word एष्य is derived from the same roots by adding ण्यन् ॥ This Vārtika ordains Vṛiddhi, while VI. 1. 94 would have caused पररूपः ॥ While the roots ईष् 'to glean', and ईष् 'to go' to injure, 'to show'. (Bh. 115 and 642), form ईषः and ईष्यः with the above affixes, and with प्र, their forms will be प्रैषः and प्रैष्यः ॥

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in अ is followed by क्त and forms an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound : as सुखेन क्तः = सुखार्तः ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परमर्तः ॥

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the word कृण follows the following :—प्र, वस्ततर, कम्बल, वसन ॥ As प्रार्णम् 'principal debt', वस्ततरार्णम् 'the debt of a steer'.

Vārt:—So also when the words कृण and दश are followed by कृणः—as, कृणार्णम् and दशार्णम् ॥ The word कृणार्ण means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasârna is the name of a river and of a country. The word कृण means inaccessible place as well as water, in addition to its well-known meaning of debt.

७४। उपसर्गादिति धातौ । ६। १। ९१ ॥

अवर्णान्नादुपसर्गादकारादौ धातौ परे वृद्धिरकारदेशः स्यात् । प्राच्छति । उपाच्छति ॥

74. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the अ or आ of a preposition (upsarga) is followed by the short अ of a verb.

The word आत् is understood here also. When a preposition ending in अ or आ is followed by a root beginning with क्, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the precedent अ or आ and the subsequent क् ॥ This debars the guṇa taught in VI. 1. 87. S. 69. Thus उप + कृच्छति = उपाच्छति, प्राच्छति ॥

७५। अन्तादिवच्च । ६। १। ८५ ॥

योऽयमेकदेशः स पूर्वस्यान्तवत्परस्यादिवत्स्यात् । इति रेफस्य पदान्तत्वे ॥

75. And this single substitute is considered as the final of the preceding (form), and the initial of the succeeding (form).

The single substitute taught in VI. 1. 84 S. 68 is considered in the

light of the final of the preceding form and the initial of the succeeding. An ādeśa is like the sthāni, but in an ekādeśa, the sthāni is indeterminate, or rather the sthāni is the *collection* or the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding. Hence the necessity of this sūtra.

Therefore the र् is Padanta in उपाच्छति &c, and being considered as final, the next rule applies :—

७६ । खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः । ८ । ३ । १५ ॥

खरि भवसाने च परे रेफस्य विसर्जनीयः स्यात्पदान्ते । इति विसर्गे प्राप्ते । अन्तवङ्गावेन पदान्त-
रेफस्य न विसर्गः । उभययक्षु कर्तरि चर्षिदेवतयोः रित्यादिनिर्देशात् ॥ उपसर्गेणैव धातोराक्षेपे सिद्धे धाता-
विति योगविभागेन पुनर्वृद्धिविधानार्थम् । तेन ऋत्यक इति पाक्षिकोऽपि प्रकृतिभावोऽत्र न भवति ॥

76. The Visarjanīya is substituted for र् before a खर् consonant or when there is a Pause, provided this र् is final in a pada.

The word र् is understood. The visarga is the substitute of र् final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause.

Therefore the र् of उपाच्छति should be changed into visarga; but this is not so ; because Pāṇini himself in his Sūtras उभययक्षु (VIII. 3. 8, S. 3630) and कर्तरिचर्षिदेवतयोः (III. 2. 186, S. 3167) has not changed the र् into visarga.

The word upsarga itself denotes its correlative dhātu, as the word father denotes the correlative word son.

The repetition of the word dhātu in the sūtra VI. 1. 91 S. 74 is used in order to prevent the application of the rule VI. 1. 129, S. 92 which causes प्रकृतिभाव or non-sandhi of ऋ. The optional non-sandhi is even prohibited with regard to this ऋ.

७७ । वा सुप्यापिशलेः । ६ । १ । ६२ ॥

अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादिकारादौ सुष्ठ्वातौ परे वृद्धिर्वा स्यात् । आपिशलिग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । प्रार्थनीयति ।
प्रर्वणीयति । सावर्ण्यात् त्ववर्णस्य ग्रहणम् ॥ प्राल्कारीयति । प्रल्कारीयति । तपरत्वादीर्वे न । उपक्कारीयति
उपर्कारीयति ॥

.77 According to the opinion of Āpīśali, the Vri-
ddhi is optionally the single substitute, when the अ or आ of
a preposition is followed by a Denominative Verb beginning
with ऋ ॥

Thus प्रार्थनीयति or प्रर्वणीयति प्राल्कारीयति or प्रल्कारीयति ॥ The ऋ and त्व are
considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word ऋ in the last sūtra
includes त्व also. The name of the Grammarian Āpīśali is mentioned for the
sake of respect ; the वा itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

The short क् and short ल् are only to be taken, because the letter क् in the sūtra has a त् after it. Therefore the rule would not apply to long क्. Therefore we have only one form in उप + क्कारीयति = उपकारीयति.

७८ । एङि पररूपम् । ६ । १ । २४ ॥

आदुपसर्गादेङादौ धातौ परे पररूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । प्रेजते । उपोषति । इह वा सुपीत्यनुवर्त्य वाक्य-
भेदेन व्याख्येयम् ॥ तेन एङादौ सुब्धातौ वा ॥ उपेङकीयति । उपैङकीयति । प्रोधीयति । प्रौधीयति ॥
एवे चानियोगे ॥ नियोगोऽवधारणम् । क्वेव भोक्ष्यसे । अनवक्लृप्तावेवशब्दः । अनियोगे किम् । तवैव ॥

78. For the अ or आ of the Preposition + ए or ओ of a verbal root, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The words आत्, उपसर्गाद्धातौ are understood here. In an upasarga ending in अ or आ followed by a root beginning with ए or ओ, the vowels coalesce and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (पररूप) ॥ This debars Vṛiddhi taught in VI. 1. 88 S. 72. Thus प्रेजते; उपोषति ॥ Some read into this sūtra the option allowed by VI. 1. 92, S. 77 according to them the para-rūpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots. Thus उपेङकीयति or उपैङकीयति, प्रोधीयति or प्रौधीयति,

Vārt :—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place when एव follows a word and the sense is not that of 'appointment.' Thus क्वेवभोक्ष्यसे (where will you eat) meaning there is no room for you to sit and eat or I do not think that you will get food to eat. Here the sense of एव is that of uncertainty. When the sense is that of नियोग the Vṛiddhi takes place: as तवैव, (Thy alone.)

७९ । अचोऽन्त्यादि दि । १ । १ । ६४ ॥

अचां मध्ये योऽन्त्यः स आक्षिप्य तद्विसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥ शकन्ध्वादिषु पररूपं वाच्यम् ० तच्च
देः ॥ शकन्धुः ॥ कर्कन्धुः । कुलटा । सीमन्तः केशवेदे । सीमान्तोऽन्यः । मनीषा । हलीषा । लाङ्गलीषा ।
पतञ्जलिः ॥ सारङ्गः पशुपक्षिणोः । साराङ्गोऽन्यः ॥ आकृतिगणोऽन्यम् ॥ मार्तण्डः । ओत्वाष्टयोः समासे
वा ॥ स्थूलौतुः । स्थूलौतुः । बिम्बौष्ठः । बिम्बौष्ठः । समासे किम् । तवैष्ठः ॥

79. The final portion of a word, beginning with the last among the vowels in the word, is called दि.

This sūtra defines दि. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word अग्निचित् the portion इत् is दि; so also in सोमसुत् the portion सुत्.

The word अचः in the sūtra is in the genitive case, which has the force of nirdhāraṇa or specification; and though it is in the singular number, it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels.'

This sūtra is used here in order to make it applicable to the following *Vārtikas*.

Vārti :—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place in the case of शकन्धुः etc. It takes place in the द्वि portion of these words and not merely of the letter अ, though the anuvritti of आन् is understood here. Had the Para-rupa been only of अ, we could not have got the forms like मनीषा which is formed by मनस्ईषा. The following is the list of Sakandhwādi words—1. शकन्धुः—the well of the Sakás (शक + अन्धु well). 2. कर्कन्धुः—the well of the Karkás. 3. कुलटा—unchaste woman (कुल + अटा). 4. सीमन्त—सीम + अन्त : (hair parting when not meaning 'hair parting, the form is सीमान्त the boundary limit). 5. मनीषा—the lord of the mind. 6. हलीषा—हलि + ईषा (Here ईषा means plough stick). 7. लाङ्गलीषा. 8. पतञ्जलिः—पतन्तः + अञ्जली (one to whom handfuls of offering are made i. e. an honored man). So also 9. सारङ्गः when meaning a variegated beast or a bird, otherwise the form is साराङ्गः—सार + अङ्गः : (the chief member of a body).

The Śakandhwādi is an Ākritigaṇa, i. e. no complete list of this class is given anywhere, but whenever we find a compound word, in which a para-rupa substitution has taken place, to the exclusion of the ordinary rules of Sandhi, we may safely place that word in this class. Thus वृत + अण्डः = वृतण्ड from which we have the secondary derivative form मार्तण्डः । We have the regular form मार्तण्डः also.

Vart :—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place optionally when ओतु and ओष्ठ are compounded with another word: as स्थूल ओतुः = स्थूलौतुः or स्थूलोतुः, so also बिम्बौष्टी or बिम्बोष्टी ॥ When not a compound the Vriddhi is compulsory: as तवौष्ठः

८० । ओमाङोश्च । ६ । १ । ९५ ॥

ओमि आङि चात्परे पररूपमेकदिशः स्थान् । शिवायोनमः ॥ शिव एहि । शिवेहि ॥

80. For the अ or आ + ओ of ओम, or + the vowel of the Preposition आङ्, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आन् is understood here. Thus शिवाय + ओम् नमः = शिवायों नमः Similarly शिव + आ + इहि = शिव + एहि = शिवेहि ॥

Question :—In the last example the form could have been obtained by the regular rules of Sandhi also, as शिव + आ + इहि = शिवा + इहि = शिवेहि . Where is then the necessity of this rule ?

Answer :—The आ could not combine with शिव, for the rule पूर्वे धातु-रुपसर्गेण युज्येत the upasarga must first combine with the dhātu and then other Sandhi rules must take place. The combination of उपसर्ग and धातु is an antaranga rule, while Sandhi is merely a bahiranga rule. Therefore आ first combines with the dhātu इहि and forms एहि and then this एहि combines with शिव ॥

८१ । अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ । ६ । १ । ९८ ॥

ध्वनिरनुकरणस्य योऽच्छब्दस्तस्मादितौ परं पररूपमेकविशः स्यात् । पदत् इति पठिति ॥ एकाचो न ॥ अदिति ॥

81. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound) + इति ॥

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अव्यक्त ; when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अनुकरण or imitation of that sound. Thus पदत् + इति = पठिति ॥

Vārt:—This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—अत् + इति = अदिति ॥

८२ । नाग्नेडितस्यान्यस्य तु वा । ६ । १ । ९९ ॥

नाग्नेडितस्य प्रायुक्तं न स्यादन्तस्य तु तकारमात्रस्य वा स्यात् ॥ डाचि बहुलं द्वे भवत इति बहुलवचनाद्द्वित्वम् ॥

82. This substitution does not take place when a sound-imitation word is doubled, here, however, for the final त् + इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

Vārtik:—There is diversely the repetition of the word when the affix डाच् follows.

The doubling takes place by this *Vārtika*. The word *āmredita* is defined in the next sūtra.

८३ । तस्य परमाग्नेडितम् । ८ । १ । २ ॥

द्विरुक्तस्य परं रूपमाग्नेडितसंज्ञं स्यात् । पदत्पठति ॥

83. Of that which is twice uttered, the latter word-form is called *āmredita* (repeated).

Thus पदत् पदत् + इति = पदत्पठ + इ + ति = पदत्पठेति. Now, this para-rūpa rule is optional. The regular form therefore, will be without the elision of the final अत् as पदत् + पदत् + इति = पदत् पठदिति. The त् is changed to द् by the next sūtra.

८४ । झलां जशोऽन्ते । ८ । २ । ३९ ॥

पशान्ते झलां जशः स्युः । पदत्पठदिति ॥

84. A corresponding ज, ब, ग, ड or द् is substituted

for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As वाग् अन्न, श्वलिङ् अन्न, अग्निचिद् अन्न, त्रिष्टुब् अन्न ॥

८५ । अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः । ६ । १ । १०१ ॥

अकः सवर्णेऽचि परे दीर्घ एकादेशः स्यात् । दैत्यारिः । श्रीशः । विष्णुदयः । अचि किम् । कुमारी शेते । नाञ्जलाविति सावर्ण्यनिषेधस्तु न दीर्घशकारयोः । ग्रहणकशास्त्रस्य सावर्ण्यविधিনিषेधाभ्यां प्रागनिष्पत्तेः । अकः किम् । हर्य ॥ “ अकोऽकि दीर्घ इत्यत्र सुवचम् ॥ ” ऋति सवर्णे ऋ वा ॥ होतृकारः । होतृकारः ॥ लति सवर्णे ल्वा ॥ होल्लकारः । पक्षे ऋकारः सावर्ण्यात् । होतृकारः । ऋति ऋ वा लति ल वेत्युभयत्रापि विधेयं वर्णद्वयं द्विमात्रम् । आद्यस्य मध्ये द्वौ रेफौ तयोरैका मात्रा । अभितोऽञ्भक्तेरपरा । द्वितीयस्य तु मध्ये द्वौ लकारौ । शेषं प्राग्वत् । इहाभयत्रापि ऋत्यक इति पाक्षिकः प्रकृतिमात्रा वक्ष्यते ॥

85. When a simple vowel is followed by a homogenous vowel, the corresponding long vowel is the single substitute for both the precedent and the subsequent vowels.

Thus दैत्य + अरिः = दैत्यारिः ; श्री + ईशः = श्रीशः ; विष्णु + उदयः = विष्णुदयः । Why do we say “when a *vowel* follows”? Observe कुमारी शेते The word अचि is understood here also. The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word अचि understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As कुमारी शेते ॥ The ई and श are homogenous, in spite of I. 1. 10: S. 13 for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and श, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अणुद्विसवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः (I. 1. 69 S. 14) is not brought into operation at the time when नाञ्ज झलौ (I. 1. 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सवर्ण rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished. Therefore first the rule of नाञ्ज झलौ comes into play, then the rule of सवर्ण definition (I. 1. 9 S. 10) and then comes the ग्रहणकवाक्यं (I. 1. 68 S. 25). Therefore in नाञ्ज झलौ those अच् only are taken which are not included in the *class* of homogenous vowels i. e. only the 9 vowels contained *directly* in अच्, and not the सवर्ण vowels which. I. 1. 68 would have denoted. Therefore though *short* इ and श are not सवर्ण by I. 1. 10: the *long* ई and श would be savarṇa. The sutra अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः would have been more clear if stated as अकोऽकि दीर्घः । Why do we say ‘an अक् or simple vowel?’ Observe हरे + ए = हरये. Why do we say ‘by a homogenous vowel?’ Observe रुधि + अन्न = रुध्यन्न ॥

Vārt :—When ऋ short is followed by ऋ short, the long substitution is optional : so also with ल् ॥ This vārtika is necessitated because (1) the two ऋ or ल्—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is samvṛita and the other vivṛita, or (2) because their prosodial length is $1\frac{1}{2}$ and so the word दीर्घ cannot be applied with consistency in their case (ऊकाल &c).

Or 3rdly (and this is the opinion of Bhattoji Dikshita) the single substitute short क or short ल (which comes in the place of क+क or क+ल) is *really* long consisting of two mâttras, in this way :—होतृ+ककारः=होतृ र्+ककारः ॥ These two र's are not visible in writing, but are there. They constitute one mâtâ, for each consonant has half a mâtâ. Thus one mâtâ of two र's and one mâtâ of क make two mâtâs really and though apparently short क is retained, it is practically long. Similarly in the case of ल there are two ल's. In other words, the short क (that comes in the place of two क's) contains latent in it two र's, of one mâtâ and its own self of one mâtâ. Similarly the single substitute ल contains merged in it two ल's (of one mâtâ) and its own self of one mâtâ.

Thus होतृ+ककारः=हातृकारः or होतृकारः, so also होतृ+लकारः ॥ होतृलकारः or होतृलकारः ॥ The दीर्घ of ल is कृ ॥

Moreover, by the rule of कृत्यकः VI. 1. 128. S. 92 the Sandhi is optional.

८६ । एङ् पदान्तादिति । ६ । १ । १०९ ॥

पदान्तादेङोऽति परे पूर्व रूपमेकादिशः स्यात् । हरेऽव । विष्णोऽव ॥

86. In the room of ए or ओ final in a Pada, and the short अ, which follows it, is substituted the single vowel of the form of the first (ए or ओ) ॥

Thus हरे+अव=हरेऽव, विष्णो+अव=विष्णोऽव ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अय् and अव् ॥

८७ । सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः । ६ । १ । १२२ ॥

लोकौ वदे चैङन्तस्य गोरति वा प्रकृतिभावः स्यात्पदान्ते । गोअग्रम् । गोऽग्रम् । एङन्तस्य किम् चित्रग्वग्रम् । पदान्ते किम् । गोः ॥

87. After गो (when it retains the form गो and is final in a pada) the subsequent अ may optionally be retained everywhere, in the Vedas as well as in the secular literature.

Thus गाऽग्रम् or गो अग्रम् ॥ Why do we say ending in an एङ् vowel? Observe चित्रगु+अग्रम्=चित्रग्वग्रम्. Here गो does not end in ओ but has assumed the form गु and so the rule does not apply.

Why do we say at the end of a pada? Observe गोः

८८ । अवङ् स्फोटोऽयनस्य । ६ । १ । १२३ ॥

अतीति निवृत्तम् । अचि परे पदान्ते गोरवङ् वा स्यात् । गवाग्रम् । पदान्ते किम् । गवि । व्यवस्थितविभाषया गवाक्षः ॥

88. According to the opinion of Sphoṭāyana, there is the substitution of अवङ् for the ओ of गो when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of अलि ceases, that of अलि manifests itself. Thus गो + अय = गवायम्, so also गवाजिनम्, गवौदनम्, गवौष्टम्, or in the alternative we have गोऽयम्, गोऽजिनम्, गवौदनम्, गवौष्टम् ॥ The mention of Sphoṭāyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvritti of विभाषा was already understood in it. Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe गवि. This is a vyavasthita vibhāshā, hence in गवाक्षः the अवङ् substitution is compulsory and not optional.

८९ । इन्द्रे च । ६ । १ । १२५ ॥

गोरलङ् स्यादिन्द्र । गवेन्द्रः ॥

89. The substitution of अव for the ओ of गो is compulsory when the word इन्द्र follows it.

Thus गवेन्द्रः ॥

Note :—The Pāṇini reads this sūtra as इन्द्रेच नित्यम् ॥ Bhattoji has read the word nityam, in the next sūtra, instead of this.

अथ प्रकृतिभावः ॥

CHAPTER IV.

NON-SANDHI.

९० । प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम् । ६ । १ । १२५ ॥

प्लुताः प्रगृह्याश्च वक्ष्यन्ते तेऽन्ति नित्यं प्रकृत्या स्युः । एहि कृष्ण ३ अत्र गौश्ररति । हरी एतौ । नित्यमिति किम् । हरी एता वित्यादावयमेव प्रकृतिभावो यथा स्यादिकोऽसवर्ण इति ह्रस्वसमुच्चितो माभूत् ॥

90. The Pluta (VIII. 2. 82 etc. S. 93) and Pragrihya (I. 1. 11 etc. S. 100.) vowels always remain unaltered when followed by a vowel (so far as the operation of that vowel is concerned).

Thus एहिकृष्ण ३ अत्र गौश्ररति, हरी एतौ ॥ The force of the word *nitya* is that these pluta and pragrihya always retain their form and are not influenced by the rule of shortening given below.

Thus in हरी ईशौ "The two Haris (Hari and Har) are Lords," the present sūtra applies fully ; for the long ई of हरी being Pragrihya, because it is the ई of the dual number, retains its form. The subsequent rule does not apply, because ई is followed by a savarna letter, *z. e.* ई. In चक्री + अत्र = चक्रि अत्र "The chakrin is here", the ई of चक्री is neither Pluta nor Pragrihya, because it is Nom. Singular. and therefore the subsequent rule of shortening fully applies to it, there being no scope for the application of any other rule.

But in हरी + एतौ both the present sūtra and the subsequent sūtra find scope, and the subsequent sūtra would make it हरि एतौ ॥ But the word *nitya* prevents this, and we have हरी एतौ ॥

६१ । इकोऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च । ६ । १ । १२७ ॥

पदान्ता इकोऽसवर्णेऽचि परे प्रकृत्या स्युर्ह्रस्वश्च वा । अत्र ह्रस्वविधिसामर्थ्यादेव प्रकृतिभावे सिद्धे तदनुकर्षणार्थश्चकारो न कर्तव्य इति भाष्ये स्थितम् । चक्रि अत्र । चक्रयत्र । पदान्ता इति किम् । गौरी ॥ न समासि * ॥ वाप्यश्वः ॥ सिति च * ॥ पार्श्वम् ॥

91. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowels with the exception of अ, when followed by a non-homogenous vowel, retain their original forms ; and if the vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus चक्री + अत्र = चक्रि अत्र ॥ In the alternative we have चक्रयत्र ॥

The name of Śākalya is mentioned for the sake of respect. Because the alternative nature of this sūtra is clear from its very formation. According to Mahābhāṣya, the च in the sūtra is redundant. If it be said that च is necessary to draw the anuvṛtti of Prakṛiti-bhāva, that is not the case. For the mere fact of making the long vowel short, shows that there is Prakṛiti bhāva. For if there were to take place Sandhi after shortening, as चक्री + अत्र = चक्रिअत्र = चक्र्यत्र, then where is the good of shortening, for the last form could have been obtained without shortening. Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe गौयै ॥

Two Vārt.—This rule of Śākalya is prohibited in the case of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samāsa) and of words formed by an affix having an indicative सू:—Thus अयं ते योनिऋत्विग्यः, मजां विदाम ऋत्विग्याम् The word ऋत्विग्य is formed by a सित् affix, namely by घस् (V. 1. 106 S. 3495), added to ऋतुः and therefore the ऋ is changed to व ॥ Before a सित् affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16). Of nitya-compounds are वैयाकरणः, सौवश्वः, व्याकरणं, कुमार्यर्थम् which are so by II. 2. 18 S. 761. Thus वाप्यश्वः is an example of compound; and पार्श्वम् formed by the affix जस् see I. 4. 16, S. 1252.

९२ । ऋत्यकः । ६ । १ । १२८ ॥

ऋति परेऽकः प्राग्वत् । ब्रह्म ऋषिः । ब्रह्मर्षिः । पदान्ता इत्येव । आच्छत् । समासेऽप्ययं प्रकृतिभावः । सप्तऋषीणाम् । सप्तर्षीणाम् ॥

92. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowel followed by ऋ retains its original form, and if the simple vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus ब्रह्मा + ऋषि = ब्रह्मऋषि or ब्रह्मर्षिः ॥ The इक् vowels must be final in a Pada here also, otherwise we have Sandhi as आ + ऋच्छत् = आच्छत् ॥ Even in compound this non-modification is observed, thus सप्त + ऋषीणाम् सप्तऋषीणाम् or सप्तर्षीणाम् ॥ Why do we say when followed by ऋ? Observe, खद्वेन्द्र ॥ Why do we say “the simple vowels (अकः)”? Observe वृक्षावृक्षयः (वृक्षौ + ऋक्षयः) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक् vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also.

९३ । वाक्यस्य देः प्लुत उदात्तः । ८ । २ । ८२ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

93. Upto the close of this chapter (Second Pāda of the Eight Adhyāya), is always to be supplied: “the last vowel of a sentence is pluta and has the acute”.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. All the three words i, e. “the last vowel

(टि) of a sentence", "pluta" and "acute"—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pāda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (टि) in a sentence, and it will get the pluta lengthening and acute accent.

६४ । प्रत्यभिवादे ऽशूदे । < । २ । <३ ॥

अशूद्रविषये प्रत्यभिवादे यद्वाक्यं तस्य टेः प्लुतः स्यात् स चोदात्तः । अभिवाद्ये देवदत्तोऽहम् । भो आयुष्मानधि देवदत्तः ॥ स्त्रियां न ॥ अभिवाद्ये गार्ग्यहम् । भो आयुष्मती भव गार्गी ॥ नाम गात्रं वा यत्र प्रत्यभिवादवाक्यान्ते प्रयुज्यन्ते तत्रैव प्लुत इष्यते । नेह । आयुष्मानधि ॥ भोराजन्यविशां वति वाच्यम् ॥ आयुष्मानधि भोः । आयुष्मानि धीन्द्रवर्म ३न् । आयुष्मानिधीन्द्रपालित ३ ॥

94. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Śūdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word अभिवादन means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2. touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation." The word प्रत्यभिवादन means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udātta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Śūdra.

Thus अभिवाद्ये देवदत्तोऽहम् "I do salute you, I am devadatta". is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says भो आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्तौ ३ ॥ "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived"

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवाद्ये गार्ग्यहम् is said by Gārgī. To this the Guru replies:—भो आयुष्मती भवगार्गी ! ॥

Iṣṭi:—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c. with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence ; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c is different. Therefore not here, देवदत्त कुशल्यसि ; देवदत्त आयुष्मान् एधि, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

Vārt:—The prolotion is optional, when भो follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As भो अभिवाद्ये देवदत्तोऽहम् ॥ Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवाद्ये इन्द्रवर्म्मोह भोः, Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्मन् ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्मन् ॥ Vaishya: अभिवाद्ये इन्द्रपालितोऽहम् भोः ॥ Guru: आयुष्मानधि इन्द्रपालित ३ or आयुष्मानधि इन्द्रपालित ! ॥

९५ । दूराद्धूते च । ८ । २ । ८४ ॥

दूरासंबोधने यद्वाक्यं तस्य टेः प्लुतः स्यात् । सकृन्पिब देवदत्त ३ ॥

95. The final vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and acute, when used in calling a person from a distance.

The word **हूत** here includes, 'addressing in general', and not only 'calling'. Thus there is prolation here **सक्तून् पिव देवदत्ता ३** O devadatta! drink the gruel".

६६ । हैहेप्रयोगे हैहयोः । ८ । २ । ८५ ॥

एतयोः प्रयोगे दूराद्धूतं यद्वाक्यं तत्र हैहयोरेव प्लुतः स्यात् । हे ३ राम । राम हे ३ ॥

96. When the words **है** and **हे** are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the **है** and **हे** alone get the pluta and the accent.

As **हे ३ राम**, or **राम है ३ ॥**

९७ । गुरोरनुतो नन्त्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम् । ८ । २ । ८६ ॥

दूराद्धूतं यद्वाक्यं तस्य ऋद्धिर्नस्यान्नस्यानन्त्यस्यापि गुरोर्वा प्लुतः स्यात् । हे ३ वदत्त । देवद ३ त । देवदत्त ३ । गुराः किम् । वकारान्तरस्याकारस्य मा भूत । अनुतः किम् । कृष्ण ३ । एकैकग्रहणं पर्यायार्थम् । इह प्राचामिति यागा विभज्यते । तत्र सर्वः प्लुतो विकल्प्यते ॥

97. In the room of a prosodially long vowel, (with the exception of **ऋ**) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (of two previous Sûtras,) in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sūtra indicates a special sthānin for the pluta vowel taught by the two previous Sûtras. With the exception of **ऋ**, for every heavy vowel though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is pluta substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus **दे^३वदत्त** or **देव^३दत्त** or **देवदत्त^३ ३ ॥**

Why do we say **गुरोः** "of a prosodially long vowel"? So that the **अ** of **व** in Devadatta may not be prolated, for this **अ** is short.

Why do we say **अनुतः** "with the exception of **ऋ**"? Observe **कृष्ण ३ ॥**

The word **एकैकस्य** shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time ; not **दे^३वदत्त^३ ३ ॥**

The word **प्राचाम्** "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians" is used for the sake of creating option. So in one alternative, there is no prolation *at all*.

९८ । अप्लुतवदुपस्थिते । ६ । १ । १२६ ॥

उपस्थितोऽनार्थ इतिशब्दस्तस्मिन्परे प्लुतोऽप्लुतवद्भवति । अप्लुतकार्यं यणादिकं करोतीत्यर्थः । सुश्लोक ३ इति । सुश्लोकेति । वक्तुम् । अप्लुत इत्युक्तेऽप्लुत एव विधीयेत प्लुतश्च निषिध्यत । तथा च प्रगृह्याश्रये प्रकृतिभावे प्लुतस्य श्रवणं न स्यात् । अग्री ३ इति ॥

98. Before the word इति in the Padapâṭha, a Pluta vowel is treated like an ordinary apluta vowel.

The word उपस्थित means the affixing of इति in non-Rishi texts ; i. e. when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and इति is added. That is in Padapâṭha, the pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रकृतिभाव (VI. 1. 125), there is sandhi. Thus सुश्लोकाश्च इति = सुश्लोकेति ॥ Why have we used the word वत् “like as” ; instead of saying “the Pluta becomes Apluta” why do we say “Pluta is treated like apluta” ? By not using वत्, the whole Pluta itself would be changed into Apluta, and would give rise to the following incongruity. There is prakṛti bhāva in the case of pluta and prāgrihya. A vowel which is pluta need not be prāgrihya, nor a prāgrihya, a pluta. But where a vowel is both a pluta and a prāgrihya at one and the sametime, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्री, the इ is prāgrihya. It may be made pluta also as अग्री ३ ॥ Now if before इति the pluta *became* apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्री इति formed by अग्री ३ + इति ॥ For here the vowels will retain their form by being prāgrihya by VI. 1. 125, S. 90, and in addition to that they will lose their pluta, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the pluta is heard in अग्री ३ इति ॥

९९ । ईश् चाक्रवर्मणस्य । ६ । १ । १३० ॥

ईश् प्लुतोऽचि परेऽप्लुतवद्वा स्यात् । चिनुहि ३ इति । चिनुहीति । चिनुहि ३ इदम् । चिनुहीदम् । उभयत्र विभाषेयम् ॥

99. According to the the opinion of Châkravarmanā, the pluta ई ३ followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Thus चिनु हि ३ इति = चिनुहीति ॥ चिनु हीश् इदम् or चिनुहीदम् ॥ The name of Châkravarmanā is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. This option applies to इति rule (VI. 1. 129, S. 98) as well as to words other than इति ॥ In the case of इति it allows sandhi optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sandhi. In the case of words other than इति it ordains prakṛti bhāva optionally, when there would have been always prakṛti bhāva by VI. 1. 125, S. 90. This is a case of उभयत्रविभाषा, prāpta and aprāpta both.

१०० । ईदुन्दुद्विवचनम् प्रगृह्यम् । १ । १ । ११ ॥

ईदुन्दुद्विवचनं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं स्यात् । हरी एतौ । विष्णू इमौ । गङ्गे अमू । पचते इमौ ।
मणीवोष्ट्रस्येति तु इवार्थे वशब्दो वा बोध्यः ॥

100. A dual case affix ending in ई or ऊ or ए is called Pragrihya, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragrihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." This sūtra gives three of these terminations, *viz.*, the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ई (ईत्), ऊ (ऊत्), or ए (एत्) ॥ Thus:—हरी एतौ, विष्णू इमौ; गङ्गे अमू. Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final ई of हरी and the initial इ of इमौ ought to have coalesced into an ई, but it is not so, because हरी is the nominative dual of हरि ॥

Vārti:—The prohibition of मनीव &c., should be stated in treating of the pragrihya nature of ई, ऊ &c. Thus मनी (two gems) + इव = मनीव "like two gems." So also दम्पतीव "like a couple," जम्पतीव "like man and wife," रोदसीव "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vārtika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इव, but the particle व only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

१०१ । अदसो मात्र । १ । १ । १२ ॥

अस्मात्परावीरूतौ प्रगृह्यौ स्तः । अनी ईशाः । रामकृष्णवमू आसाते । मात्किम् । अमुकेऽव ।
असति मादग्रहेण एकाराऽप्यनुवर्तते ॥

101. (The long ई and ऊ) after the म् of the pronoun अदस् are Pragrihya.

In the pronoun अदस्, the dual termination in ई, ऊ or ए will be pragrihya by force of the last sūtra, but the present sūtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस्, all terminations ending in ई, ऊ or ए and preceded by म्, of *whatever number* they may be, will be pragrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions, namely अनी and अमू. The rule may therefore be put in the following words:—"The terminations of अनी and अमू nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun अदस् are pragrihya." As अनी ईशाः । रामकृष्ण । वमू आसाते. There is no example of the word *adas* ending in ए.

Why do we say "after the letter म"? Because in the example अमुके + अन्न = अमुके च, the ए, preceded not by म but by the क of अकच् (V. 3.71, S.

2026) is not pragrihya, which it would have been by the influence of the last sūtra which includes ए as well as ई and ऊ, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

१०२। शे। १। १। १३ ॥

अयं प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । अस्मै इन्द्रावृहस्पती ॥

102. The affix शे, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a pragrihya.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called शे (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561). Thus अस्मैइन्द्रावृहस्पती.

Of this substitute शे, the initial श is indicatory, the real suffix being ए. This final ए is a pragrihya.

१०३। निपात एकाजनाङ् । १। १। १४ ॥

एकोऽजिनपात आङ्वर्जः प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । इ विस्मये । इ इन्द्रः । उ वितर्के । उ उमेशः । अनाङि-
त्युत्तरङिदाकारः प्रगृह्य एव । आ एवं तु मन्यसे । आ एवं किल तत् । डिन्तु न प्रगृह्यः । ईषदुष्णम्
ओष्णम् । ईषदर्थे क्रियायोगे मर्यादासंविधौ च यः । एतमाते डिते विद्यादाक्यस्मरणयोरङित् ॥

103. A particle consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle आङ् is a Pragrihya.

All such particles technically called nipāta which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are pragrihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi. As इ इन्द्र has the sense of wonder. उ उमेश, उ has the sense of a doubtful question.

आङ् which is not a pragrihya, has four significations:—(1) As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, आ + उष्णम् = ओष्णम् (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of “near” “nearto,” and with verbs of “motion,” “taking” &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गम् ‘to go आगम्,’ ‘to come,’ अ + इहि = एहि, (3) as showing the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) “from,” “ever since,” as आजन्मनः “ever since his birth,” (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मर्यादा), “till” “until” as आ + अध्ययनात् = आध्ययनात्, “until the reading begins.” When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a pragrihya, as आ एवं किलासीत् “Ah! such there once was,” आ एवं मन्यसे. “Oh! do you think so.”

१०४। ओत् । १। १। १५ ॥

ओदन्तो निपातः प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । अहो ईशाः ॥

104. The final ओ of a particle is a pragrihya.

As अहोईशाः ॥

१०५। सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्थे । १ । १ । १६ ॥

संबुद्धिनिमित्तक ओकारो वा प्रगृह्योऽवैदिके इतौ परे । विष्णो इति । विष्ण इति । विष्णविति । अनार्थ इति किम् । ब्रह्मबन्धवित्यब्रवीत् ॥

105. The final ओ of the vocative singular before the word इति according to Śākalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragrihya.

This sūtra gives the opinion of the Rishi Śākalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus the forms above given are correct.

In āśha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता या ब्रह्मबन्धवित्यब्रवीत् ॥

१०६। उजः । १ । १ । १७ ॥

उज इतौ वा प्रायुक्तम् उ इति विति ॥

106. The particle उज् before *iti*, according to Śākalya is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of the single word उज् meaning उ ॥ This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or विति ॥

१०७। ऊँ । १ । १ । १८ ॥

उज इतौ द्विषोऽनुनासिकः प्रगृह्यश्च ऊँ इत्ययमादेशो वा स्यात् । ऊँ इति ॥

107. The particle ऊँ replaces उज् in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrihya in the opinion of Śākalya.

Before the word इति the word उज् is replaced sometimes by ऊँ the long nasal *ū*. ऊँ + इति = ऊँ इति or विति ॥

१०८। मय उओ वो वा । ८ । ३ । ३३ ॥

मयः परस्य उओ वो वा स्यादचि । किमु उक्तम् । किमुक्तम् । वस्यासिद्धत्वात्प्रानुस्वारः ॥

108. व् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, ह and ज), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus kimuuktam or kimvuktam. The उ is a Pragrihya and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains व् optionally. This व् being considered asiddha, the व् is not changed to anusvāra in the above example.

When this उ is followed by इति, and preceded by a मन् consonant, then by F. I. 17, S 106 it is optionally प्रगृह्य, and it may be replaced by ऊँ ॥ When it is not a prāgrihya, then it is changed to वृ by यणदेश (VI. 1. 77 S 47), or to वृ by the present sūtra. In the case of यणदेश वृ, there is anusvāra by VIII. 3, 23, S 122 as किविति ॥ When it is a Prāgrihya, then it is changed to वृ by the present sūtra as किविति or किमु इति ॥ So also with ऊँ substitute, where the वृ will be nasal : as किम्विति, or ऊँ will remain unchanged, as किम ऊँ इति ॥ Thus we have five forms with इति ॥

१०६ । इदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे । १ । १ । १९ ॥

सप्तम्यर्थे पर्यवसन्नमीदृशन्तं प्रगृह्यं स्यात् । सोमो गौरी अधिश्रितः । मामकी तन् इति । सुपांः सुलुगिति सप्तम्यां लुक् । अर्थग्रहणं किम् । वृत्तावर्थान्तरोपसंक्रमन्ते ना भून् । वाप्यामथो वाप्यथः ॥

109. The finnal ई and ऊ of words giving the sense of the locative case are prāgrihya.

This sūtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sūtra (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes *sup* are often replaced either by सु or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or आ, or आत्, or ओ, or या, or डा, or ड्या, or याच् or आल् takes their place." Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is डि (इ). In forming the L. S. of तन् "body," we have तन् + इ. The इ will be changed into a homogeneous letter with ऊ and we have तन् + ऊ = तन् "in the body," as, अध्यस्यां मामकीतन् (for मामक्यां तन्वां). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तन्वां. Similarly गौरी + इ = गौरी "on the Gauri," as सोमो गौरी अधिश्रितः (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long ई and ऊ are used in the sense of locative, and are prāgrihya.

It is only long ई and ऊ which are prāgrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) दा (आ) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus अग्नि + डि = अग्नि + डा = अग्ना 'in the fire,' as, अग्निः सूर्ये प्रियो अग्ना भवति य इन्द्राय सुतोमो वराशत् (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here अग्ना though in the locative case, its final is not prāgrihya. Therefore अग्ना + इति = अग्नेति ॥

The ई and ऊ must be of the 7th case. Therefore मति + दा (3rd s.) = मति + इ (letter homogeneous with the prior) = मती 'with wisdom'. Here ई is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not prāgrihya. Thus मती + इति = मतीति ॥

The word अर्थ is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound

of वाप्याम् "in the well" and अश्व "horse," the case-affix is elided, and we get वापि+अश्व. Here, no doubt, the word वापि is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long ई of vâpî has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, वाप्यश्वः "the horse near the well." In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final ई or ऊ of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (pūrva-pada); for words like वापि &c., in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case; while words like गौरी, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

११० । अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः । ८ । ४ । ५७ ॥

अप्रगृह्यस्याणोऽवसानेऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् । इधि । इधि । अप्रगृह्यस्व किम् । अग्नी ॥

110. The anunāsika is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Pragrīhya.

अ, इ and ऊ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Pragrīhya. The अण् here is a Pratyāhāra with the first ण् ॥ Thus इधि or इधि,

Why do we say 'which is not a pragrīhya'? Observe अग्नी,

अथ हल्सन्धिप्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER V.

THE SANDHI OF CONSONANTS.

१११ । स्तोः इचुना इचुः । ८ । ४ । ४० ॥

सकारतवर्गयोः शकारचवर्गाभ्यां योगे शकारचवर्गौ स्तः । हरिश्शेते । रामश्चिनोति । सच्चित् ।
शार्ङ्गिञ्जय ॥

111. The letter स and the dental when coming in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to श and palatals respectively.

1st. स in contact with शः as, हरिस् + शेते = हरिश्शेते,

2nd. स in contact with चुः—as, रामस् + चिनोति = रामश्चिनोति,

3rd. तु with शः—अग्निचित् + शेते = अग्निचिच्छेते, so सोमसुच्छेते ॥

4th. तु with चुः—सत् + चित् = सच्चित्.

5th. चकार followed by तकार; as, यज + न (III. 3. 90 S 3268) = यज + ञ् = यज्ञः, याच् + न = याचञ् ॥ In fact the instrumental case इचुना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and चु is enough to induce the change, whether स्तु is followed by इचु, or इचु be followed by स्तु ॥ Other examples of mere contact are :—

5th. (a) स followed by चु is changed into शः as, भृस् + ति = भृश् + श + ति (III. 1. 77, S 2534 VI. 1. 16 S 2412) = भृश्ज + ति = भृश्ज + ति = (VIII. 4. 53 S. 52) = भृज्जति ॥ Similarly मस्ज forms मज्जति, व्रश्ज forms वृज्जति ॥

The next aphorism शात् (VIII. 4. 44 S. 112) which prohibits the change of तु into चु when following the letter श, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10 S 128) does not hold good here.

Had the sūtra been स्तो ओः इचुः i. e. instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

११२ । शात् । ८ । ४ । ४४ ॥

शात्परस्य तवर्गस्य ऋचुत्वं न स्यात् । विभ्रः । प्रभ्रः ॥

112. In the room of तु there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and स्तोः are understood here. This is an exception to

the last rule. Thus विच्छ + न (III. 3. 90. S. 3268) = विश् + न (VI. 4. 19. S. 2561) = विमः ॥ Similarly वमः :

११३ । ष्टुना ष्टुः । ८ । ४ । ४१ ॥

स्तोः ष्टुना योगे ष्टुः स्यात् । रामषष्ठः । रामष्टीकते । पेटा । तटीका । चक्रिण्डौकसे ॥

113. The letters स् and dentals in contact with ष and cerebrals, are changed into ष and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्तोः is to be read into the sūtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स with ष as, रामस् + षष्ठः = रामषष्ठः

(2) स with ष्टु, as, रामस् + ष्टीकते = रामष्टीकते ॥

(3) तु with ष as पेट् + ता = पेटा ॥ ॥

(4) तु with ष्टु, as तत् + टीका = तटीका ॥ चक्रिन् + ष्टौकसे = चक्रिण्डौकसे ॥

११४ । न पदान्ताद्वोरनाम् । ८ । ४ । ४२ ॥

अनामिति लुप्तपृथीकं पदम् । पदान्ताद्वर्गात्परस्यानामः स्तोः ष्टुर्न स्यात् । षट् सन्तः । षट् ते । पदान्तात्किम् । ईद्वे । दोः क्रिम् । सर्पिष्टमम् ॥ * अनामवतिनगरीणामिति वाच्यम् ॥ षण्णाम् । षण्णवतिः । षण्णगर्थः ॥

114. After ष्टु final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (ष्टु), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ॥

Thus षट् + सन्तः = षट् सन्तः ॥ षट् + ते = षट्ते ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईद्व् + ते = ईद्व् + टे = ईद्वे ॥

Why do we say दोः 'after ष्टु'? Observe सर्पिष् + तमस् = सर्पिष्टमम् ॥

Why do we say अनाम् 'except in the case of the affix nām'? Observe षट् + नाम् = षण्णाम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

Vārtika:—It should be stated rather that नवति and नगरी as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, षण्णाम् 'of six', षण्णवतिः ninety-six, षण्णगर्थः six cities'.

११५ । तोः षि । ८ । ४ । ४३ ॥

तवर्गस्य षकारे परे न हुत्वम् । सन्धः ॥

115. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when ष follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. As, सन् + षष्ठः = सन्धः ॥

Here the Sutra झलं जशान्ते (S. 84.) should be read again, by which a soft consonant is substituted for the hard. Thus वाक् + ईशः = वागीशः ; चित् + रूपम् = चिद्रूपम् ॥

११६ । यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा । ८ । ४ । ४५ ॥

यः पदान्तस्याऽनुनासिके परेऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् । एतन्पुरारिः । एतद्भुरारिः । स्थानप्रयत्नाभ्यामन्तरत्ने स्पर्शं चरितार्थो विधिरयं रेफे न प्रवर्तते । चतुर्मुखः । * प्रत्यये भाषार्थो नित्यम् ॥ तन्मात्रम् । चिन्मयम् । कथं तर्हि महोदयाः ककुच्चन्त इति । यवादिगणे दकारनिपातनात् ॥

116. In the room of a यर letter (every consonant except ह्) final in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word पदान्त is understood here. Thus एतत् + भुरारिः = एतन्भुरारिः or एतद्भुरारिः । This rule does not apply to र् as चतुर + मुखः = चतुर्मुखः ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada' ? Observe, वेद् + मि = वोद्मि ॥ Here there is no option. So also क्षुभ्नाति ॥

Vart:—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasalisation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus तत् + मात्रम् = तन्मात्रम्, similary चिन्मयम् ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes मय and मात्र that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal. How do you explain the form ककुच्चन्तः in the sentence महोदयाः ककुच्चन्तः ? Because the द् is used in यवादि class. (For a list of the words belonging to this class, see Gaṇapāṭha VIII. 2. 9).

११७ । तोर्लि । ८ । ४ । ६० ॥

तवर्गस्य लकारे परे परसवर्णः स्यात् । तल्लयः । विद्वल्लिखति । नकारस्याऽनुनासिको लकारः ॥

117. In the room of तु (a dental) when the letter ल follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus तत् + लयः = तल्लयः ; विद्वान् + लिखति = विद्वल्लिखति ॥ Here त has been changed to pure ल, while the dento-nasal त्र is changed to a nasal लँ ॥

११८ । उद्ः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य । ८ । ४ । ६१ ॥

उद्ः परयोः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वसवर्णः स्यात् । अदिः परस्य । उत्थानम् । उत्तम्भनम् । अत्राचोषस्य महाप्राणस्य सस्य तादृश एव थकारः । तस्य झरोझरीति पाक्षिको लोपः । लोपाभावपक्षे तु थकारस्यैव श्रवणं न तु खरि चेति चत्वंम् । चत्वं प्रति थकारस्याऽसिद्धत्वात् ॥

118. After उद्, in the room of the स of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (i. e. a dental is substituted for this स) ॥

As उद् + स्थाता = उद् + थ्याता = उद् + थाता (VIII. 4. 63 S. 120) = उत् + थाता (VIII. 4. 55 S. 121) = उत्थाता, उत्थातुम् उत्थातव्यम् ॥ So also with स्तम्भ, as, उत्तम्भिता, उत्तम्भितुम् &c. (See I. 1. 67 S. 41 and 54. S. 44).

Here the Aghosha (Surd) and Maháprāṇa स् is changed to थ् which is also Aghosha and Maháprāṇa. This then is optionally elided by झरोझरि (S. 71). But in the alternative when there is no lopa, the थ् is heard in pronunciation.

By the rule खरिच (S. 121), the थ् is not changed to चर् letter, because the rule of चर्त्त is not applicable to थ्; for this थ् is considered as non-existent for the purposes of चर् rules.

११६ । झयोहोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ४ । ६२ ॥

झयः परस्य हस्य पूर्वसवर्णो वा स्यात् । घोषवतो नास्वतो महामाणस्य संवृतकण्ठस्य हस्य तादृशो वर्गचतुर्थ एवा देशः । वाग्धरिः । वाग्हरिः ॥

119. In the room of the letter ह्, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyāhāra झय् includes all Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here. The substitute of ह् will be घ् by the rule of nearness of place of utterance, because ह् is a ghosha (sonant); Maháprāṇa (aspirated) and Samvrit (contracted) and so is also घ्. Thus वाक् + हरि = वाग्धरिः or वाग्हरिः ।

१२० । शश्छोऽटि । ८ । ४ । ६३ ॥

पदान्तात् झयः परस्य शस्य छो वा स्यादटि । हस्य ऋचुत्वेन जकारे कृते ॥

120. In the room of श preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter छ् when a vowel or य, व or र follows such श ॥

Though झय् means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes. The words झय् and अन्यतरस्याम् are to be read into the sūtra. Thus तत् + शिव = तद् + शिव (S. 84) = तद् + छिव = तच् + छिव = तज् + छिव. At this stage applies the next Sūtra.

१२१ । खरि च । ८ । ४ । ६५ ॥

खरि परे झलां चरः स्युः । इति जकारस्य चकारः । तच्छिवः । तच्शिवः ॥ छत्वममीति वाच्यम् * ॥ तच्श्लोकेन । तच्छ्लोकेन । अमि किम् । वाक् ऋच्योतति ॥

121. In the room of झल्, there is the substitute चर् when खर् follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words झलां and चरः are supplied from the last sūtra. Therefore ज् is changed to च् and we have the form तच्छिव or तच्चिवः

Vārtika:—It should rather be stated when a letter of अन् pratyāhāra follows. The sūtra only gives अद् letters, the Vārtika adds the letters ल, and the nasals. Thus तत् + श्लोकेन = तच्छ्लोकेन.

Why do we say when a letter of अन् pratyāhāra follows? Observe वाक् इत्येतत्ति.

१२२। मोऽनुस्वारः । ४। ३। २३ ॥

मान्तस्य पदस्यानुस्वारः स्याद्भलि । अलोऽन्यस्य । हरि वन्दे । पदस्येति किम् । गम्यते ॥

122. The Anusvāra is substituted for म्, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus हरिवन्दे ॥ The word भलि is understood in this sūtra. The म् must be at the end of a pada which we get from sūtra अलोऽन्यस्य (S. 42); therefore not here; गम्यते.

१२३। नश्चापदान्तस्य झलि । ८। ३। २४ ॥

नस्य मस्य चापदान्तस्य झल्यनुस्वारः स्यात् । यशांसि । आक्रंस्यते । झलि किम् । मन्यते ॥

123. The Anusvāra is substituted for the न् and म्, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus यशांसि, आक्रंस्यते ।

Why do we say 'before a झल् consonant'? See मन्यते.

Note;—Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? observe राजन् पाहि,

१२४। अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः । ८। ४। ५८ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अङ्कितः । अञ्चितः । कुण्ठितः । शान्तः । शुम्भितः । कुर्वन्तीत्यत्र णत्वे प्राप्ते तस्यासिद्ध स्वादनुस्वारे परसवर्णे च कृते तस्यासिद्धत्वाच्च णत्वम् ॥

124. In the room of anusvāra, when यय् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अङ्कितः, अञ्चितः, कुण्ठितः, शान्तः, शुम्भितः These are thus formed:—To the causal *churādi* root अङ्कः (meaning pada and lakshana), we add the participial affix क्त. Thus अङ्क + क्त. The causal sign इ is elided by the sūtra निष्ठायाश्च सेदि (VI. 4. 52. S. 3057). Then by the present rule, we have अङ्कितः. The इ here is the इद् augment. Or it may be from the root अङ्क (meaning lakshana) where the augment तुम् becomes anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. and then this न् becomes ङ्.

अञ्चितः comes from the root अञ्च (meaning pūjā), with the affix क्त. The न् is not elided by VI. 4. 30 S. 424.

कुण्डितः is formed from the root कुडि (meaning pratighâta). The augment नुम् is added to the root before the सेद् participial affix. This न् is changed into ण्

शान्तः is formed from the root शम् (meaning upasâma) with the affix क्त (See VII. 2. 27. S. 3068). The अ of शम् is lengthened by VI. 4. 15. S. 2666. The स् is changed to न् by the present rule.

गुम्फितः is formed from the root गुम्फ् (meaning grantha) with the affix क्त. In कुर्वन्ति, the न् is not changed into ण्, though required by VIII. 4. 2. S. 197. Because the णत्वं is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24. S. 123, the न् is first changed into anusvâra (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12). That anusvâra is again changed into ण् by the present rule, न् being homogeneous with त् ॥ This change again being असिद्ध as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12), the ण् is never substituted for न् ॥

१२१ । वा पदान्तस्य । ८ । ४ । ५९ ॥

पदान्तस्याऽनुस्वारस्य ययि परे परसवर्णो वा स्यात् । त्वङ्करोषि । त्वं करोषि । सँव्यन्ता । संव्यन्ता । सँवत्सरः । यँलोकम् । यँलोकम् । अत्रानुस्वारस्य पक्षेऽनुनासिका यवलाः ॥

125. In the room of anusvâra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus त्वङ्करोषि or त्वं करोषि; सँव्यन्ता or संव्यन्ता; सँवत्सरः or संवत्सरः; यँलोकम् or यं लोकम्.

Here the anusvâra has become nasal य् व् ण् in the other alternative.

१२६ । मो राजि समः कौ । ८ । ३ । २५ ॥

क्विवन्ते राजतौ परे समो मस्य न एव स्यात् । सम्राट् ॥

126. म् is substituted for the म् of सम्, before the word राज् ending with the affix क्तिप् ॥

Thus सम्राट् ॥ The substitution of न् for म् is for the sake of preventing the anusvâra change (VII. 1. 40. S. 3562.). Why do we say 'before राज्'? See संयत् (VI. 4. 40. S. 2986. Vart.). Why do we say 'of सम्'? Observe किं राट् (V. 4. 70 S. 955). Why do we say 'ending with क्विप्'? Observe संराजितम्, संराजितव्यम् ॥

The क्विप् is added by III. 2. 61 S. 2975 the ज् is changed to ण् by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. which is changed to ह् at the end of a word, in सम्राट् ॥ साम्राज्यम् is formed by व्यञ्ज affix, as it belongs to Brâhmanâdi class.

१२७ । हे मपरे वा । ८ । ३ । २६ ॥

मपरे हकारे परे मस्य न एव स्याद्वा । ह्यल ह्यल चलेने । किम् ह्यलयति । किं ह्यलयति ॥ यवलापरे यवला वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥

127. **म्** is optionally substituted for **स्** before that **ह** which itself is followed by a **म** ॥

The **म्** may be changed to anusvāra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with **ह** ॥ Thus **कि** or **किम्** **ह्वलयति**, 'what does he cause to shake' ?

Vart :—Before **ह्य**, **ह्**, and **हु**, the preceding **म्** may be changed to **य**, **व** or **ल** respectively.

Now, by this *Vartika*, three letters **य**, **व**, **ल**, are ordained in the room of **य**, **व**, **ल**. But the rule does not say which letter is to be substituted for which letter. To remove this doubt the following interpretation sūtra should be remembered :—

१२८ । यथा संख्यमनुदेशः समानाम् । १ । ३ । १७ ॥

समसंबन्धी विधिर्यथासंख्यं स्यात् । किँयः किँयः । किँव ह्वलयति । किँल ह्वलयति । किँल ह्वलयति । किँल ह्वलयति ।

128. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Therefore as under the former rule, the letters to be substituted are three in number and the substitutes are also three in number, therefore applying the present rule, **य** would be replaced by **य**; **व** by **व** and **ल** by **ल**. Thus we have **किँय ह्यः** or **कि ह्यः**; **किँव ह्वलयति** or **कि ह्वलयति**; **किँल ह्वलयति** or **कि ह्वलयति**.

१२९ । नपरे नः । ८ । ३ । २७ ॥

नपरे हकारे मस्य नः स्याद्वा । किँरुते । किँरुते ॥

129. **न्** is optionally substituted for **म्**, when it is followed by **ह** which has a **न्** after it.

म् becomes **न्** before a word beginning with **ह**; as **किँरु ह्वते** or **किँरु ह्वते**.

१३० । ङ्गोः कुक् टुक् शरि । ८ । ३ । २८ ॥

ङकारणकारयोः कुक् टुक्वागमौ वा स्तः शरि । कुक् टुक्कोरसिद्धत्वाज्जदत्वं न ॥ चयो द्वितीयाः शरि पौस्करसगिरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ प्राङ्क्षपः प्राङ्क्षपः । प्राङ्क्षपः । सुगण्दपः सुगण्दपः । सुगण्दपः ॥

130. The augment **क्** is added to a final **ङ्**, and the augment **ट्** to a final **ण्**, before a sibilant, optionally.

The **कुक्** and **टुक्** augments being considered as asiddha, there is no **जश्च** change, i. e. soft letters are not substituted for the hard. Before giving

the examples of this sutra, the following *Vārtika* must be applied, in order to get the proper forms.

Vārtika :—According to the option of Achārya Paushkarasādi, the letters of च्च pratyāhāra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of श्च pratyāhāra).

Thus प्राङ्खण्डः or प्राङ्खण्डः ; सुगण्डण्डः or सुगण्डण्डः or सुगण्डण्डः

१३१ । डः सि धुद् । ८ । ३ । २६ ॥

डात्परस्य सस्य धुद्वा स्यात् । षट्सन्तः । षट्सन्तः ॥

131. After a word ending in ड् there may optionally be added the augment ध् to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus षट्सन्तः or षट्सन्त-

The word डः is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of ड्, because of the maxim उभयनिर्देशे षट्सन्तनिर्देशो बलीयान् ॥

१३२ । नश्च । ८ । ३ । ३० ॥

नकारान्तात्सस्य धुद्वा । सन्तः or सन्तः ॥

132. After a word ending in न्, धुद् is optionally the augment to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus सन्तः or सन्तः ॥

१३३ । शि तुक् । ८ । ३ । ३१ ॥

नस्य पदान्तस्य शो परे तुग्वा स्यात् । शङ्खोऽटीति छत्वविकल्पः । पक्षे झरोझरीति चलोपः । सञ्छंभुः । सञ्छंभुः । सञ्छंभुः । सञ्छंभुः । मञ्छौ मचञ्छा मचञ्छा मचञ्छाविति चतुष्टयम् रूपाणां निह तुक्छत्वचलोपानां विकल्पनात् ॥

133. The augment न् may optionally be added to a word ending in न्, when a word beginning with श follows.

By rule VIII. 4. 63. S. 120. there is an optional छ. By the rule झरोझरीति VIII. 4. 65. S. 71. there is elision of the छ in the other alternative. Thus सञ्छंभुः or सञ्छंभुः or सञ्छंभुः or सञ्छंभुः

१३४ । डमो ह्रस्वादचि डमुणित्यम् । ८ । ३ । ३२ ॥

ह्रस्वात्परो यो डम् तन्तं यत्पदं तस्मात्परस्थाचो नित्यं डमुडागमः स्यात् । प्रत्यङ्ङास्मा सुगण्णीशः । सन्नच्युतः ॥

134. After a word ending in ड्, ण् or न् which is preceded by a light vowel, the same consonant ड्, ण् or न् is added invariably at the beginning of the next word, which commences with a vowel.

The word **ङम्** is in the Ablative singular here ; and **ह्रस्वात्** qualifies **ङम्** ; and **ङम्** itself qualifies the word **पदस्य** understood, and thus there is tadanta-viddhi. Though the word **पदस्य** (VIII. 1. 16 S. 40) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with **ङम्** ॥ **अचि** is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here : it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sūtras. **ङम्** is a pratyāhāra meaning **ङ**, **ण** and **न** ; and so also **ङमुद्** is a pratyāhāra containing the three augments **ङुद्**, **णुद्** and **नुद्** ॥

In other words **ङ्** is augment after **ङ्**, **ण** after **ण** and **न** after **न** ; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus **ङुद्** is the augment after a word ending in **ङ**, as **प्रत्यङ्ङात्मा** ॥ **णुद्** is the augment after a word ending in **ण**, as **सुगण्णीशः** ॥ **नुद्** is the augment after a word ending in **न**, as **सन्नच्युतः**

१३५। समः सुटि। <। ३। ५ ॥

समो रुः स्यात् सुटि। अलोऽन्त्यस्य ॥

135. **रु** is substituted for the **म** of **सम्** (and thereby **अँ** or **अं** is substituted for **अ**) when the augment **स** follows, in a samhitā.

१३६। अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा। <। ३। २ ॥

अत्र रुप्रकारेण रोः पूर्वस्याऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् ॥

136. In the following sūtras upto VIII, 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—"But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which **रु** has been ordained."

This is an adhikāra sūtra. For the letter which stands before that letter for which **रु** has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where **रु** is the subject of discussion.

Thus sūtra VIII. 3. 5, S. 135 says "In the place of the final of **सम्**, there is **रु** when **सुद्** augment follows." The vowel **अ** of **सम्** becomes nasal; as **सैक्कर्त्तुम्**, **सैक्कर्त्तव्यम्** ॥

१३७। अनुनासिकात्परोऽनुस्वारः। <। ३। ४ ॥

अनुनासिकं विहाय रोः पूर्वस्यात्परोऽनुस्वारागमः स्यात्। खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः ॥

137. After what precedes **रु**, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then anusvāra shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is optional by VIII. 3. 2. S. 136. When nasal is not substituted, we add an anusvāra to such vowel. The word **अन्य** should be

read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकात् अन्यो यो वर्णः “ a letter other than a nasal ”, i. e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before रु ॥

Thus VIII. 3. 5. S. 135 teaches रु substitution of the ऋ of सम् an anusvāra would be added. As संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

Some say “ the word परः in the sūtra means अन्यः, and so we need not supply the word अन्यः from outside”. They say अनुनासिकात् परः = अनुनासिकादन्यः ; i. e. the anusvāra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvāra is an *augment* and not a *substitute*. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes रु ॥

By the rule खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः the रु is changed into Visarga and by the next rule this Visarga is changed into स्.

१३८ । विसर्जनीयस्य सः । ८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

खरि विसर्जनीयस्य सः स्यात् । एतदपवादो वा शरीति पाक्षिके विसर्गे प्राप्ति ॥ संपुक्तानां लो वक्तव्यः *॥ संस्कर्त्ता ॥ संस्कर्त्ता ॥ सतो वा लोपमेके इति भाष्यम् *॥ लोपस्यापि रूपकरणस्यत्वादनुस्वारानुनासिकाभ्यामेकसकारं रूपद्वयम् । द्विसकारं नूक्तमेव । तत्रानचि चेति सकारस्य द्वित्वपक्षे त्रिसकारमपि रूपद्वयम् । अनुस्वारविसर्गाजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीययमानामकारोपरि शर्षु च पाठस्योपसंख्यानत्वेनानुस्वारस्याप्य-
त्त्वात् । अनुनासिकवतां वयाणां शरः खय इति कद्वित्वे षट् । अनुस्वारवतामनुस्वारस्यापि द्वित्वे द्वादश । एषामष्टादशानां तकारस्य द्वित्वे वचनान्तरेण पुनर्द्वित्वे च एकलं द्वितं त्रितमिति चतुष्पञ्चाशत् । अणोऽनुनासिकत्वे षट्चतस्रशतम् ॥

138. स् is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

The word खरि is understood here. There is Visarga also by the rule वाशरि VIII. 3. 36. S. 151. Then we have the following Vārtika which ordains स् always, and never visarga.

Vārt:—For the finals of सम्, पुम् and कान् there is always substituted स्. Thus applying the previous four rules we have सम् + कर्ता = सम् + सुट् + कर्ता (VI. 1 137 S. 2550) = स् + रु + सुट् + कर्ता (VIII. 3. 2. S. 136) = संस्कर्त्ता or संस्कर्त्ता ॥

According to Mahābhāṣya, there is elision of स् after सम्

Thus there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कर्त्ता ॥ Thus संस्कर्त्ता and संस्कर्त्ता with the elision of स् ॥ Then with two स्, as संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्ता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 S. 48 to this latter, and have three स्, as संस्कर्त्ता, or संस्कर्त्ता ॥ The anusvāra is considered to be a vowel (अच्) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्ता and संस्कर्त्ता, we get three more by doubling the क् by the vārtika शरः खयः ॥ The three forms having anusvāra, will also double their anusvāra in addition to क् doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvāra : and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the त् will be doubled and trebled: and thus with one त्, two त् and three त्, we have $3 \times 18 = 54$ forms. This will be doubled ($2 \times 54 = 108$) when अण् is nasalised.

१३६। पुमः खय्यम्परे । ८ । ३ । ६ ॥

अम्परे खयि पुम्भाब्दस्य रुः स्यात् । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षेऽप्रत्ययस्येति षत्वपर्युदासात् × क × पयोः प्राप्ते । अन्व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे तु षत्वप्राप्ते । संप्रकानामिति सः । पुँस्कोकिलः । पुँस्कोकिलः । पुँस्पुनः । पुँस्पुनः । अम्परे किम् । पुँक्षीरम् । खयि किम् । पुँराशः । खयात्रादेशो न पुँख्यानम् ॥

139. रु is substituted for the र् of पुम्, (whereby the उ is changed to ऊँ or उँ) before a surd mute (खय्) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyâhâra).

The word पुँस् is formed by the Unâdi affix डुम्सुन् added to the root पुम् ॥ There are two views of Unâdi formed words—one considers them as *derivative* words, the other regards them as *non-derivative* or रुढि words. If the word पुँस् be taken as a derivative word (vyutpatti paksha) then the exception “apratyaye” of the sūtra VII. 3. 41. S. 155 would apply, and र् would not be changed to ष by VIII. 3. 41. S. 155. To prevent both these incongruities, the Vārtika संप्रकानामिति सः (see the preceding sūtra) always ordains स् and never रु ॥ Thus पुम् + कोकिलः = पुर् + कोकिलः = पुष् or पु × क + कोकिलः (VIII. 3. 41. S. 155) = पुँस्कोकिलः or पुँस्कोकिलः (VIII. 3. 2 & 4 S. 135 & 136). Similarly पुँस्पुनः or पुँस्पुनः

Why do we say ‘before a surd mute’? Observe पुँराशः, पुँरावः (V. 4 92. S. 729) Why do we say ‘followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal’? Observe पुँक्षीरः, पुँक्षुरः ॥

Vārtika :—Not so when चक्ष् follows पुम्, in those cases where खयात्र is substituted for चक्ष् (II. 4. 54 S. 2476). As पुँख्यानम् ॥ ख्यान is formed by adding ल्युट् to चक्ष् (III. 3. 115 S. 3290).

१४०। नश्छव्यप्रशान् । ८ । ३ । ७ ॥

अम्परे छवि नकारान्तस्य पदस्य रुः स्यात् न तु प्रशान्भाब्दस्य । विसर्गः । सत्वम् । २चुत्वम् । शाङ्गिञ्छिन्धि । शाङ्गिञ्छिन्धि । चकिञ्छायस्व । चकिञ्छायस्व । पदस्य किम् । हन्ति । अम्परे किम् । सन्त्सरुः खङ्गमुष्टिः । अप्रशान् किम् । प्रशान्तनोति ॥

140. रु is substituted for the final र् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छव् letter (छ, ढ, ध, च, ढ, त), which is followed by an अम् letter (vowel, semi-vowel and nasal).

The word अम्परे is to be read into this sūtra. The word अप्रशान् in the sūtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive. शाङ्गिञ् + छिन्धि = शाङ्गिर् + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 7. S. 140) = शाङ्गिः + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 15 S. 76) = शाङ्गिस् + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 34 S. 138) = शाङ्गिश् + छिन्धिः (III. 4. 40 S. 3361) = शाङ्गिश्छिन्धि or शाङ्गिश्छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 2-4 S. 136, S. 137). Similarly चकिञ्छायस्व or चकिञ्छायस्व ॥

Why do we say of a Pada? Observe हन्ति ॥ Here the न् of हन् is not changed to रु before ति, because it is not final in a pada. Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्'? Observe प्रशान् तनोति. प्रशान् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when अम follows छत्'? See भवान् स्वरुक् ॥ स्वरु is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called स्वरुक्: (कन् V. 2. 64 S. 1864).

१४१। नृन्पे। ८। ३। १० ॥

नृनिव्यस्य रुः स्याद्वा पकारे परे ॥

141. रु is optionally substituted for the न् of नृन् before ए ॥

Thus नृन् + पाहि = नृँ + पाहि = नृँ : + पाहि (VIII. 3. 15, 8. 76). At this stage applies the following sūtra.

१४२। कुप्वोः × क × पौ च। ८। ३। ३७ ॥

कवर्गे पवर्गे च परे विसर्जनीयस्य क्रमाञ्जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयौ स्तः । चाहिसर्गः । येन नाप्राप्त इतिन्यायेन विसर्जनीयस्य स इत्यस्यापवादोऽयम् । न तु शपरे विसर्जनीय इत्यस्य । तेन वासः क्षौममित्यादौ विसर्ग एव । नृँ × पाहि । नृं × पाहि । नृँः पाहि । नृंः पाहि । नृन्पाहि ॥

142. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

The word च 'and' in the sūtra indicates that the visarga also comes. By the maxim येन न प्राप्त &c. this sūtra debar the sūtra VIII. 3. 34 S. 138 which ordains स् for the visarga. But it does not debar VIII. 3. 35. S. 150. Therefore we have the visarga in वासः क्षौमम् &c.

Thus we get नृँ × पाहि or नृं × पाहि or नृँः पाहि or नृंः पाहि or नृन्पाहि ॥

१४३। कानाम्नेडिते। ८। ३। १२ ॥

कान्नकारस्य रुः स्यादाम्नेडिते परे संपुंकानामिति सः यद्वा ॥

143. रु is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an âmredita.

Here by the vārtika, under S. 138, the रु is changed to स् ॥ Or the next sūtra applies:—

१४४। कस्कादिषु च। ८। ३। ४८ ॥

एविवण उत्तरस्य विसर्गस्य षः स्यादन्यत्र तु सः । × क × पयोःपवादः । इति सः । काँस्कान् । काँस्कान् । कस्कः । कौतस्कुतः । सर्पिष्कुण्डिका । धनुष्कपालम् । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

144. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest.

This is an Apavāda to Sūtra VIII. 3. 37 S. 142. ष् is substituted after ह् or उ, and स् everywhere else. Thus कस्कः, 2, कौतस्कुनः (with अण् of कुत भागतः). 3. भ्रातुष्पुत्रः (VI. 3. 23 S. 981) 4. ह्युनस्कर्णः (VI. 3. 21 S. 979) 5. सद्यस्कालः ; 6. सद्यस्त्री (from क्री 'to buy' with the affix क्त्रिप्, because it belongs to Sampadādi class.) 7. साद्यस्कः (from सद्यस्त्री in the sense of तत्रभवः क्रतुः). 8. कांस्कान् (the ह् is by VIII. 3. 12 S. 143). 9. सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, 10. चतुष्कपालम्, 11. धनुष्कपालम् 12. बर्हिष्पूलम् 13. यशुष्पात्रम् ॥ No complete list of this class is given anywhere. It is an, ākṛitigaṇa

Thus कांस्कान् or काँस्कान् ॥

१४५। संहितायाम् । ६ । १ । ७२ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

145. In the sūtras of Pānini beginning with this up-to VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the words संहितायाम् 'in an unbroken flow of speech,' should be supplied.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra, exerting its influence upto VI. 1. 158. Whatever we shall say in the sūtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहिता, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice.

१४६। छे च । ६ । १ । ७३ ॥

ह्रस्वस्य छे परे तुगागमः स्यात्संहितायाम् । इचुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाज्जश्वेन हः । तत्तत्त्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्पूर्वे इचुत्वेन जः । तस्य चत्वेन चः । इचुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चोः कुरिति कुत्वं न । स्वच्छाया । शिवच्छाया ॥

146. The augment त् is added to a preceding short vowel also when छ follows in an uninterrupted speech.

To a short vowel followed by छ, is added the augment त् in Sanhitā. Here we must remember the rule पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् (VIII. 2. 1 S. 12.) to get the proper form.

Thus स्व+छाया=स्वत्+छाया. Here appear two rules, (1) VIII. 4. 40 S. 111 requiring the त् to be changed to च ; (2) VIII. 2. 39. S. 84 requiring the त् to be changed to इ. By the maxim पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् the च् will be considered as non-effective for the purposes of जइत्व change. Therefore we apply this second rule first and get.

स्वइ+छाया (VIII. 2. 39 S. 84.) Here appear again two rules (1) VIII. 4. 55. S. 121 by which इ required to be changed into a च् letter, and (2) VIII. 4. 40 S. 111 by which इ required to be changed to ज्. The latter takes effect, the former being considered as asidhha, and we get स्वज्+छाया, and then ज् is changed to च — स्वच्+छाया (VIII. 4. 55 S. 121.)

Here appears the rule VIII. 2. 30 S. 378 requiring च् to be changed to क्. But च् was obtained by VIII. 4. 55 a rule *subsequent* to VIII. 2. 30 and therefore it is considered as asiddha, and so च् is not changed to क्॥

Thus we have स्वच्छाया, शिवच्छाया ॥

१४७ । आङ्माङोश्च । ६ । १ । ७४ ॥

एतयोश्छे परे तुक् स्यात् । पशन्ताद्वेति विकल्पापवादः ॥ आच्छादयति । माच्छिदत् ॥

147. The augment त् is added to the particle आ and the prohibitive particle मा, when छ follows in a continuous text.

This sūtra ordains तुक् *necessarily* when by VI. 1. 76 S. 149 it would have been optional. Thus आच्छादयति, माच्छिदत् ॥

१४८ । दीर्घात् । ६ । १ । ७५ ॥

दीर्घाच्छे परे तुक् स्यात् । दीर्घस्यायं तुक् न तु छस्य । सेनासुराच्छायेति ज्ञापकात् । चेच्छिद्यते ॥

148. The augment त्, is added to a long vowel, when followed by छ in a continuous text.

The तुक् is added to the long vowel and not to छ, as we learn from Pānini himself using it in the sūtra विभाषा सेनासुराच्छाया &c. II. 4. 25. S. 828. Had तुक् been added to छ, then छ being changed to च् by VIII. 4. 55, there would have been two च्'s, and not the form च्छ as used by Pānini himself in the above sūtra. Or if by applying the maxim संनिपातलक्षणविधिः (See. S. 204) the छ may not be changed, (because the छ was the occasion for the addition of त् and this त् should not cause the vanishing of this छ,) then also we should have च् after छ as छच and not च्छ ॥ This indicates that तुक् is added to the long vowel.

Thus चेच्छिद्यते ॥

१४९ । पदान्ताद्वा । ६ । १ । ७६ ॥

दीर्घात्पशन्ताच्छे परे तुक्वा स्यात् । लक्ष्मीच्छाया । लक्ष्मीछाया ॥

149. The augment त्, is added optionally to a long vowel final in a full word (Pada) when followed by छ ॥

Thus लक्ष्मी च्छाया or लक्ष्मी छाया ॥

अथ विसर्गसंधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER VI.

THE VISARGA SANDHI.

१४९ । विसर्जनीयस्य स्ः । ८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

विष्णुस्त्राता ॥

149 A. स् is the the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

This sūtrā has already been taught before. It is repeated here for the sake of the visarga Sandhi. Thus विष्णुस् + त्राता = विष्णुर् + त्राता = विष्णुः + त्राता = विष्णुस् + त्राता = विष्णुस्त्राता ॥

First, the स् of the affix सु of the nominative singular is changed to ह् by VIII. 2. 66. S. 162; and then this ह् is changed to Visarga by VIII. 3. 15 S. 76 and then this Visarga is changed to स् by the present rule. This स् is not again changed to ह् because with regard to ह् this visarga-born स् is considered as *asiddha*

१५० । शर्परे विसर्जनीयः । ८ । ३ । ३५ ॥

शर्परे खरि विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयो न त्वन्यत् । कः स्वरुः । घनाघनः क्षोभणः । इह यथायथं सत्त्वं जिह्वामूलीयश्च न ॥

150. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर्) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्) ॥

The word शर्परे is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning that which is followed by शर् । In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged. Thus कः स्वरुः, घनाघनः क्षोभणः ॥

Though the sūtra could have been shortened by saying शर्परे नः, yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jihvāmūliya and upadh-māniya changes also do not take place, in cases like अङ्गिः प्लातम्, वासः क्षौमम् ॥

१५१ । वा शरि । ८ । ३ । ३६ ॥

शरि परे विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीय एव वा स्यात् । हरिः शेते । हरिश्शेते । खर्परे शरि वा विसर्गलोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ रामस्थाता । हरिस्फुरति । पक्षे विसर्गे सत्त्वे च वैरूप्यम् ॥

151. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As हरिः शेते or हरिश्शेते,

Vart:—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As राम स्याता or रामः स्याता हरिस्फुरति or हरिः स्फुरति ॥

In the other alternative there will be Visarga or the सू change. Thus we get three forms रामस्याता or रामः स्याता or रामस्स्याता.

कुप्योः × क × पौ च । ८ । ३ । ३७ ॥

क × करोति । कः करोति । क × खनति । कः खनति । क × पचति । कः पचति । क × फलति । कः फलति ॥

151 A. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial. This sūtra has already been taught before (S. 142.)

Thus कः + करोति or क × करोति ॥ The क and प in × क and × प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvāmūliya and the Upadhmanīya: two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

The rule VIII. 3. 34, S. 138 does not apply, because this sūtra is an apvāda to that. But VIII. 3. 35, S. 150 will not be debarred. As वासः क्षौमम् आङ्गिःप्सातम् ॥ There is no vipratishedha between VIII. 3. 35, and 37, In fact, because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other, (VIII. 2. 1). every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the *existence* of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3 37.

To get this, some divide this sūtra into two:—(1) कुप्योः “The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant.” (2) × क × पौ च “The jhivāmūliya and upadhmanīya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case.”

१५२ । सोऽपदादौ । ८ । ३ । ३८ ॥

विसर्जनीयस्य सः स्यादपदादौः कुप्योः परयोः ॥ पाशकल्पककाम्येऽपि वाच्यम् * ॥ पयस्पाशम् यशस्कल्पम् । यशस्कम् । यशस्काम्यति ॥ अनव्ययस्येति वाच्यम् * ॥ प्रातः कल्पम् ॥ काम्ये रोरेवेति वाच्यम् * ॥ नेह । गीः काम्यति ॥

152. स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपदादौ means “when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a word,” in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix.

Vart:—This is possible only before the affixes पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य
Thus पयस्पाशम् (V. 3. 47 S. 1993); पयस्कल्पम्, यशस्कल्पम्, (V. 3. 67 S. 2022);
(V. 3. 70 S. 2025); यशस्कम्, यशस्काम्यति (III. 1. 9 S. 2663).

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an
Indeclinable: as, यातः कल्पम् ॥

Vart:—The visarga which comes from रु is only changed to स before
काम्य, and not any other visarga. As पयस्काम्यति, and यशस्काम्यति; but not here,
गीःकाम्यति ॥

१५३ । इणः षः । ८ । ३ । ३९ ॥

इणः परस्य विसर्गस्य षकारः स्यात्पूर्वविषये । सर्पिष्पाशम् । सर्पिष्कल्पम् । सर्पिष्कम् ।
सर्पिष्काम्यति ॥

153. ष is the substitute of that visarga, which is
preceded by इ or उ and is followed by an affix beginning with
a hard guttural or a labial, under the circumstances mention-
ed in the preceding sūtra.

Thus सर्पिष्पाशम्; सर्पिष्कल्पम्; सर्पिष्कम् सर्पिष्काम्यति ॥

१५४ । नमस्पुरसोर्गयोः । ८ । ३ । ४० ॥

गतिसंज्ञयोरनयोर्विसर्गस्य सः कुन्वाः परयोः । नमस्करोति । साक्षात्प्रभृतिस्वात् कृत्रो योगे
विभाषा गतिसंज्ञा । तदभावे नमः करोति । पुरोऽन्त्यमिति नित्यं गतिसंज्ञा । पुरस्करोति । अगतित्वात्नेह
पूः पुरौ पुरः प्रवेष्टव्याः ॥

154. For the visarga of नमस् and पुरस् there is substi-
tuted स् before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words
are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74 S. 768 and 775).

Thus नमस्करोति ॥

The word नमस् is optionally a Gati word when it is combined with
the verb कृ, because it belongs to the class of साक्षात् &c. (see Ganapātha
under I. 4. 74). When it is not a Gati word, then we have नमः करोति ॥ पुरस्
is always a Gati when it is Indeclinable (I. 467. S. 768). Thus पुरस्करोति ॥ But
when it is not a Gati word then पूः प्रवेष्टव्याः where पुर is a noun and is declined
as पूः (N. S), पुरौ (N. D), पुरः (N. Pl).

१५५ । इदुदुपधस्य चाऽप्रत्ययस्य । ८ । ३ । ४१ ॥

इकारोकारोपधस्याप्रत्ययस्य विसर्गस्य षः स्यात्कुन्वाः । निष्प्रस्यूहम् । आविष्कृतम् । दुष्कृतम् ।
अप्रत्ययस्य किम् । अग्निः करोति । वायुः करोति । एकादेशशास्त्रनिमित्तकस्य न षत्वम् । कस्कादिषु
भ्रातृषुवचब्दस्य पाठात् । तेनेह न । मातुः कृपा ॥ सुहुसः प्रतिषेधः * ॥ सुहुः कामा ॥

155. ष is substituted, before a hard guttural or a

labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर्, दुर, बहिर, आविस्, चतुर् and प्रादुस् ॥

Thus निष्प्रत्यूहम् आवि ष्कृतम्, दुष्कृतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe आन्ति-
करोति, वायुः करोति ॥ How do you explain नातुः कृपा? For here in नातुः &c., the
स् of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, S. 280. and the र् of नातुर् is changed to
visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to ष ॥

Ans.—The inclusion of the word भ्रातृष्पुत्रः in Kaskādi class (VIII.
3. 48. S. 144). indicates by implication, that ष change does not take place of
this visarga in पितुः, मातुः &c : the only exception being भ्रातुः ॥ The reason of
this is that the visarga here does not follow a simple उ, but an ekādeśa उ
obtained by कृ + अ = उ (VI. 1. 111 S. 279.)

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of सुहृस् ; as सुहृस्काना
or सुहृः काना ॥

१५६ । तिरसोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ३ । ४२

तिरसः सो वा स्यात् कुप्वोः । तिरस्कृता । तिरःकर्ता ॥

156. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally
changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कृता, or तिरः कर्ता ॥

१५७ । द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरिति कृत्वोर्थे । ८ । ३ । ४३ ॥

कृत्वोर्थे वर्तमानानामेषां विसर्गस्य षकारो वा स्यात् कुप्वोः । द्विष्करोति । द्विः करोतीत्यादि ।
कृत्वोर्थे किम् । चतुष्कपालः ॥

157. ष् is optionally the substitute of the visargas of
द्विस्, त्रिस् and चतुर् when they are used as Numeral adverbs,
(before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix सुच् (ष) is added to the three words dvi, tri and chatur in
the sense of kṛtvasuch by V. 4. 18. S. 2086.

As द्विः करोति or द्विष्करोति ॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of kṛtvasuch or Numeral
adverbs'? Observe चतुष्कपालः where ष् is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. S. 155.

१५८ । इसुसोः सामर्थ्ये ॥ ८ । ३ । ४४ ॥

एतयोर्विसर्गस्य षः स्याद्वा कुप्वोः । सर्पिष्करोति सर्पिः करोति । धनुष्करोति । धनुः करोति ।
सामर्थ्यमिह व्यपेक्षा । सामर्थ्ये किम् । तिष्ठतु सर्पिः, पिब त्वधुक्कम् ॥

158. For the visarga of words ending in इस् and उस्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted ष, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The ष is understood here. Thus सर्षिष्करोति or सर्षिः करोति, धनुः करोति or धनुष्करोति ॥

Why do we say 'when the two words are correlated'? Observe तिष्ठतु सर्षिः, पिव त्वष्टकम् where सर्षिः is not in construction with पिव, but with तिष्ठतु ॥

The word सामर्थ्ये here means व्यपेक्षा or mutual relation of two words ; and not "having the same meaning," or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्ये is equivalent to आकाङ्क्षा i. e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean 'compound.' But it being a पदविधि the word समर्थ is understood here (समर्थः पदविधिः II. 1. 1 S. 647.). The employment of the word सामर्थ्ये here indicates that it is a different sāmārthya from that of II. 1. 1. It does not denote एकार्थिभावः or ऐकार्थ्ये which is the sāmārthya of compounds where *two* or *more* words denote *one* object. The sāmārthya here means vyapekshā which is thus defined नानाभूतयोः, पदार्थयो र्यौ शब्दौ वर्त्तते, तयो र्यौ योगः "the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas."

१५९. नित्यं समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य । ८ । ३ । ४५ ॥

इहसोर्विसर्गस्यानुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं षः स्यात् कुण्डोः परयोः । सर्षिष्कुण्डिका । धनुष्कपालम् । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्येति किम् । परमसर्षिःकुण्डिका । कस्कादिषु सर्षिष्कुण्डिकाशब्दोऽसमासे व्यपेक्षाविरहेऽपि षत्वार्थः । व्यपेक्षार्थं नित्यार्थश्च ॥

159. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to ष in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The word इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्षिष्कुण्डिका धनुष्कपालम् ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परमसर्षिः कुण्डिका. The option even of the last sūtra does not apply to these examples.

The inclusion of the word सर्षिष्कुण्डिका in the कस्कादि class (VIII. 3. 48. S. 161 A) indicates that the ष change will take place even when there is no compounding as well as when there is no व्यपेक्षा or co-relation. But when there is व्यपेक्षा the ष change is compulsory.

Q.—The word सर्षिस् is derived from the root सर्प् by adding the Unādi affix हसि (Un II. 109), and धनुस् by the Unādi affix डसि (Un II. 117), therefore

on the maxim प्रत्यग्रहणे &c, the word इसुसोः would denote the mere forms सर्विस् and धनुस् and not forms like परमसर्विस् &c. then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य in the sūtra ?

Ans.—The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthasya in this sūtra, is an indicator (jñāpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इस् and उस्:—प्रत्यग्रहणे यस्मान् स विहित स्तद्वि-स्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् “an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself.” This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्विष्करोति or परमसर्विः करोति by the previous sūtra VIII. 3. 44.

Q.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sūtra ?

Ans.—Because the word सामर्थ्य there means व्यपेक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

१६० । अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्ययस्य । ८ । ३ । ४६ ॥

अकारादुत्तरस्यानव्ययस्य विसर्गस्य समासे नित्यं सकारोदेशः स्यात्करोत्यादिषु परेषु न तूत्तरपद-स्थस्य । अयस्कारः । अयस्कामः । अयस्कंसः । अयस्कुम्भः । अयस्पात्रम् । अयःसहिता कुशा अयस्कुशा । अयस्कणी । अतः किम् । गीःकारः । अनव्ययस्य किम् । स्वःकामः । समासे किम् । यशः करोति । अनुत्तर-पदस्थस्य किम् । परमयशःकारः ॥

160. For the visarga of a word ending in अस्, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स् is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कंस, कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृ—अयस्कारः, (III. 2. 1 S. 2913.) कम्—अयस्कामः, कंस—अयस्कंसः, कुम्भः, अयस्कुम्भः, पात्र—अयस्पात्रम्, कुशा—अयस्कुशा, कर्णी—अयस्कणी ॥

Why do we say अतः “a visarga preceded by short अ or the visarga of the word ending in अः”? See गीःकारः ॥

Why do we say “with the exception of an Indeclinable”? Observe स्वः कामः ॥

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here; यशः करोति ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, परमयशः कारः ॥

१६१ । अधः शिरसी पदे । ८ । ३ । ४७ ॥

एतयोर्विसर्गस्य सादेशः स्यात्पदशब्द परे । अधस्पदम् । शिरस्पदम् । समास इत्येव । अधः पदम् । शिरः पदम् । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्येत्येव । परमशिरःपदम् ॥

161. For the visarga of अधस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद् in composition with it, there is substituted स् ॥

Thus अधस्पद्म्, शिरस्पद्म् ॥

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अधः पद्म्, शिरः पद्म् ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमशिरः पद्म् ॥

१६१ । कस्कादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ४८ ॥

भास्करः ॥

161 A. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest. This sūtra has already been taught before (see S. 144). It is read here again for the purpose of *Visarga-Sandhi*. Thus भाः + कर = भास्करः ॥

अथ स्वादिप्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER VII.

ON COMBINATION OF CASE-ENDINGS.

१६२ । ससञ्जपो रुः । ८ । २ । ६६ ॥

पदान्तस्य सस्य सञ्जपोऽस्य च रुः स्यात् । जदत्वापवादः ॥

162. For the final **स्** and for the **प्** of सञ्जप् is substituted **रु**, at the end of a word. This debars जश्.

Thus, शिवस् + अर्च्य, here शिवस् is a word formed with the Nominative Singular case affix सु. This स् will be changed by the above Sûtra into रु and not to a जश् letter. Thus, we get शिवर् + अर्च्य. Then applies the next rule :—

१६३ । अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते । ६ । १ । ११३ ॥

अप्लुतादतः परस्य रोरः स्यादप्लुतेऽति । भोगोऽघो इति प्राप्तस्य यत्त्वस्याऽपवादः । उत्वं प्रति रुत्वस्याऽसिद्धत्वं तु न भवति । रुत्वमनद्य उत्त्वविधेः सामर्थ्यात् ॥

163. The **उ** is the substitute of **रु** (the **रु** substitute of a final **स्** VIII. 2. 66.) when an **अ**, which is not a *pluta*, both precedes and follows it.

This sūtra debars the **य** of VIII. 3. 17 S. 167 The **रु** taught in the Tripādi VIII. 2. 66 S. 162 is not *asiddha* though so required by VIII. 2. 2 S. 12. for the purposes of **उ** substitution required by the present sūtra of the 6th Adhyāya. This is because this sūtra specifically mentions the word **रु** and then ordains **उ** in its stead. Had this sūtra not perceived the **रु** of VIII. 2. 66. it would have simply ignored it and not mentioned it at all.

The phrase **उत्** is understood here, as well as the word **अति** of VI. 1. 109, Therefore शिवर् + अर्च्य = शिव + उ + अर्च्यः At this stage, the next sūtra VI. 1. 102 raises a doubt, viz, should **अ** and **उ** of शिव + उ become a long **आ** as शिवा.

१६४ । प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः । ६ । १ । १०२ ॥

अकः प्रथमाद्वितीयधोरचि परे पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घे एकादेशः स्यात् । इति प्राप्तिः ॥

164. For the simple vowel of a nominal-stem and for the vowel of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the

Accusative in all numbers, there is the single substitution of a long vowel corresponding to the first vowel.

The words अकः and दीर्घः are both understood here. The word प्रथमा here means the प्रथमा विभक्ति i.e. the 1st case of the Nominative, and includes here the द्वितीया विभक्ति also. This sūtra teaches the substitution of a पूर्ववत् or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. But this rule does not apply in the case of शिवङ् + अच्यः because of the following *apavāda* rule.

१६५ । नादिचि । ६ । १ । १०४ ॥

अवर्णादिचि परे न पूर्वत्ववर्णदीर्घः । आहुणः । एङः पदान्तादिति । शिवोऽच्यः । अत इति तपरः किम् । देवा अच । अतीति तपरः किम् । अथागन्ता । अप्लुतादिकम् । एहि सुस्रोतं अच स्नाहि । प्लुतस्यासिद्धत्वादतः परोऽयम् । अप्लुतादिति विशेषणे तु तस्मात्प्रत्यासिद्धत्वम् । तपरकरणस्य तु न सामर्थ्यं दीर्घनिवृत्त्या चरितार्थत्वात् । अल्लुतं इति किम् । तिष्ठतु पय अग्निदत्त । सुरोरनृत इति प्लुतः ॥

165. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when अ or आ is followed by a vowel (other than अ) of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative.

Therefore शिवङ् + अच्यः = शिवोऽच्यः । The अङ् become guṇa by the आहुणः (VI. I. 87. S. 69) and the subsequent अ of अच्य is elided by एङः पदान्तादिति (VI. I. 109. S. 86). Why do we say 'after a short अ' ? Or why have we added a त् to अ ? So that the long आ may be excluded. Observe देवाः + अच = देवा अच ॥ The word अति is understood here from VI. I. 109. S. 86. र must be followed by a short अ ; thus अर् + आगन्ता = अथागन्ता । Why do we say 'preceded by an apluta अ' ? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it. As एहि सुस्रोतं अच स्नाहि । Though the word is अत् in the sūtra, and it means only short अ and neither long आ nor the pluta अः, yet the word is repeated in the sūtra for the following reason. In the above example एहि सुस्रोतं अच स्नाहि, the अ of सुस्रोतम् is prolated by VIII. 2. 84. This prolation being effected by a Tripādi rule, would not be perceived by VI. I. 113, and for the purposes of this latter rule the prolation is non-existent, and the अ is still short. Therefore to make the prolation siddha or effective for the purposes of VI. I. 113, the word "pluta" is specifically mentioned in the sūtra. The त् of अत् would not have produced this result, because that त् found its scope in preventing the application of the rule to the long आ ॥

Why do we say "when followed by an apluta अ ?" Observe तिष्ठतु पय अग्निदत्त ! "O Agnidatta ! let the milk remain." Here अङ् of Agnidatta is pluta by VIII. 2. 86. and it being asiddha, the present rule would have applied.

१६६ । हशि च । ६ । १ । ११४ ॥

अप्लुतावतः परस्य रोरुः स्याद्धशि । शिवो वन्धः । रोरिस्तुकारानुबन्धग्रहणात्रेह । प्रातरञ् ।
आतर्गच्छ । देवास् इह इति स्थिति । रुत्तम् ॥

166. The उ is the substitute of रु (the र substitute of स् VIII. 2. 66) when it is followed by a soft consonant and preceded by an apluta short अ ॥

The हश् pratyāhāra includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus शिवोवन्धः ।

The उ substitution takes place in the case of that र only which is called रु in this Grammar ; i. e. र with the indicatory letter उ ; therefore not in प्रातर् + अञ् = प्रातरञ् or धातर् + गच्छ = धातर्गच्छ ।

Now we take up the Sandhi of देवास् + इह । Here the स् is first changed into रु by VIII. 2. 66. Then we apply the following rule :—

१६७ । भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योऽशि । ८ । ३ । १७ ॥

एतत्पूर्वस्य रोर्योदेशः स्यादशि परे । असन्धिः सौत्रः । लोपः शाकल्यस्य । देवा इह । देवायिह ।
अशि किम् । देवाः सन्ति । यद्यपीह यत्तस्यासिद्धत्वाद्विसर्गो लभ्यते तथापि विसर्गस्य स्थानिवद्भावेन
रुत्वाद्यत्वं स्यात् । न ह्ययमल्विधिः । रोरिति सप्तशयिरूपाश्रयणात् । भोस् भगोस् अघोस् इति सकारान्ता
निपाताः । तेषां रोर्यत्वे कृते ॥

167. य् is substituted for the रु called र, when it is preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, अ or आ, before an अश् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

In the Sūtra भगो, अघो have not been combined by the rules of Sandhi. Thus we get देवास् + इह = देवार् + इह = देवाय् + इह = देवा इह or देवायिह । In one case we elide य् by the rule लोपः शाकल्यस्य (VIII. 3. 19. S. 67).

Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अश् pratyāhāra' ? Observe देवाः सन्ति ।

Though in the Sūtra the य् being considered as *asiddha*, the रु will be changed not to उ but to *visarga* ; yet this *visarga* being considered as *sthānivat* to रु, will be changed to य् । Moreover, it should not be objected that this is an *alvidhi* and therefore, the *visarga* will not be *sthānivat* to रु, because here the whole word-form रु is taken and therefore it is not an *alvidhi*.

In the sūtra भोस्, भगोस्, अघोस् are three particles ending in स्. The स् will be changed to रु and the रु to य् and thus we have भोय्, भगोय् and अघोय्. Here applies the next sūtra :—

१६८ । व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य । ८ । ३ । १८ ॥

पदान्तयोर्विकारयकारयोर्लघुच्चारणौ वयौ वा स्तोऽसि परं । यस्योच्चारणे जिह्वाधोपाग्रमध्यमूलानां दौर्ध्र्यं जायते स लघुच्चारणः ॥

168. व् and य् (in भगोय् &c. and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śākaṭāyana.

The effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna-tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. व् and य् of lighter articulation are substituted for the final व् and य् in भोय्, भगाय्, अघोय्, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter व् will replace the heavy व्, and so the lighter य् the heavy य् ॥

Thus भोयव्, भगायव्, अघोयव्, कयास्ते, or क आस्ते, अस्मायुद्धर or अस्मा रुद्धर, असावादित्यः or आसा आदित्यः, द्वावन्न or द्वावानय, or द्वाभानय ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu-prayatna-tara. In fact, य् and व् are to be slurred over.

१६९ । ओतो गार्ग्यस्य । ८ । ३ । २० ॥

ओकारात्परस्य पदान्तस्याऽलघुप्रयत्नस्य यकारस्य नित्यं लोपः स्यात् । गार्ग्यग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । भो अच्युत । लघुप्रयत्नपक्षे भोयच्युत । पदान्तस्य किम् । तोयम् ॥

169. य् preceded by ओ and final in a Pada and when it is not pronounced with a light articulation is always elided, before an अश् letter according to the opinion of Gārgya.

There can be no व् preceded by ओ, so only य् is taken in explaining the sūtra. Thus भो अच्युत ॥

The making of it a separate sūtra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (nitya) rule and not a vibhāṣhā rule. The name of Gārgya is used simply *honoris causa* (pujārtha). The elision of laghu-prayatna य् which VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused is hereby prohibited. So that the laghu prayatnatara य् does come also. As भोयच्युत ॥

Why do we say final in a Pada ? Observe तोयम्.

१७० । उञि च पदे । ८ । ३ । २१ ॥

अवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्व्यवधौर्लोप उञि पदे । स उ एकाग्रिः । पदे किम् । तन्त्रयुतम् । वेजः संप्रसारणे रूपम् । यदि तु प्रतिपदोक्तो निपात उञिति प्रहीयते तर्ह्युत्तरार्थं पदग्रहणम् ॥

170. व् and य् (preceded by अ, or आ at the end of a pada), and followed by उ, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The *particle* उ is a full pada or word. That Particle is meant here by the word उम् and not the उम् which is a root obtained by the samprasâraṇa of वेम् ॥ Thus स उ एकामिः ॥

Why do we use the word पदे “उ when it is a pada”? So that the rule may not apply to उम् the form assumed by वेम् by samprasâraṇa, as तन्ने उतं=तन्नुतम् ॥ *Quere*:— उम्, could never have meant the form assumed by वेम्, for the samprasâraṇa of वेम्, is उ, the म् is merely indicatory. Moreover the maxim of lakṣhaṇa- pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this उम् resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate Particle उम् ॥

The word पदे is used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VIII. 3. 32. This is also a *nitya* rule, and not optional, Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19. would have been enough.

Note:—The maxim above referred to “लक्षण प्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम्” means :

(Whenever a term is employed which might denote) both something original and also something else resulting from a rule (of grammar),—or (when a term is employed in a rule which might denote) both something (formed by another rule) in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, (in the former case) only that which is original, and (in the latter case) only that (which is formed by that rule) in which the same individual term has been employed.

१७१ । हलि सर्वेषाम् । ८ । ३ । २२ ॥

भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य लध्वलधूच्चारणस्य यकारस्य लोपः स्याद्धलि सर्वेषां मतेन । भो देवाः । भो लक्ष्मि । भो विद्वद्वृन्द । भगो नमस्ते । अघो याहि । देवा नम्याः । देवा यान्ति । हलि किम् । देवायिह ॥

171. (The य whether lightly pronounced or not preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, or by अ or आ, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all the Âchâryas.

Thus भोवेव ; भोलक्ष्मि; भोविद्वद्वृन्द, भगोनमस्ते; अघोयाहि; देवा नम्याः, देवायान्ति ॥ Why do we say followed by a consonant ? Observe द्वायिह or देवाइह ॥

१७२ । रोऽसुपि । ८ । २ । ६९ ॥

अहो रेफदिशः स्यान्न तु सुपि । रो-रपवादः । अहरहः । अहर्गणः । असुपि किम् । अहोभ्याम् । अत्रा-हन्निति रुत्वम् ॥ रूपरात्रिरथन्तरषु रुत्वं वाच्यम् * ॥ अहोरूपम् । गतमहो रात्रिरेषा । एकदेशविकृत-स्थानन्यत्वादहोरात्रः । अहोरथन्तरम् ॥ अहोरादीनां पत्यादिषु वा रेफः * ॥ विसर्गापवादः । अहर्पतिः । गीर्पतिः । धूर्पतिः । पक्षे विसर्गोपध्मानीयो ॥

172. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र् is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

This debars रु. Thus अहरहः । अहर्गणः ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोभ्याम्, Here रु-called र् replaced the final न् of अहन् by VIII. 2. 68. S. 443. The difference between this रु-called र् and the ordinary र is illustrated in the above set of examples. The रु-called र is changed to उ by VI. 1. 113, S. 163. the ordinary र is not so changed.

Vart.—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रथन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र्. As अहोरूपम् ; गतमहोरात्रिरेषा. So also अहोरात्र, though the word रात्रि is not रात्रि ॥ This is on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्थानन्यत्वात् which means:—That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) some thing else (than what it was before the change had taken place). अहोरथन्तरम्.

Vart.—The words अहर् &c. before पति &c. should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c. are replaced by रु or र before पति &c. As अहर्पतिः or अहर्पति or अहःपतिः ; गीर्पतिः, गाः पतिः or गीर्पतिः; धूर्पतिः, धूःपतिः or धूर्पतिः ॥ Here र् is substituted for the final र् of अहर् &c. which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this र्.

१७३ । रो रि । ८ । ३ । १४ ॥

रेफस्य रेफे परे लोपः स्यात् ॥

173. र् is elided before a र् ॥

Note.—The sūtra is रः रि and not रोः रि ॥ That is रो रि is the form which रः रि and रोः रि will both assume. रः is the Genitive of र्, and रोः would be the Genitive of रु ॥ The sūtra is not confined to रु only, but to every र् in general including रु ॥ Thus नीरक्तम्, दूरक्तम् ॥

१७४ । ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः । ६ । ३ । १११ ॥

ढ्रेणो लोपयतीति तथा तस्मिन्वर्णोऽर्थाद् ढकाररेफात्मके परे पूर्वस्याणो दीर्घः स्यात् पुनः । रमते । हरी रम्यः । शंभुराजते । अणः किम् । तृढः । वृढः । तृहू हिंसायम् । वृहू उद्यमने । पूर्वग्रहणमनुत्तरपक्षेऽपि पूर्वमात्रस्य दीर्घार्थम् । लीढः । अजर्षाः । मनस् रथ इत्यत्र रुत्वे कृते हसि चेत्युत्वे रोरिति लोपे च प्राप्तः ।

174. When **इ** or **ए** is elided, for the preceding **अ**, **इ** and **उ**, a corresponding long vowel is substituted.

Thus पुनर् + रमते = पुनारमते ; हर्ति + रम्यः = हरी रम्यः ; बाधुर् + राजते = बाधुराजते । Why do we say अणः . Observe वृद्धः वृद्धः from the roots वृह् 'to injure' and 'वृह्' 'to exert.' Here the **क्** is not lengthened because it is not included in अण् pratyâhâra.

The word वृद्धः is thus formed, वृह् + क्त (त) = वृह + त (होढः VIII. 2. 31. S. 324) = वृह् + ध् (क्षाप्तयोद्धोऽधः VIII. 2. 40 S. 2280) = वृह् + इ (पुनादुः VIII. 4. 41) = वृ + ० + ढ (ङो ढे लोपः VIII. 3. 13. S. 2335). Here **इ** is elided, but as the preceding vowel **क्** is not included in अण् pratyâhâra, which includes only **अ**, **इ** and **उ** (the ण् being the first ण), so there is no lengthening.

The word पूर्वस्य 'for the preceding' is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that there is the lengthening of the अण् vowel, even when no other word follows it ; in fact the lengthening is of the preceding vowel alone, irrespective of any other word following it or not. Thus अजर्घाः, लङिः ॥

The word अजर्घाः is thus formed. To the root गृध् "to covet" we add the intensive affix यङ्लुक् and the affix लङ् and सिप् and the doubling. Thus we get the form अजर्घर्, the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजर्घाः ॥

Note.—The word अजर्घाः is thus formed:—

- गृध् + यङ् + सिप् (the 2nd Per. Sing in लङ्) =
- गृध् + ० + सि (यङोऽचि च II. 4. 74. S. 2650) =
- गृध् गृध् + सि (सन् यङोः VI. 1. 9. S. 2 395) =
- गर्ध् गृध् + सि = (युणो यङ् लुकोः VII. 4. 82. S. 2 630) =
- ग गृध् + सि (ह्लादि शेषः VII. 4. 60. S. 2179) =
- गरगृध् + सि (रुग्णकौचलुकि VII. 4. 91. S. 2652) =
- जर्गृध् + सि (अभ्यासे चर् च VIII. 4. 54. S. 2182) =
- जर्गर्ध् + सि (पुगन्तलृपधस्य च VII. 3. 86. S. 2189) =
- जर्गर्ध् + स् (इतश्च III. 4. 100 S. 2207) =
- जर्गर्ध् + ० (हल्ङ्याप्भ्यो VI. 1. 68. S. 252) =
- जर्घर्ध् (एकाचोवशोभश्च VIII. 2. 37 S. 326) =
- जर्घर्द् (झलां जशोऽन्ते VIII. 2. 39 S. 84) =
- जर्घर् (वश्च VIII. 2. 75 S. 2468) =
- जर्घ + ० + र् (री रि VIII. 3. 14 S. 173) =

जर्घा + र् (the present Sūtra) which with the augment अद् (लुङ् लङ् लृङ् लृ ष् अद् VI. 4. 71 S. 2206). becomes अजर्घाः ॥

The word लीढः is formed from लिह् + त. The **इ** is changed to **ह** by VIII. 2. 31. S. 324. and the **त** is first changed to **ध** by VIII. 2. 40, S. 2240 and then to **ढ** by VIII. 4. 41, S. 113.

Thus we get लिङ् + ड. The first ड being elided by VIII. 3. 13. S. 2335. we get the form लीङ्: by the present sūtra.

Now we take the *sandhi* of मनस् + रथः = मनस् + रथः. Here two sūtras simultaneously apply viz. इशिच् VI. 1. 14. S. 166 causing the substitution of ड for र् and the sūtra रारि VIII. 3. 14. S. 173. causing the elision of र्. What sūtra are we to apply? Here comes the following Interpretation sūtra.

१७५ । विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् । १ । ४ ॥ २ ॥

तुल्यबलविरोधे परं कार्यं स्यात् । इति लोपे प्राप्तिः । पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति रोरीत्यस्यासिद्धत्वादुत्त्वमेव । मनोरथः ॥

175. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिषेध means 'opposition of rules of equal force.'

Thus, the *lopa* rule being the *para* rule would cause the *lopa* of र् of मनस् before रथ. But here we must remember the rule of पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12), therefore, the rule of elision of र् (VIII. 3. 14. S. 173) is considered *asiddha* for the purposes of ड required by VI. 1. 14. S. 166. Therefore we have ड. Thus we have मनड + रथ = मनोरथः ॥

१७६ । एतत्तदोः सुलोपो ऽकोरनञ्समासे हलि । ६ । १ । १३२ ॥

अककारयोरन्तेत्तदोर्यः सुस्तस्य लोपः स्याद्वलि न तु नञ्समासे । एष विष्णुः । स शंभुः । अकोः किम् ? एषको रुद्रः । अनञ्समासे किम् । असः शिवः । हलि किम् । एषोऽन्न ॥

176. After एतद् and तद् there is elision of the case-affix स् (of the nominative singular), when a consonant follows it, when these words are not combined with क (V. 3. 71 S. 2026.) and have not the Negative Particle in composition.

Thus एषः + विष्णुः = एष विष्णुः ॥ स शंभुः ॥ Why do we say 'without क' ? Observe एषको रुद्रः ॥

NOTE:—The words एतत् and तद् with the affix अकच्, which falls in the middle would be considered just like the एतद् and तद्, without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतद् and तद्, hence the necessity of the prohibition. The general maxim is: तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् ग्रहणेन गृह्यते 'any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it.'

Why do we say "when not compounded with the negative particle"? Observe असःशिवः ॥ In the compound with the negative particle नञ्, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say 'when followed by a consonant'? Observe एषोऽन्न ॥

१७७ । सो ऽचि लोपे चेत्पादपूरणम् । ६ । १ । १३४ ॥

स इत्यस्य सोर्लोपः स्यादचि पादश्र्लोपे सत्येव पूर्येत । समानविद्धि प्रभृतिं य ईशिषे । इह कृत्पाद एव गृह्यत इति वामनः । आर्विशेषाच्छ्लोकपादोऽपीत्यपरे सैष हाशरथी रामः । लोपे चरिति किम् । स इत् क्षेति । स एवमुक्त्वा । सत्येवेत्यवधारणं तु स्यञ्छन्दसि बहुलमिति पूर्वसूत्राद्बहुलग्रहणानुवृत्त्या लभ्यत । तेनेह न । सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानाम् ॥

177. The case-affix of सस् 'he,' is elided before a vowel, if by such elision the metre of the foot becomes complete.

Thus समानविद्धि प्रभृतिं य ईशिषे (Rig. II. 24. 1.) = सः इमाम् अविद्धि (प्राप्नुहि, भवतेः प्राप्त्यर्थस्य लोटि रूपं) प्रभृतिम् (प्रकर्षेण भृतां स्तुतिं) यः (हे बृहस्पते यस्त्वं) ईशिषे (सर्वस्य जगत ईश्वरो भवसि) " accept (O Brihaspati !) this good burden (of our praise) He who rulest. "

According to Vāmana the author of Kāśikā, this rule is confined to Vedic metres only. According to others, the rule is applied to all ślokas without any such distinction.

In explaining this sūtra we have used the word सत्येव " only then " in order to limit its scope ; and this we get by the force of the word बहुलं in the sūtra VI. 1. 133. S. 3526. which immediately precedes it in the order of Ashtādhyāyī. Therefore there is no elision here, because the verse is completed without elision.

सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानाम् (Raghuvansa) we cannot say स अहम् or साहम् &c. सेदु राजा क्षयति चर्षणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सौषधिरनुरुच्यसे (Rig VIII. 43. 9). The case-ending being elided, the Sandhi takes place. Why do we say ' when by such elision the metre of the line is completed ' ? Observe स इत् क्षेति; स एवमुक्त्वा ॥ The word अचि in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness : for the purposes of metre would not have been served by eliding the affix before a consonant, for then the syllables would remain the same. It is by sandhi that a syllable is lessened ; and sandhi would take place only with a vowel. According to Kāśikā the Pāda must refer to a Pāda of the Rig-Veda only. Others explain the word पाद as ' a foot of a śloka ' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only. Thus we have :—सैष हाशरथी रामः, सैष राजा शुभिष्ठिरः, सैषकर्णो महात्मागी सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

अथाजन्त पुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE DECLENSION OF MASCULINE BASES ENDING IN VOWELS.

१७८ । अर्थवद्धातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् । १ । २ । ४५ ॥

धातुं प्रत्ययं प्रत्ययान्तं च वर्जयित्वाऽर्थवच्छब्दस्वरूपं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

178. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root (*dhātu*), or an affix (*pratyaya*) or a word ending in an affix, is called a *prātipadika* or crude-form or Nominal base.

This defines the word "prātipadika" or crude-form. The *prātipadika* is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (*pada*), from the undifferentiated are called the *dhātu* or root. It is that part of a word which is capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word अर्थ वत् means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called *prātipadika*.

१७९ । कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च । १ । २ । ४६ ॥

कृत्तद्धितान्तौ समासाश्च प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञाः स्युः । पूर्वसूत्रेण सिद्धे समासग्रहणे नियमार्थम् । यत्र संघाते पूर्वो भागः पदं तस्य चेद्भवति तर्हि समासस्यैव । तेन वाक्यस्य न ॥

179. The forms ending in Kṛit affixes, or *Taddhita* affixes, or compounds are also called *Prātipadika*.

This further explains the use of the word *prātipadika*. "Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, Primary Suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns; Secondary Suffixes. The former are called Kṛit, (III. i. 93 S. 374) the latter *Taddhita* (IV. i. 76 S. 530). Thus जन *jana*, man, is derived from the root जन *jan* by the kṛit suffix अः but जनीन *janīna*, appropriate for man, is derived from जन *jana* by the *Taddhita* affix ईन *īna*. The name *prātipadika* would apply both to जन *jana* and जनीन *janīna*, as nominal bases, ready to receive the terminations of declension" (Max Müller).

Of the compounds, there are six varieties, viz., Tat-purusha, Karma-dhāraya, Dvandva, Bahuvrīhi, Avyayībhāva and Dvigu.

In the last sūtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sūtra makes an important provision in favor of words ending in *Kṛt* and *Taddhita* affixes. So also compounds are also called *prātipadika*. The word *Samāsa* is used in the sūtra to make a restrictive rule, where in a collection of words, the first part is a *pada* or a complete word, then the word *prātipadika* would apply to that collection of words only, which forms a compound and to nothing else; therefore the term *Prātipadika* would not apply to a sentence. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

१८० । प्रत्ययः । ३ । १ । १ ॥

आपञ्चमपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

180. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix.

१८१ । परश्च । ३ । १ । २ ॥

अयमपि तथा ॥

181. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhāṣā' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātū' or root, or the 'prātipadika' or crude form.

१८२ । ड्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् । ४ । १ । १ ॥

ड्यान्ताद्वाबन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाच्चेत्यापञ्चमपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारः । प्रातिपदिकग्रन्थे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणमित्येव सिद्धे ड्याब्ग्रहणं ड्याबन्तात्तद्धितोत्पत्तिर्यथा स्यात् ड्याब्भ्यां प्राङ् मा भूदित्येवमर्थम् ॥

182. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with feminine affixes *ङि* or *आप्*, or after a crude-form.

This is an 'adhikāra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. In other words, this sūtra points out the base *प्रकृति* to which the affixes beginning with *सु* treated of in the next sūtra, and ending with *क्प्* (V. 4. 151), are to be applied.

The sūtra consists of three words. The term *ङी* is a common name for the three affixes *ङीप्*, *ङीष्*, and *ङेन्*. The term *आप्* is the common name

for the three affixes दाप्, डाप् and चाप्। These are feminine affixes and are taught from sūtra 4 to 65 of the Fourth chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'crudeform' and has been defined in sūtra I. 2. 45, 46, i. e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Taddhita affix. The word ड्वाप् प्रातिपदिकात् is a Samāhāra-dvandva or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Paribhasha: Why have we employed the word 'ñy-âp' in the aphorism? Is not the word prâtipadika wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the paribhâshâ:—"A prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender?"

Ans: The words डी and आप् are specifically used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the Taddhita affixes should be added; *after* the words have taken the Feminine affixes and not before.

Note:—The Kâsikâ gives the following answer to the above question.

Not so. The paribhâshâ you quote applies to that case where there is a rule relating to an individual word-form given in the Sūtra itself. In other words, "this paribhâshâ is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes prâtipadikas generally (as the word 'prâtipadika' does in this sūtra) or denotes a particular prâtipadika, (such as the words युवा, खलति, पलित, वलिन, and जरति, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II. 1. 67, the masculine form yuvâ, also includes the feminine: but not so everywhere. Moreover the words, डी, आप् have been employed in the Sūtra, in order to make the taddhita affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (डी) or long आ (आप्). Thus the feminine of 'काल,' and 'हरिण' is, 'काली' and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्वा' and 'माला' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला' ॥ After these words we can apply the taddhita affix 'तरप्': as 'कालितरा,' 'हरणितरा,' 'खट्वातरा,' and 'मालातरा' ॥

Now, had we not used that word 'ñy-âp' in the Sūtra, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word 'kâlitarâ,' we could not have got this form at all.

The word काल takes डीप् by IV. 1. 42; to which when तरप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालितरा ॥ Why do you then say that the taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words ñy-âp?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule of vipratishedha, the taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली; and when comparison alone is meant and

not feminine, we shall have कालतर; but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty; and according to the general maxim, the taddhita would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word *ny-āp*, it is shown that *first* the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

The objector says :—The inclusion of डी and आप् in this sūtra is useless, for the following reason :—all bases ending with the Feminine affixes can be considered as Prātipadikas, on the strength of the maxim Prātipadika grahane linga-vishishtasya &c. For example, श्वश्रू: "mother-in-law," derived from the masculine श्वशुर with the affix ऊङ् (see Vārtika under IV. 1. 68. S. 523. श्वशुरस्येकारा कारलोपश्च). Here the word श्वश्रू must be a pratipadika, otherwise no case affix can be added to it, because it is neither a डी nor an आप् ending word. But we see that case-affixes are added to it, and it can only be if the maxim above given be universally valid. Holding the above maxim to be valid, we come to the conclusion that all words ending in Feminine affixes (such as डी, आप्, ऊ etc.) are Pratipadikas; hence there is no necessity of using the words डी and आप् in the sūtra.

Ans. So far as the addition of case affixes are concerned, we may consider the inclusion of डी आप् as superfluous. But this sūtra not only ordains case-affixes, but Taddhita affixes as well: for the sūtra means "Let *all* the affixes taught upto the end of the Fifth Book—whether case-affixes or Taddhita &c. come after bases ending in डी—आप् and after Pratipadikas." So that the Taddhita affixes will be added to Feminines after the words have taken the Feminine affixes and not before. This we infer because the words डी and आप् are used in the sūtra. Thus we get आर्यका or आर्यिका ॥ If the Taddhita affixes were added first and then the Feminine, we could not have got the form आर्यिका ॥ For the swārthika कन् added by V. 4. 29. S. 2097. to आर्य being most antarang would come first and then the feminine आप्. Thus आर्य + क + आ = आर्यका ॥ Consequently the अ of र्य could not be changed to इ by ङसीचामातः VII. 3. 46. S. 465.

For the अ here is not that अ which has replaced a long आ ॥ But if we add the Feminine affix first, we can get the desired form, thus :—

आर्या + क + आप् = आर्यका, here the long आ of आर्या is shortened by केणः VII. 4. 13. S. 834.

And so we can apply the rule ङसीचां and get आर्यिका

१८३ स्वौजसमौद्र्णभ्यामिस्डिभ्याम्यस्डसिभ्याम्यस्डसोत्तामड्योस्तु-
प् १४१२॥

ह्यन्ताशब्न्तात्प्रातिपदिकाच्च परे स्वादयः प्रत्ययाः स्युः । सुडस्योरकारेकारौ जशटङ्पाश्चेतः ॥

183. (After what ends with the feminine termina-

tions डा or आप्, or after a crude-form, the following affixes are employed):—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	su (s)	au	jas (as)
2nd.	am	auṭ (au)	śas (as)
3rd.	ṭā (a)	bhyām	bhis
4th.	ñe (e)	bhyām	bhyas
5th.	ñasi (as)	bhyām	bhyas
6th.	ñas (as)	os	ām
7th.	ñi (i)	os	sup (su)

In the above affixes, letters like उ इ in सु and ङासि are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final प् is employed for the sake of forming the pratyāhāra सुप्, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes. The letters ज, श, ष, ङ and प are इत् or servile letters.

१८४। विभक्तिश्च । १।४।१०४॥

सुप्तिङौ विभक्तिसंज्ञौ स्तः । तत्र सु भौ जस् इत्यादिनां त्रिकाणां प्रथमादयः सप्तम्यन्ताः प्राचां संज्ञास्ताभिर्हिापि व्यवहारः ॥

184. The triads of conjugational affixes and case-affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus सप्तमी विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, i. e., the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथमा विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

१८५। सुपः । १।४।१०५॥

सुपस्त्रीणि त्रीणि वचनान्येकश एकवचनद्विवचनबहुवचनसंज्ञानि स्युः ॥

185. Of सुप् the case affixes, the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.

१८६। द्वेकयो द्विवचनैकवचने । १।४।१०६॥

द्वित्वैकत्वयोरिते स्तः ॥

186. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

१८७। बहुषु बहुवचनम् । १।४।१०७॥

बहुत्वे एतस्यात् । ह्रस्विसर्गो । रामः ॥

187. In expressing multitude, a Plural case affix is employed.

Declension of Masculines ending in अ ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word राम ending in short अ ॥ In Nom. Sing. the affix सु is added.

Thus राम + सु = राम + स् = राम + इ = रामः ॥ In forming the Dual, the following applies.

१८८ । सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ । १ । २ । ६४ ॥

एकविभक्तौ यानि सरूपाण्येव दृष्टानि तेषामेक एव शिष्यते ॥ प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः ॥ नादिचि ॥ वृद्धिरेचि ॥ रामौ ॥

188. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sūtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekaśeṣa (or retention of one). When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped.

Thus राम + राम = रामौ. The word रामौ is formed by adding the affix औ to राम and by superseding VI. 1. 102. S. 164 by VI. 1. 104 S. 165 and applying VI. 1. 88 S. 72, we get the *vriiddhi*. In forming the Nom. Pl. we add जस्. Thus राम + जस् ॥ The ज् is indicatory by the following sūtra.

१८९ । चुट्ट । १ । ३ । ७ ॥

प्रत्ययाद्यौ चुट्ट इतो स्तः । इति जस्येत्संज्ञायाम् ॥

189. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

Thus the ज् of जस् would become इत्. So the affix is really अस्. But is not the final स् of जस् also इत् by the sūtra हलन्त्यस्य I. 3. 3. S. 1. ? No, because of the following exceptions:—

१९० । न विभक्तौ तुस्माः । १ । ३ । ४ ॥

विभक्तिस्त्यास्तवर्गसकारमकारा इतो न स्युः । इति सकारस्य नेत्त्वम् ॥

190. The final dental consonants, and the final स् and म् are not इत्, in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

Therefore the स् of जस् is not इत्. Thus राम + अस्. At this stage the following rule appears which requires the अ + अ to be changed to अ by पररूपमेकादेशः :

१६१ । अतो गुणे । ६ । १ । ६७ ॥

अपदान्तादकाराद्युणे परतः पररूपमेकादेशः स्यादिति प्राप्ते । परस्वात्पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः । अतो गुणे इति हि पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान्विधीन्बाधन्ते नोत्तरानिति न्यायेनाक्रः सवर्ण इत्यस्यैवायमपवादो ननु प्रथमयोस्त्वित्यस्यापि । रामाः ॥

191. Also when the short अ, not being final in a Pada, is followed by a Guṇa letter, then in the room of both the precedent and the subsequent—the single substitute is the form of the subsequent i. e. the Guṇa.

But this *ekādeśa* rule is superseded by the subsequent rule प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः VI. I. 102. S. 164, which requires the lengthening of the preceding vowel; while the present sūtra अतो गुणे debars the immediately succeeding sūtra अक्रः सवर्णे दीर्घः VI. I. 101. S. 85. by the maxim:—

Paribhāṣā:—*Apavādas* that precede (the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *Apavāda*-operations), supersede (only) those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent (rules).

Therefore the nearest rule VI. I. 101. S. 85 is superseded by the present sūtra and not the subsequent rule VI. I. 102. S. 164. Thus राम + अस् = रामाः . The Vocative case is like the nominative; the only difference is in the singular. The Vocative singular is called Sambuddhi by the following:—

१६२ । एकवचनं संबुद्धिः । २ । ३ । ४६ ॥

संबोधने प्रथमाया एकवचनं संबुद्धिसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

192. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

Thus the vocative singular of राम is राम + सु ॥ Here the following sūtra applies.

१६३ । एङ्हस्वात्संबुद्धेः । ६ । १ । ६६ ॥

एङन्ताद्भस्वान्ताच्चाङ्गाद्भल्लुप्यते संबुद्धेश्चेत् । संबुद्ध्याक्षिप्तस्याङ्गस्यैङ्हस्वाभ्यां विशेषणान्नेह । हे कतरत्कुलेति । हे राम । हे रामौ । हे रामाः । एङ्ग्रहणं किम् । हे हरे हे विष्णो । अत्र हि परस्वान्नित्यस्वाच्च संबुद्धियुगे कृतं हस्वात्परत्वं नास्ति ॥

193. The consonant of the nominative-affix (सु and its substitute अम्) is elided in the Vocative singular, after a nominal-stem ending in ए or ओ or a short vowel.

The elision here being taught with regard to the base which is a संबुद्धि and which is qualified by having ए or ओ or a short vowel for its final, it does not apply to हे कतरत्कुल !

In हे कतरन् ! there is not the elision of the त् of the affix अत्, the substitute of सु; for the affix there is अद् (VII. 1. 25). This affix being डिन् causes the elision of the final अ of कतर (VI. 4. 143), and we have कतर् + अत्, here we have not a prātipadika which ends in a *short* vowel, but in a *consonant*, hence त् is not elided. See also VII. 1. 25. The word एङ् is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the guṇa substitution required by इत्स्वस्य गुणः VII. 3. 108, is stronger than lopa. Therefore in हे हरि + सु, the affix is not elided, first, and then guṇa substituted for इ, but first there is guṇa substitution and then the affix is elided, similarly हे विष्णो. For the guṇa substitution is stronger than elision, because it is a rule subsequent in order, the elision being VI. 1. 69, the Guṇa being VIII. 3. 108; and because Guṇa is a nitya rule. Therefore when हरि is guṇated to हरे, there being no short vowel, left, the elision of सु would not have taken place had the word एङ् been not used in the sūtra.

Now the accusative singular is formed thus: राम् + अम्. Here applies the following Sūtra.

१६४ । अमि पूर्वः । ६ । १ । १०७ ॥

अकोऽभ्यन्त्रि परतः पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । रामम् । रामौ ॥

194. There is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the case ending अम् ॥

The word अकः is understood here. Thus राम-1-अम् = रामम्. So also accusative dual राम + औ = रामौ as before. Now the accusative plural is formed thus :—राम् + शस् ॥ Here applies the following sūtra.

१६५ । लशक्तद्धिते । १ । ३ । ८ ॥

तद्धितवर्जप्रत्ययाद्या लशक्तवर्गा इतः स्युः । इति शसः शस्वेत्संज्ञा ॥

195. The initial ल and श, and the gutturals of all affixes, except Taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial ल्, श्, क्, ख्, ग्, घ्, ङ् of affixes are indicatory, except in Taddhita affixes.

Therefore श् being इत्, the affix is अम्. Thus राम + अम्. At this stage applies the following sūtra :—

१६६ । तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि । १ । ३ । १०३ ॥

पूर्वसवर्णशीर्षात्परो यः शसः सकारस्तस्य नः स्यात्पुंसि ॥

196. After such a long vowel homogeneous with the first, न् is substituted for the स् of the Accusative case affix शस् in the masculine.

Thus राम-ल-शस् = राम + अन् = रामान् ॥ Now, should not the final न् of रामान् be changed to ण् by the following sūtra ?

१९७ । अङ्कुष्वाङ्नुम्वयायेऽपि । ८ । ४ । २ ॥

अङ्कुर्वर्गपवर्गभाङ्नुम् एतैर्व्यस्तैर्यथासंभवं मिलितैश्च व्यवधानेऽपि स्वाभ्यां परस्य नस्य णः स्था-
स्तमानपदे । पद्व्यवायेऽपीति निषेधं बाधितुमाङ्महणम् । नुममहणमनुस्वारोपलक्षणार्थम् तच्चाकर्तुं शक्यम् ।
अयोगावाहानामदसूपदेशस्योक्तत्वात् । इति णत्वे प्राप्तिः ॥

197. The substitute ण takes the place of न्, even when a vowel, or य्, व्, ह्, or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the anusvāra नुम् intervenes, singly or conjointly, causing separation between न and the anterior र or ष, provided that these letters occur in one word.

The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अङ् pratyāhāra. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of आङ्, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

NOTE :—The pratyāhāra अङ् stands for vowels and the letters ह्यवर् and it includes the ayogavāha letters anusvāra and visarga. Therefore the mention of नुम् in the sūtra could well have been avoided, for नुम् here denotes anusvāra. Thus करणम् हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, कुरुणा, गुरुणा &c.

The कु means all the gutturals, e. g. अर्केण, मुखेण, गर्गेण, अघेण ॥

The पु means all the labials, e. g. र्षेण, रेफेण, गर्भेण, चर्मणा, वर्मणा ॥

The आङ् means the particle आः e. g. पर्याणङ्गम् from नह् (VIII. 2. 34)

निराणङ्गम् (of VIII. 4. 14).

So also when the anusvāra separates the letters e. g. वृहणम्, वृहणीयम् ॥

It is from the root वृहिवृद्धौ, the नुम् is added, because the root is इदित (VII. 1. 58) and न् changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the intervention is here by Anusvāra and not नुम्, why is then नुम् taken in the sūtra ?

The word नुम् in the sūtra refers to anusvāra, and must be taken co-extensive with it. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like तृहणं from तृह् स्तृह् हिसार्थे ॥ Here the anusvāra is not the substitute of the augment नुम् but an original anusvāra. Even where there is an augment नुम्, but where it is not changed into anusvara, the rule does not apply. As प्रेन्वनम्, प्रेन्वनीयम् from इविः प्रीणनार्थः ॥

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As अर्केण, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters come between र and न ॥ See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of ष ॥

But the present sūtra is not applicable to रामान् because of the following sūtra.

१९८। पदान्तस्य । ४। ४। ३७ ॥

पदान्तस्य नस्य णत्वं न स्यात् । रामान् ॥

198. Of a न final in a Pada, ण is not the substitute.
Thus रामान् ॥

१९९। यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम् । १। ४। १३ ॥

यः प्रत्ययो यस्मात्क्रियते तदादि शब्दस्वरूपं तस्मिन्प्रत्यये परेऽङ्गसंज्ञं स्यात् । भवामि भविष्यामीत्यादौ । विकरणाविशिष्टस्याऽङ्गसंज्ञार्थं तदादिग्रहणम् । विधिरिति किम् । स्त्री इयती । प्रत्यये किम् वद्वन् । प्रत्यय-विशिष्टस्य ततोऽप्यधिकस्य वा ना भूत् ॥

199. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base or stem, (anga).

Note:—The words of this sūtra require some explanation. Yasmāt after whatsoever; pratyaya-vidhih compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhih a precept, i. e. a rule enjoining an affix; tadādi, that which begins therewith; pratyaye=in a pratyaya i. e. when a pratyaya follows; is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (dhātu) or a nominal base (prâtipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an anga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmāt is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as anga; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word anga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ+ता=कर्ता he will do, हर्ता he will lose. करिष्यति, हरिष्यति Here because the root कृ and हृ get the name अंग they are gunated by (VII. 3. 84): similarly because उपयु &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhied in औपगवः &c.

The word कृि हृि are anga with regard to the affix ता &c. उपयु+अण्=औपगवः; कापटवः. Here upagu and kapatu are anga with regard to अण्. Similarly कृ + स्य+वः = करिष्य+वः = करिष्यावः. Here the whole word-form karishya is regarded as anga, and as such the short अ is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix vah is enjoined after the word कृि, the form which begins with कृि i. e. karishya will also be called anga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the sūtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate vikaraṇas like sya &c., or नुम् before the final affixes. Thus कुण्ड+ नुम्+इ = कुण्डन्+इ = कुण्डानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) kuṇḍa + num + i = kuṇḍan + i = kuṇḍāni, bowls. Here the whole form kuṇḍan is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix i by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word "vidhi" "enjoined" in the sūtra? Observe स्त्री इयती ॥

Here the word इयती "this much or as much" is really an affix, as we shall show later on. But as this is not ordained after strī by any rule, the word strī does not get the designation अङ्ग before it. Not being an Anga, the ई of strī is not elided by यस्येतिच् (VI. 4. 148. S. 311.)

That the Pronoun इयती is a mere pratyaya is shown by the history of its derivation as given below :—

इदम् + वत् = इदम् + घत् (किमिदंभ्यां वो घः VI. 2. 40. S. 1841,) the व is changed to घ ॥ The affix वत् is added to idam with the force of "measure" by V. 2. 39 read with V. 2. 40.

= इदम् + इयत् (घ changed to इय by VII. 1. 2 S. 475. आयेनयी) = ईश् + इयत् (इदम्किन् VI. 3. 90 S. 1018.)

= O + इयत् (ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 यस्येतिच्) = इयत् + डीप् = इयती Feminine.

Thus इयती is really a Pratyaya, for the base इदम् is altogether elided.

Why have we used the word प्रत्यये "when the affix follows" in the sūtra? For would not the word तदाहि limit the designation अङ्ग to that only after which there was actually an affix?

Ans. No. Because without the word प्रत्यये the sūtra would have run thus "after whatsoever is an affix enjoined, that which begins therewith is called an Anga." In this view, we could not get the form वन्नश्च the 3rd Per. Sing in the Perfect (लिङ्) of the root ओन्नइच् 'to cut.'

This is thus formed :—

न्नइच् + णल् = न्नश्च् + न्नश्च् + अ (VI. 1. 8, S. 2177 लिटिधातोरनभ्यासस्य)

= वृश्च् + न्नश्च् + अ (VI. 1. 17 S. 2408 लिट्यभ्यासस्योभयेषाम्)

= वरश्च् + न्नश्च् + अ (VII. 4. 66 S. 2244 उरत् and उरण् रपरः)

= व + न्नइच् + अ (VII. 4. 60 S. 2179 हलादिशेषः) = वन्नइच् ॥

If the word "pratyaye" did not exist, then the designation anga would be applied to the whole base plus the affix ई. ए. (न्नइच् + अ) as a whole. That being so, व + न्नश्च will assume the form of उन्नश्च for the व will be vocalised by VI. 1. 17. For the अ in the place of ऋ will not be sthānivat by अच्ः परस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ; because to be sthānivat there must be an efficient cause outside (पर), as अ of णल्, but this अ of णल् was, by hypothesis included in the Anga designation. So there being no पर cause, the अ substitute of ऋ in वृ will not be sthānivat; and not being so, it will not be considered as a samprasāraṇa vowel. The अ of व not being a Samprasāraṇa, the prohibition of न सम्प्रसारणे &c. VI. 1. 37 (when a semivowel has once been vocalised, there is

no vocalisation of the other semivowel that precedes it, will not apply, and so व will be vocalised to वः.

२०० । अङ्गस्य । इ । ४ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

200. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikâra sūtra.

२०१ । टाडसिङ्गसामिनात्स्याः । ७ । १ । १२ ॥

अकारान्ताङ्गाद्वाहीनां क्रमादिनादय आदेशाः स्युः । णत्वम् । रामेण ॥

201. After a stem ending in अ, are substituted इन् for the Instrumental ending आ; आत् for the Ablative ending अस्, and स्य for the Genitive ending अस् ॥

Thus रामेण the न being changed to ण ॥

२०२ । सुपि च । ७ । ३ । १०२ ॥

यत्रासौ सुपि परे अतोऽङ्गस्य वीर्घः स्यात् । रामाभ्याम् ॥

202. Before a case-ending beginning with य or भ (literally a consonant of यञ् Pratyâhâra), the final अ of a Nominal stem is also lengthened.

The whole of the phrase अतो वीर्घो यञि is understood here (VII. 3. 101 S. 2170.

Thus राम + भ्याम् = रामाभ्याम्

२०३ । अतो भिस ऐस् । ७ । १ । ९ ॥

अकारान्ताङ्गाङ्गिस ऐस् स्यात् । अनेकाल्त्वात्सर्वविशः । रामैः ॥

203. After a nominal stem ending in अ, ऐस् is substituted for the case-ending भिस् ॥

The *ddesa* ऐस् consists of more than one letter and therefore replaces the whole of this, by the rule अनेकाल्त्वात्सर्वविशः I. 1. 55. S. 45. Thus राम + ऐस् = रामैः ॥

२०४ । डेर्यः । ७ । १ । १३ ॥

अतोऽङ्गात्परस्य डे इत्यस्य आदेशः स्यात् । रामाय । इह स्थानिवद्भावेन आदेशस्य सुप्त्वात्सुपि चेति वीर्घः । सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्यति परिभाषा तु नेह प्रवर्तते । कदाचं क्रमणे इत्यादिनिर्देशेन तस्या अनित्यत्वज्ञानात् । रामाभ्याम् ॥

204. After a stem ending in अ, there is substituted य for the Dative ending ए ॥

Thus राम + ए = राम + य = रामाय. Here the य being taken to be sthānivat to ए gets also the designation of सुप् and therefore the अ of राम is lengthened before य by the rule VII. 3. 102. S. 202. The maxim संनिपातलक्षणो विधि रानिमित्तं तद्विधातस्य. "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination" does not apply here. Thus य is substituted here, because the preceding word ends in a short अ, thus this short अ occasioned the existence of य, therefore this य cannot occasion the destruction of अ ॥ But that however it does, for it is on account of this य, that the preceding अ is replaced by आ ॥ The anitya nature of this maxim is indicated by Pānini himself, by forming the dative of कष्ट as कष्टाय in Sūtra III. 1. 14 &c.

The ङेः is the anomalous Genitive case of the Dative ending ङे; this affix is exhibited without any vibhakti in VII. 1. 28 S. 382. The ङेः should not be taken as the Genitive singular of ङि the affix of the Locative singular.

So also रामाभ्याम् as before. The dative plural is formed thus राम + भ्याम् Here applies the following Sūtra :—

२०५ । बहुवचने झल्येत् । ७ । ३ । १०३ ॥

झलादौ बहुवचने झपि परे भतोऽङ्गस्यैकारः स्यात् । रामेभ्यः । बहुवचने किम् । रामः । रामस्य । झलि किम् । रामाणाम् । झपि किम् । पञ्चध्वम् । जइत्वम् ॥

205. Before a case-ending beginning with भ् or स् (lit. a झल् consonant), in the Plural, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal stem.

As रामेभ्यः ॥ Why in the Plural? Observe रामः ; रामस्य ॥ Why before a case-affix beginning with a झल् consonant? Observe रामाणाम् (the lengthening here is by VI. 4. 3. S. 300). Why a case-affix? Observe पञ्चध्वम्, and not पञ्चध्वम् ॥

Now, we form the Ablative Singular. राम + ङसि = राम + आत् (by VII. 1. 12. S. 201). Here the त् of the affix should be changed to द् by झलां जशोऽन्ते and द् will then optionally be changed to त् by the following Sūtra.

२०६ । वाचसाने । ८ । ४ । ५६ ॥

अवसाने झलां चरो वा स्युः । रामात् । रामाद् । द्वित्वे रूपचतुष्टयम् । रामाभ्याम् । रामेभ्यः । रामस्य सस्य द्वित्वपक्षे खरि चेति चत्वेऽप्यान्तरतमयास्तस्य स एव न तु तकारः । भल्पप्राणतया प्रयत्नमेवात् । भत् एव सः सीति तदिह आरभ्यते ॥

206. The चर् is optionally the substitute of a झल् that occurs in a Pause.

The words झलं चर् is understood in the sūtra. A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause: but not an aspirate consonant. By VIII. 2. 39, S. 84, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus रामात् or रामाद्. The final त् and द् may be doubled by अनचि च (VIII. 4. 47) we get four forms as रामात् or रामात्त or रामाद् or रामाद्द ॥ *N. B.*—This is not approved by Tatvabodhini, as the meaning of the sūtra अनचि च is that after a vowel every consonant except ह may be doubled provided that a *consonant* follows; for the word अनच् 'non-vowel' does not mean absence of *all* letters, but rather the absence of vowels only. Inferentially there must be a consonant. Bhattoji has taken the negation in अनचि in the sense of Prasajya pratishedha; while the proper view is to take it as a Paryudāsa pratishedha.

So also रामाभ्याम्; रामेभ्यः; रामस्य ॥ In रामस्य when the स is doubled, this स will not be changed to त by खरिच VIII. 4. 55. S. 121. but it will remain as स only, because there is difference between स and त as regards effort, the त being अल्प प्राण. Had त and स been the same, and had त been produced by 'खरिच' then there would have been no need of teaching the substitution of स by त in Sūtras like VIII. 4. 49. S. 2342.

२०७। ओसि च। ७। ३। २०४ ॥

ओसि परे अतोऽङ्गस्य एकारः स्यात्। रामयोः ॥

207. Before the case-ending ओस्, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As रामे + ओस् = रामयोः

Now, we have to form the Genitive plural :—राम + आम्. Here comes the next Sūtra.

२०८। ह्रस्वनद्यापो जुट्। ७। १। ५४ ॥

ह्रस्वान्तात्रयन्तासन्ताच्चाङ्गात्परस्यामो जुडागमः स्यात् ॥

208. The augment न् is added before the Genitive Plural ending आम्, after stems ending in a short vowel, after stems called Nadî (I. 4. 3 &c), and after the stems ending in the Feminine affix आ ॥

As राम + न् + आम् ॥



At this stage applies the next Sûtra.

२०९ । नामि । ६ । ४ । ३ ॥

नामि परेऽजन्ताङ्गस्य दीर्घः स्यात् । रामाणाम् । सुपि चेति दीर्घो यद्यपि परस्तथापीह न प्रवर्तते । समिपातपरिभाषाविरोधात् । नामीत्यनेन त्वारम्भसामर्थ्यात्परिभाषा बाध्यते । रामे । रामयोः । सुपि एत्वे कृते ॥

209. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम् (having the augment जुङ्).

Thus राम + नाम् = रामाणाम् ॥

The sūtra सुपिच (VII. 3. 102. S. 202) would also have caused lengthening and being a subsequent one would also have applied, yet it does not apply here, because of the *Paribhāṣā* संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य ॥ '(That which is taught in) a rule (the application of) which is occasioned by the combination (of two things), does not become the cause of the destruction of that (combination).' But the very fact that this sūtra is enunciated here debars the above *Paribhāṣā*.

Now, we have to form the Locative Singular ;—राम + इ = रामे ॥ So also रामयोः ॥ The plural will be राम + सु = रामे + सु (VII. 3. 103. S. 205.) At this stage applies the following sūtra.

२१० । अपदान्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यः । ८ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आपाङ्परिसमाप्तेरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

210. Upto the end of the third Pāda of the VIIIth. Book, is throughout to be supplied the following : "A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of——, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word."

२११ । इण्कोः । ८ । ३ । ५७ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

211. From this, upto the end of the third chapter of the VIIIth. Book, should be supplied in every sūtra, the following :—"when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a र or a guttural precedes."

The word इण् is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ण् of लण् ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels र is only efficient : so that only र is taken in the translation. कु means the letters of the क class. Thus इण्कोः is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense.

२१२ । आदेशप्रत्यययोः । ८ । १ । ५६ ॥

सङ्घेः साङ्घः स इति सूत्रात्स इति षष्ठ्यन्तं पदमनुवर्तते । इणकवर्गाभ्यां परस्वापदान्तस्यादेशः प्रत्य-
यावयवश्च यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्यादेशः स्यात् । विवृताद्योषस्य सस्य तादृश एव षः । रामेषु । इण्कोः किम् ।
रामस्य । आदेशप्रत्यययोः किम् । सुपीः । सुपिसौ । सुपिसः । अपदान्तस्य किम् । हरिस्तत्र । एवं कृष्णसुकु-
न्दादयः ॥

212. *ष्* is substituted for that *स्* which is a substi-
tute (of the *ष्* of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI. 1. 64. S. 2264),
or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above men-
tioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58. S. 211, 424), of being
preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as स
from VIII. 3. 56. Therefore, the स is replaced by ष both being *Vivrita* and
Aghosha. Thus रामेषु ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by इण् vowel or कु' ?
Observe रामस्य ॥ Why do we say a substitute स or that which is an affix' ?
Observe सुपीः ; सुपिसौ ; सुपिसः the स here is part of the Churādi root पिस "to
go," and is neither a substituted स nor the स of an affix ॥ Why do we say
'not final in a Pada' ? Observe हरिस्तत्र ॥ Similarly should be declined
कृष्ण, सुकुन्द and all other words ending in ष ॥

DECLENSION OF राम ॥

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dative.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	रामः	हे राम !	रामम्	रामेण	रामाय	रामात्	रामस्य	रामे
Dual	रामौ	हे रामौ !	रामौ	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामयोः	रामयोः
Plural	रामाः	हे रामाः !	रामान्	रामैः	रामेभ्यः	रामेभ्यः	रामाणां	रामेषु ॥

DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS.

२१३ । सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सर्वादीनि शब्दस्वरूपाणि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि स्युः । तदन्तस्थापीथं संज्ञा । द्वन्द्वे चेति ज्ञापकान् । तेन
परमसर्ववैति ब्रह्म । परमभवकानित्यत्राकच सिद्धिर्नि ॥

213. The words *sarva*, 'all,' and the rest are called
sarvanāma or pronouns.

The words ending in *sarva* &c. are also *sarvanāma*. This we infer
from the Sūtra द्वन्द्वे च I. 1. 31. S. 224 which prohibits the application of the
term *Sarvanama* to *Dvanda* compounds. (That is in all other compounds
except *Dvandva*, the words ending in *Sarva* &c. are *sarvanamas*. For
some other exceptions see I. 1. 29. and 30. S. 222 and 223.) Therefore, we

have the form परमसर्वत्र with the affix वल् (V. 3. 10 S. 1957.) The word परम ending in *sarva* gets the name of *sarvanama* and therefore the affix *tral* is added to it. Similarly परमभवकान्. Here the affix अकच् is added by V. 3. 71 S. 2026.

२१४। जसः शी । ७ । १ । १७ ॥

अदन्तात्सर्वनाम्नः परस्य जसः शी स्यात् । अनक्रात्स्वात्सर्वादेशः । नचार्धणस्तु इत्यादाविव नानु-
बन्धकृतमनेक्रात्वमिति वाच्यम् । सर्वादेशात्स्वात्प्रागित्संज्ञाया एवाभावात् । सर्वे ॥

214. After a pronominal stem ending in अ, ई (शी) is substituted for the nominative plural (जस्)

The substitute is long ई for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 19, S. 310 which gives in the dual the forms like चारिणी, मधुनी. In the case of सर्व and words ending in अ, it matters little whether the substitute be short इ or long ई for their *sandhi* will always result in ए.

The substitute शी consists of more than one letter namely of श and ई, and therefore it replaces the whole of the *Sthāni* जस् (I. 1. 55 S. 45)

It is not like the substitute ह् &c. of the Sūtra VI. 4. 127. S. 364 which replaces the final न् of अर्वन् &c, for त् is an affix of which क् is an anubandha, and the following Paribhāṣhā applies to it.

Praibhāṣhā:—(That which, when destitute of Anubandhas, consists of only one letter, must) not (be considered) to contain more letters than one when (one or more) Anubandhas are attached to it.

But शी like डा and षा is not put down as an affix in Pānini's Grammar and therefore their initials ड् and ष् are not Anubandhas. For the Sūtras I. 3. 7 and 8 S. 189 and 195 are applicable only to *Pratyayas*. But शी is nowhere originally taught as a *Pratyaya*. It becomes a *Pratyaya* only then when it replaces the whole of जस् and before such substitution शी not being a *pratyaya* the श् cannot be called इत्; when it is substituted for the whole of जस् then it becomes a *pratyaya* and then its श् becomes an Anubandha.

Note:—The opinion of Sekhara is that श of शी is इत् from its very beginning; because it is liable to elision (इत्संज्ञायोगत्वननुबन्धत्वम्) and so the whole affix जस् is replaced because the substitute is शित् ॥

Thus सर्व + जस् = सर्व + शी = सर्व + ई = सर्वे.

२१५। सर्वनाम्नः स्मै । ७ । १ । १४ ॥

अतः सर्वनाम्नो डे इत्यस्य स्मै स्यात् । सर्वस्मै ॥

215. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मै is substituted for the ए of the Dative.

Thus सर्वस्मै ।

२१६ । ङसिङ्घाः स्मात्स्मिनौ । ७ । १ । १५ ॥

अतः सर्वनाम्नो ङसिङ्घोरेनौ स्तः । सर्वस्मात् ॥

216. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ; there is substituted स्मात् for the Ablative ending अस् and स्मिन् for the Locative ending इ ॥

Thus सर्वस्मात् ।

२१७ । आमि सर्वनाम्नः सुद् । ७ । १ । ५२ ॥

अवर्णान्तासर्वनाम्नो विहितस्यामः सुडागमः स्यात् । एत्वषत्वे । सर्वेषाम् । सर्वस्मिन् । शेषं रामवत् एवं विश्वादयोऽप्यदन्ताः ।

सर्वादयश्च पञ्चविंशत् । सर्व, विश्व, उभ, उभय, उत्तर, उत्तर, अन्य, अन्यतर, इतर, त्वत्, त्व, नेम, सम, सिम ।

पूर्वपरावरक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् । स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् । अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः ।

एयद्, तद्, यद्, एतद्, इद्, अद्, एक, द्वि, युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु, किम्, इति ।

उभयद्वये द्वित्वविंशत्यस्य वाचकः । अत एव नित्यं द्विवचनान्तः । तस्येह पाठस्तु उभकवि-
त्यकजर्थः । नच कप्रत्ययेनेष्टसिद्धिः । द्विवचनपरत्वाभावेनोभयत उभयवेत्यादाविबायचप्रसङ्गात् । तदुक्तम् ॥
उभयोऽन्यत्रेति ॥ अन्यत्रेति द्विवचनपरत्वाभावे ।

उभयशब्दस्य द्विवचनं नास्तीति कैयटः । अस्तीति हरदत्तः । तस्माज्जस्ययज्ञादेशस्य स्थानि-
वज्ञावेन तयप्रत्ययान्ततया प्रथमचरमेति विकल्पं प्राप्ते विभक्तिनिरपेक्षत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वाभिव्यैव संज्ञा
भवति । उभये ।

उत्तरउत्तमौ प्रत्ययौ । यद्यपि संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तग्रहणं नास्ति । मुमिङन्तमिति
ज्ञापकात् । तथापीह तदन्तग्रहणम् । केवलयोः संज्ञायाः प्रयोजनाभावात् ।

अन्यतरान्यतमशब्दावच्छुत्पन्नौ स्वभावाद्द्विवहुविषये निर्धारणे वर्तेते । तच्चान्यतमशब्दस्य गणे
पाठाभावाच्च संज्ञा ।

त्व त्व इति श्राव्यदन्तावन्यपर्यायौ । एक उदात्तोऽपरोऽनुदात्त इत्येके । एकस्तान्त इत्यपरे ।

नेम इत्यर्थे । समः सर्वपर्यायः । तुल्यपर्यायस्तु नह गृह्यते । यथासंख्यमनुदेशः समानामिति
ज्ञापकात् ॥

अन्तर बहिर्योगेति गणसूत्रेऽपुरीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अन्तरायां पुरि ॥

217. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ or आ, the affix आम् of the Genitive Plural gets the augment स् at the beginning.

The word आत् of the last sūtra is understood here. Thus सर्वेषाम्. (The अ is changed to ए by VII. 3. 103. S. 205 and the स् is changed to ष्) सर्वस्मिन्. The rest of the declension of सर्व is like राम.

Note:—But भवताम् of भवत् ॥ The आम् of the sūtra is the Genitive Plural ending आम्, and not the आम् of the Locative Singular ordained by VII. 3. 116 S. 270;

for that आम्, takes the augments याद्, आद् or स्याद् (VII. 3. 112-114), while the present आम् takes सुद् or लुद् ॥ Nor the आम् of the Perfect Tense (III. 1. 35 &c.), because that refers to verb and not to Sarvanāma; nor the आम् of V. 4. 11., for the same reason. The word आमि is exhibited in the sūtra in the locative case for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 53. For the purposes of the present sūtra, it should be construed, as if it was in the Genitive case (आमः सर्वनामः सुद्), because सर्वनामः being in the Ablative case, the augment सुद् will be added at the beginning of the affix following it, on the maxim तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥

Other *Sarvanāmas* ending in अ as विद्वा &c., are similarly declined.

The *Sarvanāmas* are thirty-five in number, namely:—1 सर्व 'all,' 2 विद्वा 'all,' 3 उभ 'two,' 4 उभय 'both,' words formed by the affix 5 उत्तर such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix 6 उत्तम as कतम 'which of many,' 7 अन्य 'other,' 8 अन्यतर 'either,' 9 इतर 'other,' 10 त्वत् 'other,' 11 त्व 'other,' 12 नेम 'half,' 13 सम 'all,' 14 सिम 'whole.' So also 15 पूर्व 'east,' 'prior,' 16 पर 'subsequent,' 17 अवर 'west or posterior,' 18 दक्षिण 'south or right,' 19 उत्तर 'north or inferior,' 'subsequent,' 20 अपर 'other or inferior,' 21 अधर 'west or inferior,' are sarvanāmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also 22 स्व when it does not mean a kinsman or a treasure,' but means 'own.' So also 23 अन्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanāma. 24 त्वद् 'he, she, it,' 25 तत् 'he, she, it,' 26 यद् 'who,' 27 एतद् 'this,' 28 इदम् 'it,' 29 अदस् 'that,' 30 एक 'one,' 31 द्वि 'two,' 32 युष्मद् 'you,' 33 अस्मद् 'I,' 34 भवतु 'you,' 35 किम् 'what.'

The word उभ 'both' is always used in the dual number; as उभौ, उभाभ्याम्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of नर), is its taking the augment अकच् (V. 3. 71. S. 2026) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal; as उभकौ ॥

Q. But, could not the same purpose have been served by adding the affix क् by sūtra V. 3. 70. S. 2025 ?

Ans. No. For, the affix अकच् being added before the final vowel of उभ leaves the उभ always a dual word on the maxim तन्मध्यपतितस्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते i. e. "(Any term) that may be employed (in Grammar), denotes (not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when) something (is) *inserted* in that (which is actually denoted by it)." Therefore, अकच् being *inserted* in उभ does not change its character of always being in the dual, while क् being added to it would have destroyed that character. Had it lost its character of being always a dual, then in the case of क् affix, it would have required the insertion of अयच् by sūtra V. 2. 44. S. 1845 as it takes it before the affixes च and तल् in उभयतः, उभयच्च ॥ Therefore Katyāyana has said.

Vārtika :—The word उभय is used in other places where the sense of dual is not necessary. According to Kaiyata, उभय has no dual number ; but according to Haradatta it has. Therefore, before the affix जस् (Nom. Pl.), the substitute अयच् (V. 2. 44. S. 1845) being considered as स्थानिञ्च् to तयप् which it replaces, the word उभय is considered as ending in तयप् and therefore it would have been optionally a *sarvanāma* by the sūtra I. 1. 3. 3. S. 226. But the affix अयच् being added irrespective of any विभक्ति, it is an *antaranga* rule and therefore, it makes उभय *always* and not optionally a *sarvanāma*. Thus उभये but never उभया : ॥

The words उत्तर and उत्तम in the above list are affixes ordained by VII. 1. 25. S. 315 and V. 3. 92 S. 2047 &c. By giving these affixes in this list, it is meant that the words ending in these affixes are सर्वनाम ॥ This is according to the *Paribhāṣā* :—"An affix denotes, whenever it is employed (in Grammar, a word-form) which begins with that to which that (affix) has been added and ends with (the affix) itself."

Q. If so, then the words ending in तरप् and तनप् should also be called च (I. 1. 22. S. 2003).

Ans. This is not so, according to the *Paribhāṣā* :—"An affix, when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term, does not denote a word-form ending with the affix."

The employment of the word अन्त (in सुप्तिङन्त 'that which ends with 'Sup or Tin') in I. 4. 14. S. 29. indicates (the existence of) this *Paribhāṣā*; for, if the *Paribhāṣā* did not exist, अन्त would be superfluous, because सुप्तिङ alone would, in accordance with the preceding *Paribhāṣā*, denote that which ends with 'Sup' or 'Tin.'"

Q. But this is also a संज्ञा विधि and therefore the affixes उत्तर, उत्तम should not denote the words ending in those affixes.

Ans. In spite of the above *Paribhāṣā*, the affixes उत्तर, उत्तम denote here the words ending in those affixes. Because giving these affixes the name of *sarva-nāma*, would be useless, because nowhere in this Grammar, these affixes by themselves have been treated as *Sarva-nāma*.

The words अन्यतर and अन्यतम are not derivative words formed by the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम, but are considered as primary words, and, therefore, they naturally denote निर्धारण specifying अन्यतर denoting, निर्धारण of one out of two, and अन्यतम denoting निर्धारण or determination of one out of many. In other words, they do not get the force of निर्धारण by virtue of sūtras V. 3. 92 and 93 S. 2047 and 2048 but by their inherent force. The word अन्यतम, however, not being read in the above list of *sarvanāmas* is not a *Sarvanāma*.

There are two स्व in the above list, namely स्वन् and स्व, having the same meaning namely "other," and both ending in अ. But the final अ of one is udatta, and of the other anudatta. Some give स्वन् as a separate word ending in न् and say that both have anudatta accent. The word नेम means "half." The word सम is a sarvanâma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व 'all,' and not when it means 'equality.' When it has the latter sense of 'equality,' it is declined like नर i. e. like ordinary words ending in अ, as Pāṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10. S. 128. where he uses the regular Genitive plural समानाम्, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the Genitive plural would have been समेषाम्॥

Vart.—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanâma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तरायां पुरि वसति 'he lives out of the city.'

२१८। पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् । १।१।३४॥

एतेषां व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायां सर्वनामसंज्ञा गणपाठात्सर्वत्र या प्राप्ता सा जसि वा स्यात् । पूर्वे पूर्वाः ॥ स्वभिधेयापेक्षावधिनियमो व्यवस्था । व्यवस्थायां किम् । दक्षिणा गायकाः । कुशला इत्यर्थः । असंज्ञायां किम् । उत्तराः कुरवः ॥

218. The words pūrva 'prior,' para 'after,' avara 'posterior,' dakshina 'south,' uttara 'north,' apara 'other,' and adhara 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanâma, before the affix jas.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of Sarvanâmas. They are always sarvanâmas, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, i. e., when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than vyavasthâ or the fixed limit with regards to their own meaning, limit in time and space, they are not sarvanâmas, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञां). Thus, when the word दक्षिण means 'clever,' it is not a Sarvanama, as, दक्षिणा गायकाः 'clever minstrels,' similarly in उत्तराः कुरवः 'the Northern Kurus,' the word उत्तर is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a Proper Noun (like Northmen).

When these seven words are sarvanâma, they are declined like sarva, except in the nominative plural when they may be declined either as sarvanâmas, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a prâpta-vibhâshâ.

२१९। स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् । १।१।३५॥

ज्ञातिधनान्यवाचिनः स्वशब्दस्य या प्राप्ता संज्ञा सा जसि वा स्यात् । स्वे । स्वाः । आत्मीया इत्यर्थः । आत्मान इति वा । ज्ञातिधनवाचिनस्तु स्वाः । ज्ञातयोऽर्था वा ।

219. The word *sva* 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property, is optionally a *sarvanāma*, before the affix जल्.

The word स्व when it does not mean a ज्ञाति 'kinsman' or धन 'property' or 'wealth' is always a *sarvanāma*, in every number and case, as it has been enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus स्व पुत्राः or स्वाः पुत्राः 'one's own sons,' स्वे गावः or स्वा गावः 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' स्वाः alone is the nom. pl. As, स्वा ज्ञातयो 'these kinsmen' प्रभुताः स्वाः ॥

२२० । अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः । १ । १ । ३६ ॥

बाह्ये परिधानीये चार्थेऽन्तरशब्दस्य या प्राप्ता संज्ञा सा जति वा स्यात् । अन्तरे अन्तरा वा गृहाः । बाह्या इत्यर्थः । अन्तरे अन्तरा वा शाब्काः । परिधानीया इत्यर्थः ॥

220. The word *antara* being always a *sarvanāma*, when meaning "outer" or "a lower garment," is optionally so before the affix जल्.

The word अन्तर when it means बहिर्योग, *viz.*, 'outer' is always *sarvanāma*, so also, when it means उपसंव्यान or 'a lower garment.' Thus अन्तरे गृहाः or अन्तरा गृहा 'outer houses, the residence of Chandala, and other low castes.' So अन्तरे or अन्तराः शाब्काः 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.' The word अन्तर when used in the above sense is always *sarvanāma*, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a *sarvanāma*, e. g. ग्रामयोरन्तरे वसति 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is अन्तरे ॥

२२१ । पूर्वदिभ्यो नवभ्यो वा । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

भ्यो ङसिङ्भ्योः स्मास्मिनौ वा स्तः । पूर्वस्मात् । पूर्वात् । पूर्वस्मिन् । पूर्वे । एवं परादिनामपि ॥ शेषं सर्ववत् । एकशब्दः संज्ञयायां नित्यैकवचनान्तः ॥

221. स्मात् and स्मिन् are optionally substituted for the Ablative and Locative endings, after पूर्व and the eight that follow it.

Thus पूर्वस्मात् or पूर्वात्, पूर्वस्मिन् or पूर्वे, परस्मात् or परात्, परस्मिन् or परे, अवरस्मात् or अवरात्, अवरस्मिन् or अवरे, दक्षिणस्मात् or दक्षिणात्, दक्षिणस्मिन् or दक्षिणे, उत्तरस्मात्, or उत्तरात्, उत्तरस्मिन्, or उत्तरे, अपरस्मात्, or अपरात्, अपरस्मिन्, or अपरे, अधरस्मात्, or अधरात्, अधरस्मिन्, or अधरे, स्वस्मात्, or स्वात्, स्वस्मिन् or स्वे, अन्तरस्मात् or अन्तरात्, अन्तरस्मिन् or अन्तरे ॥)

The word 'एक' when denoting a numeral is always singular. But in any other meaning, it may have other numbers also, as एकै, एकेषाम् ('of some'). 'एक' has eight meanings.

२२२ । न बहुव्रीहौ । १ । १ । २६ ॥

बहुव्रीहौ चिकीर्षिते सर्वनामसंज्ञा न स्यात् । त्वकं पिता यस्य स त्वत्कपितृकः । अहकं पिता यस्य स मत्कपितृकः । इह समासात्प्रागेव प्रक्रियावाक्ये सर्वनामसंज्ञा निषिध्यते । अन्यथा लौकिके विग्रहवाक्ये इव तत्राप्येकश्च प्रवर्तते । स च समासेऽपि श्रूयते । अतिक्रान्तो भवकन्तमतिभवकानितिवत् । भाष्यकारस्तु त्वत्कपितृको मत्कपितृक इति रूपे इष्टार्पात् कृत्वैतत्सूत्रं प्रत्याचख्यौ । यथोत्तरं मुनीनां प्रामाण्यम् । संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतास्तु न सर्वादयः । महासंज्ञाकरणेन तदनुशुणानामेव गणे संनिवेशात् । अतः संज्ञाकार्यमन्तर्गणकार्यं च तेषां न भवति । सर्वो नाम कश्चित्तस्मै सर्वाय देहि । अतिक्रान्तः सर्वमतिसर्वस्तस्मै अतिसर्वाय देहि । अतिकतरं कुलम् । अतितत् ॥

222. The words sarva &c., are not Sarvanāma when they are intended to be employed in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus त्वकं पिता यस्य = त्वत्कपितृकः । Similarly, अहकं पिता यस्य = मत्कपितृकः । Here the affix अकच् is added by sūtra V. 3. 71 S. 2026 in the sense of contempt or unknown relationship. Here before the taking place of the compound, the name of the *sarvanāma* is prohibited with regard to the words त्वत्कम् and अहकं other wise, in ordinary language, the word अकच् would have been used, as it is employed, in the above analytical stage. This अकच् would have been retained even in the compound, as it is retained in the compound अतिभवकान् whose analysis is अतिक्रान्तो भवकन्तम्. But the word त्वत् and मत् not being treated as a *sarvanāma* take only the ordinary affix क (V. 3. 70 S. 2025) and not the affix अक. Had they been treated as *sarvanāma* then अकच् would have been inserted before त् by V. 3. 71 S. 2026 giving the forms त्वकन्त् and महकन्त् and these forms would have been retained in the compound.

But Patanjali has given the forms त्वकन्त्पितृकः and मत्कन्त्पितृकः and has shown the futility of having made this Sūtra at all. According to his opinion, this Sūtra is unnecessary. Therefore, according to the maxim, when the three sages differ, the opinion of the last one is authoritative, we should follow the opinion of Patanjali in this matter.

Vārtika.:—The words सर्व &c. when employed as proper names (संज्ञा) or as a secondary member of a compound (उपसर्जन) are not to be declined as *sarvanāma*. This we infer by Panini's using such a big word as Sarvanāma, instead of making a short technical name like दि &c. Therefore सर्व &c are Sarvanāmas when they have the meaning of "all &c." as given above in the list, because only those words have been included in the list

which have the appropriate meaning of "all" &c, and not words which denote something else, though their form may be "sarva &c." Because in the list such words are only included which have the attributes of the thing defined. Therefore, the rules applicable to these words by the fact of being called *sarvanāma* संज्ञाकार्यम् or the rules applicable to portions of them by the fact of their being enumerated in this list अन्तरागणकार्ये do not apply. Thus the rules VII. 1. 25. S. 315, VII. 2. 102. S. 265 and VII. 2. 106. S. 381. are rules of अन्तरागणकार्ये, that is rules which have taken up particular portions of words given in this list. These rules do not apply to words when they are used as संज्ञा and उपसर्जन. Therefore if सर्व be the name of a person, the dative will be सर्वाय, as सर्वाय देहि "give to the person called Sarva" Here the dative is not सर्वस्मै. Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are उपसर्जन, they are not treated as sarvanama, but follow the regular declension, as अतिसर्वाय देहि "give to (him who is) Above-all." Similarly अतिक्रतरं कुलम्. Here there is not the substitution of अद्ङ as required by sūtra VII. 1. 25. S. 315. For क्रतर would have formed क्रतरन् but अतिक्रतर does not form अतिक्रतरन् but अतिक्रतरम् because here क्रतर is उपसर्जन and therefore अन्तरागणकार्ये rule VII. 1. 25 S. 315 does not apply. Similarly अतितन्. Here VII. 2. 102 S. 265 requiring the substitution of अ for the final of तद् and the rule VII. 2. 106. S. 381 requiring the substitution of स for the non-final त do not apply. For though the ordinary form of Nominative Singular of तन् is सः, the compound of तन् with अति will not be अतिसः in the nominative, but अतितन्.

२२३ । तृतीयासमासे । १ । १ । ३० ॥

अत्र सर्वनामता न स्यात् । मासपूर्वाय । तृतीयासमासार्थवाक्येऽपि न । मासेन पूर्वाय ॥

223. In the Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanāma.

Thus the word मासपूर्व is a compound of मास and पूर्व = मासेनपूर्व meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word māsa is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e. g. its dative will be मासपूर्वाय, though the dative of पूर्व, when standing by itself, is पूर्वस्मै ; ॥ The same will be the case even when there is no compounding, but the sense is of the Instrumental compound ; as मासेन पूर्वाय ॥

२२४ । द्वन्द्वे च । १ । १ । ३१ ॥

द्वन्द्वे उक्ता संज्ञा न । वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् । समुदायस्यायं निबधो न त्ववयवानाम् । नचैवं तदन्तर्विधिनामुद्गमसङ्गः सर्वनाम्नो विहितस्थानः सुडिति व्याख्यातत्वात् ।

224. And in the Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words sarva etc., are not sarvanāma.

Thus वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् ॥ This sūtra prohibits the designation Sarvanāma with regard to the *whole* compound, and not with regard to its various members. The word इतर therefore is already a Sarvanāma. Then there arises the following difficulty. Why should not सुद् be added to आम् in the genitive plural, giving us the form वर्णाश्रमेतरेषाम् ? We reply, that आम् gets सुद् only then when it is ordained after a Sarvanāma. Here it is not ordained after a Sarvanāma, but after a Dvanda compound which is not a Sarvanāma.

This prohibition applies to the compound as a whole and not to its various members. If so, why should not the augment सुद् come before the genitive plural affix आम् (VII. 1. 52. S. 217) in the case of इतर also here, by the rule of तदन्तविधि. This is not so because in explaining that sūtra, we have used the word विहितस्य ३. ८. सुद् is added only to that आम् which is specifically ordained after a Sarvanāma and not to every आम् in general. Thus, the compound वर्णाश्रमेतर means, वर्ण 'the castes,' आश्रम 'the orders' and इतर 'the others.' The word इतर in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the Genitive plural we have :—वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् and not इतरेषाम्. So also पूर्वपरणाम् of the priors and the posteriors.

२२५ । विभाषा जसि । १ । १ । ३२ ॥

जसाधारं यत्कार्यं शीभावाख्यं तत्र कर्तव्ये द्वन्द्वे उक्ता संज्ञा वा स्यात् । वर्णाश्रमेतरे । वर्णाश्रमे-
तराः । शीभावं प्रत्येव विभाष्युक्तमतो नाकच् । किंतु कप्रत्यय एव । वर्णाश्रमेतरकाः ॥

225. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanāma, when the nominative plural termination ja follows.

It declares that before the termination जस् (which is the termination of the nominative plural and which in the pronominals is replaced by ज्ञा), the dvandva compounds may be treated either as sarvanāmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्णाश्रमेतर may be either वर्णाश्रमेतराः or वर्णाश्रमेतरे, that is, the word may take either जस् or ज्ञी. ॥

The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix जस् 1st. pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71). There the sūtra 224 is absolute. Thus, वर्णाश्रमेतरकाः Here अकच् is not added but क only in the plural. This affix अक (अकच्) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

२२६ । प्रथमचरमतयाल्पाङ्गकतिपयनेमाश्च । १ । १ । ३३ ॥

एते जसः कार्ये प्रत्युक्तसंज्ञा वा स्युः । प्रथमे । प्रथमाः ॥ शेषं रामवत् । तयः प्रत्ययः ततस्तदन्ता
घाह्याः । द्वितये । द्वितयाः । शेषं रामवत् । नेमे । नेमाः । शेषं सर्ववत् । विभाषाप्रकरणे तीवस्य द्विसू-
पसंख्यानम् ॥ द्वितीयस्मै । द्वितीयायेत्यादि । एवं तृतीयः । अर्थवद्ग्रहणाद्ग्रह । पटुजातीयाय । निर्जरः ॥

226. And also the words *prathama* 'first'; *charama* 'last,' as well as words ending with the affix *taya* (V. 2. 42); *alpa* 'few', *ardha* 'half', *katipaya* 'some,' and *nema* 'half' are optionally *sarvanāma*, before the nom. pl. termination.

Thus we have *प्रथमे* or *प्रथमाः*, *चरमे* or *चरमाः*, *अल्पे* or *अल्पाः*, *अर्धे* or *अर्धाः*, *कतिपये* or *कतिपयाः*, *नेमे* or *नेमाः*, *द्वितये* or *द्वितयाः* ॥

The words "optionally when the affix *जस्* follows" are understood in this sūtra. By the word *तय* in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix *तय*. The rest are *pratipadikas* or crude bases. The word *नेम* has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called *prāpta-vibhāsā*, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like *राम*, the rest of its declension is like *sarva*, while in the case of *prathama* &c. the nom. pl. may be like *sarva*, but the rest of their declension must be like that of *राम*. The word *ubhaya*, has been formed by the addition of the affix *तय*, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sūtra, its nom. pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix *kan* or *akach* must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then *akach*, otherwise *kan*.

Vart :—The words formed by the affix *तीय* such as, *द्वितीय* and *तृतीय*, are optionally declined as *sarvanāma* before the case-affixes having an indicative *ङ* (*ङित्*), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, *द्वितीयस्मै* or *द्वितीयाय*, *तृतीयाय* or *तृतीयस्मै*.

Paribhāṣā.—(A combination of letters capable of) expressing a meaning (denotes), whenever it is employed (in Grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it) does not denote (the same combination of letters) void of a meaning.

Therefore *पटुजातीयाय* and not *पटुजातीयस्मै*. Here the affix is *जातीय* and not *तीय*, and in the affix *जातीय*, the portion *तीय* has no independent meaning of its own.

Here ends the declension of *Sarvanamans*.

सर्व

	Nom.	Voca.	Acc.	Instr.	Dati.	Abla.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing.	सर्वः	हे सर्व	सर्वं	सर्वेण	सर्वस्मै	सर्वस्मात्	सर्वस्य	सर्वस्मिन्
Dual	सर्वौ	" सर्वौ	सर्वौ	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वयोः	सर्वयोः
Pl.	सर्वे	" सर्वे	सर्वान्	सर्वैः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेषाम्	सर्वेषु

Now, we take up the declension of the word निर्जरः ॥ The Nominative Singular will be निर्जरः + सु = निजरः ॥ The nominative dual will be निर्जरः + औ ॥ Here applies the following sūtra.

२२७ । जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम् । ७ । २ । १०१ ॥

जराशब्दस्य जरस् वा स्यादजादौ विभक्तौ । पञ्चाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य तदन्तस्य च । अनेकाल्त्वा-
स्त्वादेशे प्राप्ते । निर्दिश्यमानस्यदेशा भवन्ति । एकदेशाविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् जराशब्दस्य जरस् । निर्जरसौ ।
निर्जरसः । इनादीन् बाधित्वा परत्वाच्चजरस् । निर्जरसा । निर्जरसे । निर्जरसः । पक्षे हलादौ च रामवत् ।
वृत्तिकृता तु पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन इनातोः कृतयोः संनिपातपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वमाश्रित्य जरसि कृते निर्जरसिन
निर्जरसादिति रूपे न तु निर्जरसा निर्जरस इति केचिदित्युक्तम् । तथा भिसि निर्जरसैरिति रूपान्तरदुक्तम् ॥
तदनुसारिभश्च षष्ठ्येकवचने निर्जरस्येत्येव रूपं स्वीकृतम् । एतच्च भाष्यविरुद्धम् ॥

227. जरस् may be substituted for जरा, optionally before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

By the *Paribhāṣhā* ;—(A word or base which occurs in a rule) in which (the term) पद् or अङ्ग is valid, (denotes) both that (word or base by itself) and (it denotes) also (any word or base) which ends with that (word or base). The substitute जरस् will come in the case of निर्जर also.

The substitute जरस् consists of more than one letter and therefore by sūtra I. 1. 55. S. 45, should it not replace the whole of निर्जर ? No, because of the following

Paribhāṣhā ;—Substitutes take the place of that (or of part of that) which (in a rule) is actually enunciated. Therefore जरस् will replace the जर portion of निर्जर and not the whole. But the rule is “जरा is replaced by जरस्” There is no जरा with long आ in निर्जर, then why should there be any substitution ? But this substitution takes place according to the *Paribhāṣhā* :—That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) something else (than what it was before the change had taken place). Therefore जर of निर्जर is considered the same as निजरा ॥

Thus निर्जर + औ = निर्जरस् + औ = निर्जरसौ . The plural will be निर्जरसः ॥

The Instrumental singular will be formed by आ as निर्जरसा. The substitute vibhakti ending इन or आत् is debarred by जरस् and does not take place in the case of निर्जर. Thus निर्जरसा ; निर्जरसे &c.

In the other alternative and also before the case affixes beginning with consonants, the declension of निर्जर will be like राम ॥

According to the Vṛttikāra the affixes इन and आत् will come by the rule of pūrva-vipratishedha, prohibition in anticipation ; and as the सन्निपातपरिभाषा is not of universal application, the Instrumental and Ablative singular forms will

be निर्जरासिन and निर्जरासात् and not निर्जरासा and निर्जरासः The Instrumental Plural will be निर्जरासैः। Those who follow this opinion make the Genitive singular निर्जरास्य ॥ But all this is against the opinion of the Bhâsyakâra.

निर्जर

	Nom.	Voca.	Acc.	Instr.	Dati.	Abla.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing.	निर्जरः	निर्जर	निर्जरसम्	निर्जरसा	निर्जरसे	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसि
Dual	निर्जरसौ	निर्जरसौ	निर्जरसौ	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जरसोः	निर्जरसोः
Pl.	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरैः	निर्जरैः	निर्जरैः	निर्जरसां	निर्जरेशु

OPTIONAL FORMS

Sing.	निर्जरः	निर्जर	निजरम्	निर्जरेण	निर्जराय	निर्जरात्	निर्जरस्य	निर्जरे
Dual	निर्जरौ	निर्जरौ	निर्जरौ	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जरयोः	निजरयोः
Pl.	निर्जराः	निर्जराः	निर्जरात्	निर्जरैः	निर्जरैः	निर्जरैः	निर्जराणाम्	निर्जरेषु

२२८ । पद्मोमास्त्विशसन्धूपन्दोपन्यकञ्चकानुदन्नासञ्छस्पृष्टिषु । ६ ।

१ । ६३ ॥

पाद, दन्त, नासिका, मास, हृदय, निशा, असृज्, यूप, दोष, यकृन्, शकृन्, उदक, आस्य एषां पदाव्य अदिशाः स्युः सासाहै वा । यत्तु आसनशब्दस्य आसन्नदिश इति काशिकायावुक्तं तत्पमादिकम् । पादः । पादाः । पादाः । पादम् । पादौ । पदः । पादान् । पदा । पादेन इत्यादि ॥

228. In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are optionally substituted :—पद् for पाद, दत् for दन्त, नस् for नासिका, मास् for मास, हृद् for हृदयं, निश् for निशा, असन् for असृज्, यूपन् for यूप, दोषन् for दोस्, यकृन् for यकृत्, शकृन् for शकृत्, उदन् for उदक and आसन् for आस्य ॥

The Kâsikâ gives आसन् as the substitute for आसन. This is a mistake. Thus पादः, पादौ, पादाः, पादम् पादौ, पदः or पादान्, पदा or पादेन &c.

२२९ । सुडनपुंसकस्य । १ । १ । ४३ ॥

सुड प्रत्याहारः स्वादिष्वञ्चवचनानि सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञानि स्युरङ्गीबस्य ॥

229. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyâhâra sūṭ (i. e., the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanâmasthâna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

२३० । स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने । १ । ४ । १७ ॥

कैप्रत्ययावधिषु स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थानेषु परतः पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

230. When the affixes beginning with स (IV. 1. 2) and ending in कप् (V. 4. 151.) follow, not being Sarvanâmasthâna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada.

२३१। यचि भम् । १। ४। १८ ॥

यकारादिष्वजादिषु च कप्प्रत्ययावधिषु स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थानेषु परतः पूर्वं भसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

231. And when an affix, with an initial य or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with सु and ending in क, follows, not being Sarvanâmasthâna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

२३२। आकडारादेका संज्ञा । १। ४। १९ ॥

इत ऊर्ध्वं कडाराः कर्मधारय इत्यतः प्रागेकस्यैकैव संज्ञा ज्ञेया । या पराऽनवकाशा च । तेन सासादावचि भसंज्ञैव न पश्यत्वम् । अतो जइत्वं न । इतः । इता । जइत्वम् । इद्भ्यामित्यादि । नासः । नासा । भ्यामि हत्वे यत्वे च यलोपः । माभ्याम् । माभिरित्यादि ॥

232. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kadârâḥ Karmadhâraye (II.2. 38 S. 751.) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

Note. What is that name then ? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2. S. 175) and that which, were its claims disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name. As a short vowel is called 'light' by I. 4. 10, S. 31 and it is also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11, S. 32) Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name i. e., 'heavy.' Thus in भिद् to divide छिद् to split, the इ is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in शिक्षा teaching भिक्षा begging.

Thus in the root तक्ष् the अ is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form अततक्षत् . Similarly अररक्षत् . The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here, as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

Therefore, in the affixes beginning with the Accusative Plural and whose initial letter is a vowel, the preceding stem gets the name of *bha* only and not that of pada. The result of which is that the hard consonants are not changed into soft. Thus the accusative Plural of इन्त is इतः. The Instrumental singular is इता ॥ The त् is not changed to द् by the जश् rule. But before the affixes beginning with consonants, the preceding stem gets the name of Pada and we have the softening of the consonants, as इद्भ्याम् &c. Similarly Ac. Pl. नासः, Ins. Sg. नासा. Before the affix भ्याम् the स of नास् will

be changed to **रु** which will be changed to **अ** which being elided, we have the forms **माभ्याम्**, **माभिः** ॥

२३३ । अस्य । ६ । ४ । १२९ ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

233. Whatever will be taught in the following up to the end of the sixth Adhyāya, should be understood to apply to the nominal stems called Bha (I. 4. 18, 19 S. 231 and 1896).

२३४ । अलोपोऽनः । ६ । ४ । १३४ ॥

अङ्गावयवोऽसर्वनामस्थानयजादिस्वदिपरो योऽन् तस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥

234. Of a Bha stem ending in **अन्**, the **अ** is elided.

२३५ । रपाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे । ८ । ४ । १ ॥

एकपदस्थाभ्यां रेफकाराभ्यां परस्य नस्य णः स्यात् । यूष्णः यूष्णा । पूर्वस्मादपि विधौ स्थानिवद्भाव इति पक्षे तु अङ्गव्यवाय इत्येवात्र गत्वम् । * पूर्वत्रासिद्धीये न स्थानिवदिति तु इह नास्ति । तस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपलक्षणत्वेऽपि निषेधात् ॥

235. After **र** and **प**, the **ण्** is the substitute of **न**, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

Therefore the Ac. Pl of **यूषन्** is formed by eliding the **अ** and changing the **न** into **ण**; as **यूष्णः**; Ins. Sg. **यूष्णा** ॥

If we apply the rule of **स्थानिवद्भाव** by sūtra **अचः परस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ** (I. 1. 57 S. 50), and this we can do by explaining the compound **pūrva-vidhau** = **purva-smād vidhau** meaning "when a rule is to be applied on account of or after something which precedes the substitute" and consider the **लोप** to be **स्थानिवद्** to **अ**, in that case also the **न** will be changed to **ण** by the rule VIII. 4. 2 S. 197. i. e. **न** is changed to **ण** even when a vowel intervenes. But as a matter of fact, the **लोपदिश** is not **स्थानिवत्** according to the following *vārtika*.

Vārtika:—In the last three chapters of the 8th Book of Pāṇini's *Ashtādhyāyī*, the rule of **स्थानिवत्** will not apply.

२३६ । नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य । ८ । २ । ७ ॥

नेति प्रातिपदिकेति च लुप्तपृथगे पदे । प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञकं यत्पदं तदन्तस्य नकारस्य लोपः स्यात् । नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्दीर्घत्वमेवमेवैत्वं च न । यूषभ्याम् । यूषभिः । यूषभ्य इत्यादि ॥

236. The **न** at the end of a Nominal-stem, which is a Pada (I. 4. 17 S. 230.), is elided.

The words **न** and **प्रातिपदिक** in the text are to be taken in the genitive case; the sign of the genitive being elided here.

The elision of **न** by this Sūtra being considered *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of the previous Sūtras, there is not the lengthening

of sūtra VII. 3. 102 S. 202. or the सं substitution of VII. 3. 103. S. 205. or the ह्रस्व substitution of VII. 1. 9. S. 203. Therefore the forms are यूषभ्याम् and not यूषभ्याम् ; यूषभिः and not यूषैः ; यूषभ्यः and not यूषभ्यः ॥

२३७ । विभाषा ङिभ्योः । ६ । ४ । १३६ ॥

अङ्गावयवोऽसर्वनामस्थानयज्जद्विस्वादिपरो योऽन् तस्याकारस्य लोपो वा स्यात् ङिभ्योः । यृष्णि । यृष्णि । पक्षे रामवत् । पदत्रितिसूत्रे प्रभृतिग्रहणं प्रकारार्थम् । तथा च । औङः श्यामपि दोषन्नादेशो भाष्ये ककुद्दोषणी इत्युदाहृतः । तेन 'पदङ्प्रिश्चरणोऽस्त्रियां स्वान्तं हन्मानसं मन' इति च संगच्छते । आसन्यः । दोषशब्दस्य नपुंसकत्वमप्यत एव भाष्यात् । तेन दक्षिणं दोर्निशाचर इति संगच्छते । भुजबाहू प्रवेष्टो होरिति साहचर्यात्पुंस्त्वमपि । दोषं तस्य तथाविधस्य भजत इति । द्वयोरद्वौर्भवो ब्रह्मः ॥

237. In a Bha-stem ending in अन् , the अ is optionally elided before the Locative ending इ and before the ending इदि (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As यृष्णि or यृषणि . In all other cases the word यृषण् is declined like राम . The word ङिभ्योः is a compound of नि and ङि and not ङि for the stem is not Bha there.

The word प्रभृति in the sūtra VI. 1. 63 S. 228 is used in the sense of प्रकार ie. the affixes therein taught, are illustrative only; the substitution will take place even when a Sarvanāmasthāna affix follows. Therefore, where the dual affix औ is replaced by औ, and it is a Sarvanāmasthāna affix there also that rule VI. 1. 63 applies, for we have in the Bhāṣya the example of ककुद्दोषणी. Similarly also the following are valid: "पदङ्प्रिश्चरणोऽस्त्रियाम्" here पाद् is changed before the Nom. Sg सु; which is not a weak affix, "स्वान्तं हन्मानसं मनः" here हृद् is changed to हृद् in the Nom. Sg. These are from Amara-Kośha. and आसन्यं प्राणमुचुः "They (the Devas) said to the Prāṇa in the mouth" (Bṛihadāraṇyaka I. 3. 7). Here आस्य is changed to आसन् before the affix य । आसन्यं means that which is born in the mouth. The word दोष (hand) is used in the neuter gender in the Bhāṣya of Pāṇjali. Therefore the following usage is correct:—तदुपाद्भवदुद्यम्य दक्षिणं दोर्निशाचरम्", दो is also masculine gender because it is used along with भुज बाहू प्रवेष्टोः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word ब्रह्मः ।

२३८ । संख्याविसायपूर्वस्याहस्याहनन्यतरस्यां ङौ । ६ । ३ । ११० ॥

संख्यादिपूर्वस्याहस्याऽहन्नादेशो वा स्यात् ङौ । ब्राह्मि । ब्राह्मि । ब्राह्मे । विगतमहर्च्यहः । व्यह्मि । व्यह्मि । व्यह्मे । अहः सायः सायाहः । सायाह्मि । सायाहनि । सायाह्मे ॥

238. अहन् may optionally be substituted for अह, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or वि or साय precedes it.

Thus द्वयोर्द्वौर्भवः = द्वद्वः, ॥ The Locative singular of this is द्वद्वि or द्वद्वनि, ॥ So also द्वद्वे, ॥ With वि—व्यद्वि, व्यद्वनि, व्यद्वे with साय—सायाद्वि सायाद्वनि, सायाद्वे ॥ These are एकदशसमासः, and this very sūtra is an indicator that अहन् may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or वि or साय ॥ Thus we have मध्याद्वे or मध्यमद्वनि, (II. 2. 1). But पूर्वाद्वे and अपराद्वे only.

Note.—The compounding in the above examples takes place by the rule II. 1. 51. S. 728., with the force of भव IV. 3. 11. S. 1381. Thus द्वि + अहन्. Here we add the Samāsanta affix दच् by the rule V. 4. 91 S. 788 and the अहन् is replaced by अद्व by V. 4. 83. S. 790. While the तद्धितार्थ affix ङ् which was ordained by IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080.

Here ends the declension of masculine words ending in अ.

पाद

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	पादः	पादम्	पादेन or पदा	पादाय or पदे ।	पादान् or पदः	पादस्य or पदः	पादे or पादे
Dual	पादौ	पादौ	पादाभ्यां or पङ्क्त्याम्	पादाभ्यां or पङ्क्त्याम् ।	पादाभ्याम् पङ्क्त्यां	पादयोः or पदोः	पादयोः or पदोः
Plural	पादाः	पादान् or पदः	पादैः पङ्क्तिः	पादैभ्यः or पङ्क्त्यः ।	पादैभ्यः or पङ्क्त्यः	पादानां or पदान्	पादेषु or पदसु

दन्त (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS ARE SHOWN BELOW)

	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	...	दन्ता	दन्ते	दन्तः	दन्तः	दन्ति
Dual	...	ददभ्याम्	दङ्क्त्याम्	दङ्क्त्याम्	दन्तोः	दन्तोः
Plural	दन्तः	ददभिः	दद्वयः	दङ्क्त्यः	दन्ताम्	ददसु

मास (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

Singular	...	मासा	मासे	मासः	मासः	मासि
Dual	...	माभ्याम्	माभ्याम्	माभ्याम्	मासोः	मासोः
Plural	मासः	माभिः	माभ्यः	माभ्यः	मासाम्	मासु

शूष (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

Singular	...	शूष्णा	शूष्णे	शूष्णः	शूष्णः	शूष्णि
Dual	...	शूषभ्याम्	शूषभ्याम्	शूषभ्याम्	शूष्णोः	शूष्णोः
Plural	शूष्णः	शूषभिः	शूषभ्यः	शूषभ्यः	शूष्णाम्	शूष्णु

Now, we take up the declension of the masculine words ending in आ such as विश्वपा.

२३६ । दीर्घाज्जसि च । ६ । १ । १०५ ॥

दीर्घाज्जसि इचि च परे प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न स्यात् । वृद्धिः । विश्वपौ । सवर्णदीर्घः । विश्वपाः । अद्यपीह षौडि नादिर्चात्येव सिद्धं जसि तु सत्यपि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घे क्षतिर्नास्ति तथापि गौर्वौ गौर्य इत्याद्यर्थे सूत्रमिहापि न्याय्यत्वादुपन्यस्तम् ॥

239. The substitution of a long vowel homogeneous with the first, does not take place when a long vowel is followed by a nominative or accusative case-affix beginning with a vowel (other than अ) or by the Nom. Pl. affix अस् ॥

The long vowel required by VI. 1. 102, S. 164. does not take place in the case of words ending in long vowels. Thus Nominative Singular of विश्वपा is विश्वपः ; Nom. Dual विश्वपा + औ = विश्वपौ by the general rule of Vṛddhi and Nom. Pl. is विश्वपाः by lengthening the homogeneous letters अ and आ.

In the declension of विश्वपा the above forms are regularly obtained. In the case of Nom. Dual, the lengthening required by VI. 1. 102. S. 164. is debarred by VI. 1. 104 S. 165. as well. In the case of Nom. Pl. विश्वपा + अस् (अस्) there will be no harm if VI. 1. 102 S. 164 be applied, for even that rule will give the form विश्वपाः. Therefore in the case of विश्वपा the present Sūtra is not absolutely necessary. But we have given it here for the sake of logical consistency, for this Sūtra applies to stems ending in long vowels like गौरी, the Nom. Dual and Pl. of which will be गौर्वौ and गौर्यः respectively.

२४० । आतो धातोः । ६ । ४ । १४० ॥

आकारान्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्य भस्याऽङ्गस्य लोपः स्यात् । अलोऽन्त्यस्य । विश्वपः । विश्वपा । विश्वपाभ्यामित्यादि । एवं शङ्खभ्यादयः । धातोः क्रिम् । हाहान् । दा सवर्णदीर्घः । हाहा । डे वृद्धिः । हाहे । ङसिङ्तोर्दीर्घः । हाहाः । औसि वृद्धिः । हाहौ । ङौ आट्टणः । हाहि । शेष विश्वपावत् । आत इति योगविभागादधातोर्ग्याकारलोपः क्वचित् । क्तवः अः ॥

240. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

The *lopa* will be of the final vowel by I. 1. 52 S. 42. Therefore Accu. Pl. will be विश्वपः ; Inst. Sing. विश्वपा ; विश्वपाभ्याम् &c.

Like विश्वपा should be declined, शङ्खभ्या &c. Why do we say the आ of a root? Observe हाहान् (the accusative Pl. of हाहा). Its Instr. Sing. will be हाहा + दा = हाहा by lengthening of homogeneous vowels. Its Dat. Sing. will be हाहा + डे = हाहे by Vṛiddhi. Its Abl. and Geni. Sing. will be हाहाः + ङसि or ङस् = हाहाः by lengthening. Its Gen. and Loc. dual will be हाहा + औस् = हाहौः

by Vṛiddhi. Its Loc. Sing. will be हाहा + डि = हाह by guṇa. The rest are like विश्वपा.

By the rule of *yoga vibhaga* (योगविभागाद्वि सिद्धिः) i. e. "From a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we may derive such results as may be desirable," the present Sūtra may be divided into two Sūtras eg. (1.) आतः, the final आ of a Bha stem is always elided; (2) घातोः, the final आ of a Bha Stem when it ends in a root is always elided. Thus are formed त्वः and इनः the Genitive Singulars of Ktvā and śnā. For Pāṇini himself has declined त्वः and इना by the elision of आ, see VII. 1. 37. S. 3332 (त्नासेऽनञ्पूर्वेऽन्तोऽन्त्ये) and III. 1. 83. S. 2557. (इतः इतः शान्दौ)

Here ends the declension of words ending in long आ.

विश्वपा

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	विश्वपाः	हे विश्वपाः	विश्वपाम्	विश्वपा	विश्वपे	विश्वपः	विश्वपः	विश्वपि
Dual	विश्वपौ	॥ विश्वपौ	विश्वपौ	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाः	विश्वपौ
Plural	विश्वपाः	॥ विश्वपाः	विश्वपः	विश्वपाभिः	विश्वपाभ्यः	विश्वपाभ्यः	विश्वपाम्	विश्वपासु

हाहा

Singular	हाहाः	हे हाहाः	हाहाम्	हाहा	हाहौ	हाहाः	हाहाः	हाहे
Dual	हाहौ	॥ हाहौ	हाहौ	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहौः	हाहौः
Plural	हाहाः	॥ हाहाः	हाहान्	हाहाभिः	हाहाभ्यः	हाहाभ्यः	हाहाम्	हाहासु

Now we take up the declension of the word हरि. The Nom. sing. will be हरिः. Nom. Dual will be हरि + औ = हरी by lengthening the preceding vowel VI. 1. 102. S. 164. The Pl. is हरि + जस् ॥ Here applies the following.

२४१ । जसि च । ७ । ३ । १०९ ॥

ह्रस्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणः स्याज्जसि परे । हरयः ॥

241. Before the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl., guṇa is substituted for the final short vowel of a nominal stem.

Therefore the इ of हरि is *gunated* to ए. Thus हरि + अस् = हरे + अस् = हरयः ॥ The Vocative Sing. will be हरि + सु Here the following rule applies.

२४२ । ह्रस्वस्य गुणः । ७ । ३ । १०८ ॥

ह्रस्वस्य गुणः स्यात्संबुद्धौ । एङ्ह्रस्वाविति संबुद्धिलोपः । हे हरे । हरिम् । हरी । हरीन् ॥

242. For short इ and उ final in a nominal-stem, a guṇa is substituted in the Vocative Singular.

Therefore the इ of हरि is changed to ए and the affix is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus we get हे हरे.

The Acc. forms are हरिम्, हरी, हरीन्.

The Instr. sing is हरी + दा. Here the following two rules apply.

२४३ । शेषो घ्यसखि । १ । ४ । ७ ॥

अनङ्गसंज्ञौ ह्रस्वौ याविदुतौ तदन्तं सखिवर्जं घिसंज्ञं स्यात् । शेषः किम् । मत्स्ये । एकसंज्ञाधिका सखिद्वये शेषग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । ह्रस्वौ किम् । वातप्रम्ये । इदुतौ किम् । मात्रे ॥

243. The rest of the words that end in short इ and उ are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

Thus हरि is a ghi word. Why do we say 'the rest of the words'? Observe मत्स्ये, for मति being a feminine noun does not get the name of ghi but retains its name of *nadi*; for otherwise its declension will be मतस्यै, formed by applying the rule VII. 3. 112 S. 268 and VII. 3. 111 S. 245 But. मतस्यै is of course a wrong form. Though by the rule I. 4. 1. S. 232 if the word gets its designation ghi, it can never get the designation nadi and *vice versa*, and मति which is a nadi word can never be called *ghi*, and so even if the word शेष had not been used in the sūtra, there would not have been any fear of मति being confounded with a *ghi* word, still शेष is used in the sūtra for the sake of precision and clearness. Why do we say short इ and उ? Observe वातप्रम्ये ॥ Why do we say इ and उ;? Observe मात्रे ॥

Note.—This defines the word ghi. The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on. The word hrasva is understood in this sūtra. The word shesha or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short इ or उ which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not nadi words.'

As अग्नि fire. Before case-affixes having an indicatory ण, the ghi nouns gunate their vowel VII. 3. 111. As अग्नि + डे = अग्ने + ए = अग्नये 'to the fire.' So also वायु + डे = वायवे 'to the wind.' But the declension of sakhi in these cases is:—सख्या सख्ये सख्युः and सख्यौ.

२४४ । आङो नाऽस्त्रियाम् ७ । ३ । १२० ॥

धेः परस्याङो ना स्यादस्त्रियाम् । आङिति दासंज्ञा प्राचाम् । हरिणा । अस्त्रियां किम् । मत्स्या ॥

244. ना is substituted for the ending आ of the Instrumental singular, after the Ghi stems, when they are not Feminine.

The word आङ् is the ancient name of the affix दा. Thus हरि + दा = हरि + ना = हरिणा. Why do we say when they are not feminine? Observe मति + दा = मत्स्या.

Now we form the Dat: Sing. हरि+ङे. Here applies the following Sūtra.

२४५ । घेङिति । ७ । ३ । १११ ॥

विस्तृतकस्य ङिति सुपि गुणः स्यात् । हरेवे । वेः किम् । सख्ये । ङिति किम् । हरिभ्याम् । सुपि किम् । पट् । घेङितीति गुणे कृते ॥

245. For the इ and उ of the stems called घि (I. 4. 7.) Guṇa is substituted in the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular.

Why of घि stems? Observe सख्ये. Why in the Singulars of the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. only? Observe हरिभ्याम् ॥ The word case-ending (सुपि) is understood here also, as the counter-examples are पट् &c. ॥

The word पट् is formed by adding डीष् to पट् (IV. 1. 44 S. 502). डीष् is not a case-affix, though it is ङित् and is added to पट् which is घि ॥

Thus हरि+ङे=हरे+ए=हरेवे.

Now we form the Ablative singular, हरि+ङसि=हरे+अस् (the इ of हरि is *guṇated* by the present Sūtra). At this stage applies the following Sūtra.

२४६ । ङसिङसोश्च । ६ । १ । ११० ॥

एङो ङसिङसोरिति परे पूर्व रूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । हरेः । हयोः । हरीणाम् ॥

246. In the room of ए or ओ (in the body of a word), +अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive Singular, the single substitute is the form of the precedent.

Therefore हरे+अस्=हरेः The genitive dual will be हयोः The pl. हरीणाम् ॥

Now, we form the Loc. Sing. हरे+ङि=हरे+इ ॥ (The इ is *guṇated* by the preceding sūtra). At this stage applies the following rule.

२४७ । अच्चवेः । ७ । ३ । ११२ ॥

इदुद्भ्यामुत्तरस्य डेत्येत्स्याद् घेरन्तादेशश्चाकारः । हरो । हयोः । हरिषु । एवं श्रीपत्यग्निरविक्रव्यादयः ॥

247. After a Ghi (I. 4. 7) stem ending in short इ or उ, औ is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg. and अ is substituted for the final of such Ghi stem.

Therefore हरि+इ=हर+औ=हरौ ॥ The Loc. du. and pl. will be हयोः and हरिषु respectively.

श्रीपति, अग्नि, एवे, कवि &c. are declined like हरि ॥

DECLENSION OF हरि

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gan.	Loc.
Sing.	हरिः	हे हरे	हरिम्	हरिणा	हरये	हरेः	हरेः	हरौ
Dual.	हरी	„ हरी	हरी	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हरीयोः	हयोः
Plural.	हरयः	„ हरवः	हरीन्	हरिभिः	हरिभ्यः	हरिभ्यः	हरीणाम्	हरिषु

—:O:—

Now we decline the word सखि ॥ There applies the following rule.

२४८ । अनङ् सौ । ७ । १ । ६३ ॥

सख्युरङ्गस्याऽनङादेशः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सौ परे । डिच्चेत्यन्तादेशः ॥

248. अनङ् (अन्) is substituted for the इ of सखि before सु of the Nominative Singular, (but not in the Vocative Singular).

Thus सखि + सु = सखन् + सु ॥ The अनङ् being a डिन् augment, replaces the final only, and not the whole (I. 1. 53 S.43). Now apply the following rules.

२४९ । अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्व उपधा । १ । १ । ६५ ॥

अन्त्यात्तः पूर्वो वर्ण उपधासंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

249. The letter immediately preceding the last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

Therefore in सखन्, the अ of ख is penultimate or उपधा. Being उपधा, the following rule applies to this अ.

२५० । सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ । ६ । ४ । ८ ॥

नान्तस्थोपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे ॥

250. In a stem ending in न् the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

Therefore, the अ is lengthened and we have सखान् + स्. Now the affix स् consists of a single letter and is called अपृक्त by the following rule.

२५१ । अपृक्त एकाल्प्रत्ययः । १ । २ । ४१ ॥

एकाल्प्रत्ययो यः सोऽपृक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

251. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprikta*.

The result of this *स्* being called अपृक्त is that it is elided by the following rule.

२५२ । हल्ङ्याब्ज्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल् । ६ । १ । ६८ ॥

हन्तात्परं दीर्घो यो ड्यापौ तदन्ताच्च परं सुतिसीत्येनदपृक्तं हल् लुप्यते । हल्ङ्याब्ज्यः किम् । आनणीः । दीर्घात्किम् । निष्कौशाम्बिः । अतिखट्वः । सुतिसीति किम् । अभस्तीन् तिपा सहचरितस्य सिपा ग्रहणात्सिचो ग्रहणं नास्ति । अपृक्तमिति किम् । विभर्ति । हल् किम् । विभेदः । प्रथमहल् किम् । राजा । नलोपो न स्यात् संयोगान्तलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात् । सखा । हे सखे ॥

252. After a consonant, there is the elision of the nominative-affix *स्*, and the tense-affix *ति* and *सि* (when reduced to the form of *त्* and *स्*) being consonants; and so also after the long vowels ई and आ of the feminine (affix डी and आप्), there is the elision of the nominative affix *स्* ॥

The sūtra translated literally means :—After a word ending in a consonant, or डी, or आप् when a long vowel, the affixes सु, ति and सि when reduced to a single consonant affix (अपृक्त हल्) are elided. But ति and सि are elided only after consonant and hence we have translated it as above.

Why do we say “after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ”? Observe आनणीः, सेनातीः ॥ Why do we say “after a long-vowelled feminine affix”? Observe निष्कौशाम्बिः, अतिखट्वः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say “when followed by सु ति, and सि”? Observe अभस्तीन् ॥ The सि being read along with ति, does not include सिच्, but refers to सिप् only. Why do we say ‘when reduced to a single letter’? Observe विभर्ति । Why do we say ‘the consonant is elided’? Observe विभेदः ॥ Here the अप्रिक्ता affix अ of the Perfect is not elided: though it being the substitute of ति is like ति, and ought to have been elided, had the word हल् not been used in the sūtra.

Why do we say ‘first consonant’? Observe राजा.

Why has the elision of स् (सु), त् (तिप्) and स् (सिप्) been ordained after consonants, as they would of themselves have been dropped by VIII. 2. 23, being the finals of a compound consonant? Then the forms राजा, लक्षा could not be evolved. As राजन् + स् = राजान् + स् (VI. 4. 8. S. 250) = राजान्स् and by eliding स् by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become राजान् and the final न् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 7; for it is a maxim enunciated in the very opening of the Second chapter of the 8th Book, that in the last three chapters of that Book (2nd, 3rd and 4th Chapters), a subsequent rule is as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned; therefore, the rule VIII. 2. 7 ordaining the elision of न्, does not find scope,

since VIII. 2. 23 (ordaining elision of स्,) is considered as if it had not taken effect.

Thus Nom. Sg सखा Voc Sg हे सखे In forming the Dual सखि + औ the following rules apply.

२५३। सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ। ७। १। ६२ ॥

सख्युरङ्गात्परं सम्बुद्धिवर्जं सर्वनामस्थानं णित्कार्यकृन् स्यात् ॥

253. After सखि, the endings of the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, are णित् ॥

That is, they cause Vriddhi according to the following rule:—

२५४। अचो ङिति। ७। १। ११५ ॥

अिति णिति च परेऽजन्ताङ्गस्य वृद्धिः स्यात्। सखायौ। सखायः। सखायम्। सखायौ। विसंज्ञाऽभावात् तत्कार्यम्। सख्या। सख्ये ॥

254. Before the affixes having an indicatory अ् or ण्, Vriddhi is substituted for the end-vowel of a stem.

Thus सखि + औ = सखै + औ = सखायौ. Similarly Nom. Pl. सखायः, Acc. Sing. सखायम् Acc. dual सखायौ ॥

Instrumental Sing. will be formed by the affix ण्; and as the word सखि is not a चि word (See I. 4. 7. S. 243) it does not take न or गुणा as required by VII. 3. 120. S. 244 or VII. 3. 1. S. 245. Thus we have सखि + भा = सख्या.

Dative Sing. will be सखि + ए = सख्ये.

In forming the Ablative and Genitive, the following rule applies:—

२५५। ख्यत्यात्परस्य। ६। १। ११२ ॥

खितिशब्दाभ्यां खीतीशब्दाभ्यां कृतयणशब्दाभ्यां परस्य ङसिङ्सोरित उन्स्यात्। सख्युः ॥

255. There is the substitution of उ for अ of अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, after सखि and पति, when for the इ of those two stems य् is substituted.

The phrase ङसिङ्सोः and उन् are understood here also. The ख्य means and includes खि and खी when the इ is changed to य, and ख denotes ति and ती, the इ being changed to य ॥ Thus सखि + अस् = सख्युः as सख्युरागच्छति, सख्युः स्वम् ॥ So also पत्युरागच्छति, पत्युः स्वम् ॥ The illustration of खी is सखी which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus: सख्येन वर्तते = सखः, सखानच्छति = सख + क्यच् (III. 1. 8.) = सखीय (VII. 4. 3). Now by adding क्विप् to the Denominative root सखीय we get सखी: 'one who wishes for a friend'. The Ablative and Genitive Singular of this word will be सखी + अस् = सख्युः also. Of ती we have the following example. लूनमिच्छात = लूनीय, add क्विप् = लूनीः, the Ablative and Genitive

singular of which is also लुङ्, the न् of लुङ् being the substitute of न् of Nishṭhā is considered like न् (VIII. 2. 1). The peculiar exhibition of ख्य and न्य in the sūtra, instead of saying directly सखिप्रतिभ्यां indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c: where we have अतिसखि, सेनापते: ॥ The word अतिसखि is चि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4. 7), for that prohibition applies only to सखि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim ग्रहणवता प्रतिपादिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति ॥ “That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika does (contrary to I. 1. 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself”. According to some this rule applies to all खी and ती, such as सुखी: one who loves pleasure’ (सुखमिच्छति = सुखाय + क्विप्), and सुती: ‘one who wishes a son’ (सुतमिच्छति = सुतीय + क्विप्) Thus सुख्युः, सत्युः &c.

२५६ । औत् । ७ । ३ । ११८ ॥

इदुद्भ्यां परस्य डेरौक्त्यात् । उकारानुवृत्तिरुत्तरार्था । सख्यौ । शेषं हरिवत् । शोभनः सखा सुसखा । सुसखायौ । सुसखायः । अनङ्गिणङ्गावयोरङ्गत्वात्तदन्तेऽपि प्रवृत्तिः । सप्तम्यास्य सखिरूपत्वाभावादसखीति निषेधाप्रवृत्तेर्धिसंज्ञा । सुसखिना । सुसख्ये । ङसिङ्सोर्गुण कृते कृतयणदेशत्वाभावात् ङस्यत्यादित्युत्वं न । सुसखेः । सुसखौ इत्यादि । एवमतिशयितः सखा अतिसखा । परमः सखा यस्येति विग्रहे । परमसखा । परमसखायावित्यादि । गौणत्वेऽप्यनङ्गित्वे प्रवर्तते सखीमतिक्रान्तोऽतिसखिः । निङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वान्न ढच् । हरिवत् । इहानङ्गित्वे न भवतः । गोस्त्रियोरिति ह्रस्वेन सखिशब्दस्य लक्षणिकत्वात् । लक्षणप्रतिपशेक्तयोः प्रतिपशेक्तस्यैव ग्रहणार्थः ॥

256 After a stem ending in इ or उ short, and which is not a Nadi or a Ghi, औ is substituted for the इ of the Locative Singular.

As सख्यौ the rest of the declension of this word is like हरि.

But the declension of this word, when it forms the final member of a compound, is somewhat different. Thus the word सुसखा meaning a good friend, is declined as सुसखा, सुसखायौ, सुसखायः. Here the adding of the affix अनङ् (VIII. 1. 93. S. 248.) and treating the case affixes as णिन् as required by VII. 1. 92. S. 253. are operations which relate to the अङ्ग, or base and therefore those rules apply not only to the single word सखि but to a compound word also that ends in सखि. But the compound word सुसखि has not exactly the same form as सखि, therefore the rule I. 4. 7. S. 243 which makes the specific mention of the word सखि does not apply to सुसखि. Therefore the word सुसखि is चि and its Instrumental and Dative will be सुसखिना and सुसख्ये ॥ Similarly in Ablative and Genitive singulars the इ being *gunated* by VII. 3. 111 S. 245 the last rule will not apply, because here the bases are सुसखे + अश् and सुसखे + ङसि and सुसखे + ङि. The last and the present rules apply only to that form of सखि where the खि is changed to ख्य.

In the case of नदी words आम् is taught by the previous sūtras; in the case of चि words औ preceded by अ substitution of चि letters will be taught in the next sūtra, so by the rule of exclusion, the present sūtra applies to words other than nadī and ghī.

Therefore the Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular of सुसखा will be सुसखेः, सुसखेः and सुसखौ respectively.

Similarly the compound word अतिसखि meaning 'one who has thrown away his friend' (सखा masculine) is declined like सुसखा ॥

But the word परमसखा when treated as a Bahuvrihi compound, meaning 'he whose friend is the Supreme' may give rise to a difficulty. For, here सखि is merely a secondary word, the real word being the object denoted by the word परमसखि. We therefore cannot treat सखि to be the अङ्ग or base, as we treated it in the case of the word सुसखा. How is this word परमसखि to be declined? It is declined like सुसखा, for though the word सखि here is merely a secondary word and not the base or अङ्ग, yet the rules of अनङ् and णिन् apply to this case also. Thus परमसखा and परमसखायौ &c.

Now in the declension of the word अतिसखि when it is a compound meaning 'he who has thrown away his friend' (सखी feminine) the affix टच् does not apply, because the rule which says that the Masculine includes the feminine is not universal. That rule is thus enunciated: प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् *i. e.* 'A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed (in grammar), also (such a crude form) as is derived from it by the addition of (an affix denoting) gender.' Now applying this Paribhāsha to rule V. 4. 91 S. 788 which declares that the affix टच् is added to the words rājan, ahan, and sakhi when at the end of a compound, the Masculine word सखि would include the feminine word सखी also and therefore the form ought to be अतिसख and not अतिसखि. This anomaly, however, is prevented by the fact that the above Paribhāshā is not universal. The word अतिसखि is declined like हरि and not like the word सखि; and therefore अनङ् and णिन् do not apply. Because, the word सखी has been shortened to सखि by the rule I. 2. 48, S. 656 and this सखि is, therefore, merely a secondary word and not an original word like the सखि in सुसखि &c, above given. Therefore, the following Paribhāshā applies to this word:—लक्षणप्रातिपदोक्तयोः &c. *i. e.* "Whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar,—or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed."

२५७ । पतिः समास एव । १ । ४ । ८ ॥

पतिशब्दः समास एव घिसंज्ञः स्यात् । पत्यां । पत्ये । पत्युः । पत्यौ । शेषं हरिवत् । समासे तु भूपतिना । भूपतये । कतिशब्दो नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः ॥

257. The word pati is called ghi, only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the sūtra I. 4. 7. S. 243; the present sūtra is, therefore, a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पत्या 'by the lord' but 'भूपतिना by the lord of the worlds.' So also पत्ये and भूपतये; पत्युः and भूपतेः, पत्यौ and भूपतौ &c. When पति is ghi, there is guṇa of the vowel before the four डित् affixes by VII. 3. III.

Now we take up the declension of the word कति which is always plural. This word is called संख्या or a numeral as well as षट् by the following two rules, and therefore, there is some peculiarity in its declension.

२५८ । बहुगणवतुडति संख्या । १ । १ । २३ ।

एते संख्यासंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

258. The words bahu 'many,' gaṇa 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and ḍati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (saṅkhyā).

The word कति is formed by the affix डति therefore it is a Saṅkhyā.

२५९ । डति च । १ । १ । २५ ॥

इत्यन्ता संख्या षट्संज्ञा स्यात् ॥

259. And the saṅkhyās ending with the affix ḍati are called ṣaṭ.

Because the word कति is formed by the affix डति, therefore it is called षट्. The result of being called षट् is that the declensional affixes are elided. The elision of an affix generally takes place by using one of the three words as given in the following Sūtra.

२६० । प्रत्ययस्य लुक्श्लुपः । १ । १ । ६१ ॥

लुक्श्लुपशब्दैः कृतं प्रत्ययार्थानं क्रमात्तत्त्वसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

260. The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, slu or lup are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term *luk*, that disappearance gets the appellation of *luk*, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms *slu* or *lup*, the disappearance gets the name of *slu* or *lup*.

The nominative and accusative affixes after the word कति are elided by using the term लुक्, as is shown in the following Sûtra.

२६१ । षड्भ्यो लुक् । ७ । १ । २२ ॥

षड्भ्यः परयोर्जडशसोर्लुक् स्यात् ॥

261. The Nom. and Acc. Plural endings are elided after the Numerals called षट् (I. 1. 24 S. 369).

Therefore कति + जस् or कति + शस् = कति + O or कति + O. Now, what is the effect of this zero, does it produce its action on the stem or does it not? Naturally one would have thought, that when an affix is elided, with it must also vanish all the operations that that affix would have caused on the base. But this is not the case by the following Sûtra.

२६२ । प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् । १ । १ । ६२ ॥

प्रत्यये लुप्तेऽपि तदाश्रितं कार्यं स्यात् । इति जसि चेति गुणे प्राप्ते ॥

262. When elision of an affix has taken place (*lopa*), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependent upon it, take place as if it were present.

Therefore though जस् is elided after कति, yet it would cause the *guṇa* of the इ of कति, by VII. 3. 109 S. 241. Therefore the इ of कति requires to be *guṇated*; but this contingency is prevented by the following Sûtra.

२६३ । न लुमताङ्गस्य । १ । १ । ६३ ॥

लुक् श्लु लुप् एते लुमन्तः । लुमता शब्देन लुप्ते तन्निमित्तमङ्गकार्यं न स्यात् । कति । कतिभिः कतिभ्यः । कतिभ्यः । कतीनाम् । कतिषु । अस्मद्युष्मत्पदसंज्ञकास्त्रिषु सरूपाः । त्रिशब्दे नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः । त्रयः । त्रीन् । त्रिभिः त्रिभ्यः ॥

263. Of the base (*anga*), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing लु, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sûtra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive. It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words लुक्, श्लु, or लुप्, then the 'sign' or लक्षण or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix

by force of the words लुप् &c. ; and by the word लोप ॥ In one case the virtue of the affix subsists inspite of the elision, in the other it does not. Here the affix is elided by enouncing the word 'luk,' the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the *anga* or inflective base ; such as गुण &c.

Thus we have कति (Nom Pl) कति (Acc. Pl); कतिभिः (Instr. Pl); कतिभ्यः (Dat. Pl); कतिभ्यः (Abl. Pl); कतीनाम् (Gen. Pl) कतियु (Loc. Pl).

The word अस्मद् (I,) युष्मद् (Thou), and the words called षद् as defined above are alike in the three genders. Therefore the word कति is masculine, feminine and neuter.

The word त्रि is always used in the Plural. Thus त्रयः, (Nom. Pl.); त्रीन् (Acc. Pl.); त्रिभिः (Instr. Pl.) त्रिभ्यः (Dat. Pl.) त्रिभ्यः (Abl. Pl.) But the Genitive Plural is formed in accordance with the following sūtra.

२६४। त्रैस्त्रयः। ७। १। ५३ ॥

त्रिशब्दस्य त्रयदेशः स्यादिति ॥ त्रयाणाम्। परमत्रयाणाम्। गौणत्वे तु नेति केचित्। प्रियत्रीणाम्। वस्तुतस्तु प्रियत्रयाणाम्। त्रयु। द्विशब्दो नित्यं द्विवचनान्तः ॥

264. त्रय is substituted for त्रि before the Genitive Plural affix आम् ॥

As त्रयाणाम् (त्रीणाम् however appears in the Veda ; as त्रीणामपि सप्तद्वयाणाम् ॥) When the word त्रि forms the last member of a compound, even then also its declension is as above ; as परमत्रयाणाम्. But some say that in those compounds where त्रि is not a principal word, but only a secondary member of a compound, there this substitution will not take place. According to them the form would be प्रियत्रीणाम्. But the proper form is प्रियत्रयाणाम् here also.

The Locative Plural will be त्रिषु.

Now we take up the declension of the word द्वि which is always used in the Dual Number.

The first rule that applies to it is the following.

२६५। त्र्यदादीनामः। ७। २। १०२ ॥

एषामकारोऽन्तोदेशः स्याद्विभक्तौ। द्विपर्यन्तानामेवेष्टिः। द्वौ २ इत्याम् ३। द्वयोः २। द्विपर्यन्तानां किम्। भवान्। भवन्तौ। भवन्तः॥ संज्ञायामुपसर्जनत्वे च नात्वम्। सर्वाद्यन्तर्गणकार्यत्वात्। द्विर्नाम कश्चित्। द्विः। द्वौ। द्वावतिक्रान्तोऽतिद्विः। हरिवत्। प्राधान्ये तु परमद्वौ इत्यादि। औडुलोमिः। औडुलोमी। बहुवचने तु उडुलोमाः। लोमोऽप्येषु बहुवचनकारि वक्तव्यः। बाह्वासीजोऽपवादः। औडुलोमिम्। औडुलोमी उडुलोमान्।

265. For the final of त्र्यद् and the rest, there is substituted अ, when an affix, called vibhakti, follows.

Now the question is what are the त्र्यदादि words. त्र्यदादि words belong to the class of सर्वनाम and form a sub-division of it and would have been the

following, viz :—*त्यद्, तद्, यद्, एतद्, इदम्, अदस्, एक, द्वि, युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु* and *क्वि* but the *ishiti* given below excludes the last four words from the list of *त्यदादि*.

Ishiti :—The *त्यदादि* sub-division begins with the word *त्यद्* and ends with the word *द्वि* (inclusive).

The word *द्वि* belongs to the class of *त्यदादि* and therefore its final *इ* is changed to *अ* before the affixes, that is the base assumes the form of *द्व*.

Thus *द्वौ* (Nom. Dual); *द्वौ* (Acc. Dual); *द्वाभ्याम्* (Instru, Dative and Ablative Duals) *द्वयोः* (Genitive and Locative Duals). Why have we said that the *त्यदादि* words do not include the last four words? Observe the declension of *भवतु* which is declined as *भवान्, भवन्तौ, भवन्तः* (Nom. Sing.; Dual and Plural).

When *त्यदादि* words are used as *संज्ञा* (appellative), or, *उपसर्जन* (secondary members of a compound), then their final is not replaced by *अ*. Suppose the word *द्वि* is the name of a person, then it will be declined as *द्विः* (Nom, Sing.) *द्वौ* (Nom. Dual); *द्वयः* (Nom. Pl.)

Similarly, when the word *द्वि* is an *उपसर्जन* as *अतिद्वि* (he who excels *द्वि*), it will be declined as *अतिसद्विः* (Nom. Sing.), that is like *हरि*.

But when *द्वि* is the principal member of a compound, the *अ* substitution will take place; thus *परमद्वौ* &c.

The word *औदुलोमि* is thus declined :—*औदुलोमिः* (Nom. Sing.) *औदुलोमी* (Nom. Dual), but the Nom. Pl. will be *उदुलोमाः* by the following *Vartika*.

Vartika :—After the word *लोमन्* the affix *अ* comes in the Plural number denoting the descendant. This *Vartika* debar the *इच्* affix of IV. 1. 96. S. 1096.

The Accusatives will be *औदुलोमिम्* (Sing.); *औदुलोमी* (Dual); *उदुलोमाः* (Plural).

Here ends the declension of Masculine words ending in short *इ*

—:O:—

Masculine long ई

वातप्रमीरिषुणादिसूत्रेण नाङ् ईप्रत्ययः स च क्तिन् । वातं प्रमिमीते वातप्रमीः । दीर्घाज्जासि च । वातप्रम्यौ । हे वातप्रमीः ॥ अमि पूर्वः ॥ वातप्रमीम् । वातप्रम्यौ । वातप्रमीन् । वातप्रम्या । वातप्रमीभ्याम् ३ । वातप्रम्ये । वायप्रम्यः २ । वातप्रम्योः २ । वातप्रम्यम् । दीर्घत्वात् तुद् । ऊँ तु सवर्णदीर्घः । वातप्रमी । वातप्रमीषु । एवं यक्षापप्यादयः । यान्त्यननेति ययीमार्गः । पाति लोकमिति पपीः सूर्यः । थापोः किङ् चोति ईप्रत्ययः । क्तिवन्तवातप्रमीशब्दस्य तु अमि शसि डौ च विशेषः । वातप्रम्यम् । वातप्रम्यः । वातप्रम्यि । एरनेकाच इति वक्ष्यमाणो यण् प्रधीवत् । बह्वयः भ्रयस्यायस्य स बहुभ्रयसी । दीर्घज्जास्त्वत्वाद्भ्रज्जास्त्वत् सुलापः ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word *वातप्रमी*. This word is

formed by the Uṇādi affix long ई (See Uṇādi Sūtras Chapter III. 158 and Chapter IV. 1.) added to the root मा to measure, The word literally means 'wind measurer' or 'moving swift as the wind'. It is the name of a kind of an antelope. The affix ई of वातप्रमी is क्तिन् (Uṇādi Chapter III. 159.) Therefore वातप्रमा + ई = वातप्रमी. The long आ being elided by the rule VI. 4. 64 S. 2372.

The Nom. Sing. is वातप्रमी : ॥ The dual is formed thus :—वातप्रमी + औ. Here the rule VI. 1. 102 S. 164. required the substitution of a single long ई in the place of ई + औ. But this is prevented by the rule VI. 1. 105. S. 239. and we get the regular form वातप्रम्यौ. Similarly Nom. Pl. वातप्रम्यः । The Voc. Sing. हे वातप्रमी. The Acc. Sing. is thus formed :—वातप्रमी + अम्. The single substitution required by VI. 1. 102. S. 164. is set aside by VI. 1. 105. S. 239. But this latter rule is set aside by the Apavāda rule VI. 1. 107. (आनि पूर्वः) S. 194. by which there is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the case ending अम्. Therefore the Acc. Sing. is वातप्रमीम्. The Acc. Dual and Pl. are वातप्रम्यौ and वातप्रमीन्. The Inst. Sing. is वातप्रम्या. The Ins. Dual and Pl. are वातप्रमोभ्याम् and वातप्रमीभिः. The Dat. forms are वातप्रम्ये वातप्रमीभ्याम् वातप्रमीभ्यः. The Abl. Sing. is वातप्रम्यः. The Genitive Sing. and Dual are वातप्रम्यः and वातप्रम्योः. The Genitive Pl. is वातप्रम्याम्. The augment वुट् is not added, because the word ends in a long vowel.

The Loc. Sing. is thus formed वातप्रमी + इ, = वातप्रमी. The Loc. Pl. is वातप्रमीषु ॥

So the words यथी (literally that which goes or carries one, that is "a horse" or "a road,") and पथी (that which protects or drinks or the sun and moon) are declined like वातप्रमी. These words are also formed by the affix ई (Uṇādi III. 159).

If the word वातप्रमी be derived by क्तिप् and not क्तिन् ई then in the Acc. Sing. and Pl. and Loc. Sing. the forms will be वातप्रम्यम्, वातप्रम्यः and वातप्रम्यि respectively. वातप्रमी may be derived by क्तिप् in this way. वातप्रमी निव आचरति इति वातप्रमी. Here it is a Denominative verb in the sense of āchāra, formed by the affix क्तिप् (III. 1. 10 and II S. 2664 and 2665) and to this Denominative root, क्तिप् is added again in the sense of agent (III. 2. 76 S. 2983). The Acc. S. therefore is, वातप्रमी + अम् = वातप्रम् + य + अम्. Here य is substituted by VI. 4. 82. S. 272 and the word is declined like प्रथी.

Now we take up the declension of the word बहुश्रेयसी (one possessed of many admirable qualities). The word श्रेयस् is formed by the affix ईयस् added to श्र the substitute of प्रशस्य (V. 3. 60. S. 2009). To this is added the affix ङीप् by IV. 1. 6. S. 455 to form the feminine श्रेयसी.

The Nom. Sing of बहुश्रेयसी is बहुश्रेयसी + सु = बहुश्रेयसी + o (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 282).

The Nom. Dual and Pl : are बहुश्रेयस्यौ, बहुश्रेयस्यः .

The formation of Voc. Sing. is peculiar and the following rules apply.

*Note :—*The word बहुश्रेयसी is a Bahuvrīhi compound. There is पुनर्ज्ञाप by the rule VI. 3. 34, S. 831. The Samāsānta affix कश्चि is not added because of the rule V. 4. 156. S. 894. The long ई required to be shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656 is prohibited by the Vārtika under V. 4. 156. S. 894.

२६६ । यू स्याख्यौ नदी । १ । ४ । ३ ॥

ईदृशस्तौ नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गौ नदीसंज्ञौ स्तः । प्रथमलिङ्गग्रहणं च । पूर्वं स्याख्यस्योपसर्जनत्वेऽपि नदीत्वं वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ।

266. Word-forms ending in long î and û, being names of females which are always feminines are called Nadi.

The word यू is a compound of ई + ऊ. The word sryākhyā means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grāmaṇi has. As the words कुमारी Kumārī 'a virgin' यवागू yavāgūh 'rice gruel.'

Why do we say ending in ई and ऊ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words. Thus while the Dative of कुमारी will be कुमार्यै, the Dative of दुहितृ will be दुहित्रे .

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadi. As ग्रामणी: 'leader of a village'; सेनानी: 'leader of an army'; खलपू: 'a sweeper'; their Dative being ग्रामण्ये, सेनान्ये खलप्वे.

Why have we used the word ākhyā 'name' in the text? Because the feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामण्ये स्त्रियै, and खलप्वे स्त्रियै.

*Vartika :—*The gender of the word as originally used should be taken and not the gender of the Compound word. Here the original word श्रेयसी is feminine and though the Compound word बहुश्रेयसी is Masculine still for the purposes of getting the designation of Nadi the whole word बहुश्रेयसी will be treated as Nadi, though श्रेयसी in this Compound word is merely a secondary member (upasarjana).

Therefore बहुश्रेयसी getting the designation of Nadi is affected by the following rule in forming its Vocative.

२६७ । अम्बार्थनद्योर्हस्वः । ७ । ३ । १६७ ॥

अम्बार्थानां नद्यन्तानां च हस्वः स्यात् संबुद्धौ । हे बहुश्रेयसि । शसि बहुश्रेयसीन् ।

267. A short vowel is substituted in the Voc. Sg. for the आ of the feminine, in the sense of 'mother, mother-dear', as well as for the long vowel of the words called Nadi.

Thus हे बहुश्रेयसि.

The Acc. Sing and Dual are बहुश्रेयसीम्, बहुश्रेयस्यौ respectively.

The Acc. Pl. is बहुश्रेयसीन्

There is no peculiarity in the Instrumental forms.

In forming the Dative forms, the following rules apply.

२६८ । आण नद्याः । ७ । ३ । ११२ ॥

नद्यन्तात्प्रेरणां ङितानाङागमः स्यात् ।

268. The augment आद् is added to the case-endings of the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. after the stem called Nadi.

When this आद् is added, there is the single substitution of a Vṛiddhi Vowel by the following rule.

२६९ । आटश्च । ६ । १ । ६० ॥

आटोऽचि परं वृद्धिरकादेशः स्यात् । बहुश्रेयस्यै । बहुश्रेयस्याः । नद्यन्तात्परत्वाद्बुद्धौ । बहुश्रेयसीनाम् ॥

269. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the augment आद् is followed by any vowel.

The आद् is the augment which ङित् case-affixes take after *nadi*-words (VII. 3. 112). बहुश्रेयसी + आद् + डे = बहुश्रेयस्यै (Dative Singular). (The आद् is the augment also in the Vedic Tense लट्), similarly, बहुश्रेयस्याः

The augment बुद् is added to the Genitive Plural by VII. 1. 54. S. 208. As बहुश्रेयसीनाम्.

For the formation of the Loc. Sing. the following rule applies.

Note.—The anuvritti of एचि ceases : that of अचि however, is present. The vowel that is subsequent to the augment आद्, and the आद् which is precedent to a vowel—in the room of these two i. e. the आद् and the vowel—subsequent and precedent, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute. The augment आद् is added to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional Tenses (VI. 4. 72 &c). Thus ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत, ऐक्षिष्यत, औभीत् औद्भीत्, औब्जीत् from roots ईक्षदृशीने (Bhu. 641), उभ उम्भ पूरणे (Tud. 32) and उब्ज आर्जवे (Tud. 20).

Note—The च् 'and' in the sutra shows that the पररूप rule, taught in VI. i. 95, 96 when उस्. औ and आइ follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is आइ ॥ Thus औलीयत्. औकारियत् ॥ आ + ऊढा = ओढा, तामैच्छत् = भौढायत् ॥

२७० । डेराम् नद्यास्त्रीभ्यः । ७ । ३ । ११६ ।

नद्यान्तादाबन्तास्त्रीशब्दाश्च डेराम् स्यात् । इह परत्वादादा नुङ् बाध्यते । बहुभ्येयस्याम् । शेषमीप्रत्ययान्तवातप्रमीवत् । अङ्यन्तत्वात्त सुलोपः । अतिलक्ष्मीः । शेषं बहुभ्येयसीवत् । कुमारीनिच्छन् कुमारीवाचरन्वा बाह्यणः कुमारी । क्यजन्तादाचारक्विबन्ताद्वा कर्तरि क्विप् । हलङ्यबिति सुलोपः ।

270. For the ending इ of the Loc. Sg. there is substituted आम्, after a stem called Nadi, after the Feminines in आ, and after नी ॥

The augment नुङ् is not added to this आम् but only to the आम् of Genitive Plural; because नुङ् of the Sutra VII. 154, S. 208 is superseded by the subsequently taught augment आइ of the VII. 3. 112. S. 268.

Thus बहुभ्येयसी + ङि = बहुभ्येयसी + आइ + ङि (VII, 3. 112. S. 268) = बहुभ्येयसी + आइ + आम् = बहुभ्येयस्याम् ॥

The rest of the declensions of बहुभ्येयसी are like those of वातप्रमी ॥

The declension of the word अतिलक्ष्मी is as follows :—

Nom. Sing. is अतिलक्ष्मीः ॥ Here the affix सु is not elided as in the last case, because ई of लक्ष्मी is part of the word लक्ष्मी and is not a feminine affix and therefore the rule 'हलङ्याप्' (VI. i. 68. S. 252) does not apply. The rest of the declensions are like those of बहुभ्येयसी ॥

Note.—The word लक्ष्मी is formed by the Unadi affix ई (Unadi Sutras III. 160 लक्षेर्नुङ्, as लक्ष् + सुङ् + ई = लक्ष्मी) ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Masculine word कुमारी ॥ This word, though ordinarily feminine, when it is derived from the Denominative root कुमारी meaning a Brahman who desires a कुमारी or acts like a कुमारी (III. 2. 76. S. 2983) is Masculine, namely, the Denominative Verb कुमारी considered to be formed by the affix क्यच् (III. i. 8 or III. i. 10 S. 2657 or 2664). with the affix क्तिप् of III. 2. 76.

Note—As कुमार्याम्, किशोर्याम्, गौर्याम्, ब्रह्मबन्ध्याम्, धीरबन्ध्याम्, खट्वायाम्, बहुराजायाम्, कारीषगन्ध्यायाम्, नी-ग्रामण्याम्, सेनान्याम् ॥

The word ग्रामणी is formed by क्तिप् affix added under III. 2. 61, the ण is changed to ण by अग्र ग्रामाभ्याम्; and the ण् substitute in the Locative is by VI. 4. 82.

Thus कुमारी + सु = कुमारी ॥ सु is elided by VI. i. 68 S. 252.

In forming the Dual, the following rules apply.

२७१ । अचि श्रुधातुभ्रवां य्वोरियङ्वङो । ६ । ४ । ७७ ॥

इतुप्रत्ययान्तस्य इवर्णोवर्णान्तधाताभ्रुइयस्य चाङ्गस्यङ्वङो स्तोऽजादौ प्रत्यये परे । डिचेत्यन्तादेशः । आन्तःतस्यान्तरियङ् ओरुवङ् इतीयाङि प्राप्तिः ॥

271. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of **नु**, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final इ, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of **भ्रू**, the इय् (for इ or ई) and उव् (for उ or ऊ).

The substitutes इयङ् and उवङ् have indicatory ऊ and therefore they are applied at the end and by the rule of nearness of substitutes इयङ् replaces इ and उवङ् replaces उ (whether long or short). Thus कुमारि + औ = कुमार + इय + औ . But this is prevented by the next Sūtra.

Note.—Similarly आप्नुवन्ति, राप्नुवन्ति, शक्नुवन्ति, from the roots of the 5th class. चिक्षियतुः लुलुवतुः, लुलुवुः, नियौ, नियः, लुवौ, लुवः and भ्रुवां and भ्रुवः ॥

२७२ । परनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य । ६ । ४ । ८२ ॥

धात्ववयवसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य इवर्णस्तदन्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्यानेकाचोऽङ्गस्य यण् स्यादजादौ प्रत्यये परे । इति यण् । कुनार्यौ । कुनार्यः । हे कुमारि । आमि शसि च । कुनार्यम् । कुनार्यः । कुनार्यैः । कुनार्याः । कुनारीणाम् । कुनार्याम् । प्रधीः । प्रध्यौ । प्रध्यः । प्रध्यम् । प्रध्यः । उन्नयतीत्युद्रीः । धातूना संयोगस्य विशेषणादिह स्यादेव यण् । उन्न्यौ । उन्न्यः । हे उद्रीः । उन्न्यम् । डेराम् । उन्न्याम् । एवं ग्रामणीः । अनेकाचः किम् । नीः । नियौ । नियः । आमि शसि च परत्वादियङ् । नियम् । नियः । डेराम् । नियाम् । असंयोगपूर्वस्य किम् । सुप्रियौ । यवक्रियौ । गतिकारकनरपूर्वपदस्य यण् नश्यते । शुद्धप्रियौ । परमप्रियौ कथं तर्हि दुप्रियौ वृश्चिकभिद्येत्यादि । उच्यते । दुःस्थिता धीर्येषामिति विग्रहे दुरित्यस्य धीशब्दे प्रति गतित्वमेव नास्ति । यात्क्यायुक्ताः प्रादयस्तं प्रत्येव गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञाः । वृश्चिकशब्दस्य बुद्धिकृतमपादानत्वं नेह विवक्षितम् । वृश्चिकसंबन्धिनी भीवृश्चिकभीरित्युत्तरपदलोपा वा ॥

272. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final इ or ई of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

Thus instead of इयङ् we get यण् ādes., therefore कुमारि + औ = कुनार्यौ; कुनारी + जस् = कुनार्यः ।

The Voc. Sing. is हे कुमारि ॥ The Acc. Sing., Dual and Pl. are कुनार्यम्, कुनार्यौ, कुनार्येः । There are no peculiarities in the Instrumental forms.

The Dative Sing. is कुनार्यैः । The Ablative and Genitive Singulars are कुनार्याः ॥ The Genitive Pl. is कुनारीणाम् ॥ The Loc. Sing. is कुनार्याम् ॥

The word प्रधी is thus declined :—प्रधाः, प्रध्यौ, प्रध्यः, प्रध्यम्, प्रध्यः &c. This word is derived from the root ध्या with the prefix प्र. The य is changed to इ by Unādi IV. 115. Thus प्रध्य + क्तिप् = प्रधि. The short इ is lengthened by VI. 4. 2. S. 2559. So we have प्रधा.

The declension of the word उन्नी । It is formed by adding the prefix उन् to the verb नी. Therefore this long ई cannot be said to be preceded by a conjunct consonant, for the conjunct consonant of the Sūtra means the conjunct consonant of the verbal root and not the conjunct consonant obtained by adding a prefix to the simple root like नी. Therefore, the present Sūtra applies to उन्नी which is declined as उन्नीः, उन्न्यौ ; उन्न्यः ; हे उन्नीः ; Acc. Sing उन्न्यम्. Loc. Sing उन्न्याम् ॥

In the same way should be declined the word ग्रामणी, the Nom. Sing of which is ग्रामणीः ॥

How do you explain the forms दुर्धियः where there is not दृण though दुर् is a Gati, and the word वृश्चिकमियः where the word वृश्चिक is a Kāraka ? We reply that the preposition दुर् is not a Gati with regard to the word धी, because we analyse the word as दुःस्थिता धीर्धैर्वा, a Bahuvrihi compound, in which दुर् is Gati with regard to the word स्थित understood. This compound is formed by the Vārtika प्रादिभ्यो धातुजस्य &c. (II. 2. 24. S. 830.) by which the subsequent term स्थित is elided after the Gati word दुर्. In fact, the word Gati is a relative term with regard to the verb which a preposition immediately qualifies, and not with regard to any other verb with which it may be accidentally in contact. Similarly वृश्चिकभीः should not be analysed as an Ablative compound (पञ्चमी तत्पुरुष समासः) formed by I. 4. 25. S. 588., as वृश्चिका द्विभेति = वृश्चिकभीः but as वृश्चिक-सम्बन्धिनीः भीः ॥ In the first case the compound would mean 'a person afraid of a scorpion' ; in the other case, which is applicable here, the fear arising from a scorpion. In the second case वृश्चिक is not a Kāraka with regard to भी. Therefore the vārtika applies to it.

२७३ । न भूसुधियोः । ६ । ४ । ८५ ॥

एतयोर्धण्णं स्याद्वि सुधि । सुधियौ । सुधिय इत्यादि । सखायमिच्छति । सखीयति । ततः क्विप् । अल्लोपयलोपौ । अल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वाद्याणि प्राप्ते । क्यौ लुप् न स्थानिवत् । एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यतयाऽनङ्गित्वे । सखा । सखायौ । सखायः । हे सखाः । अमि पूर्वरूपात्परत्वाद्याणि प्राप्ते ततोऽपि परत्वात्सख्युरसंबुद्धाविति प्रवर्तते । सखायम् । सखायौ । शसि यण् । सख्यः । सह खेन वर्तत इति सखः । तमिच्छतीति सखीः । सुखमिच्छतीति सुखीः । सुतमिच्छतीति सुतीः । सख्यौ । सुख्यौ । सुख्यौ । खय्यादिति दीर्घस्यापि ग्रहणादुकारः । सख्युः । सुख्युः । सुख्युः । लूनमिच्छतीति लूनीः । क्षाममिच्छतीति क्षामीः । प्रस्तीमिच्छतीति प्रस्तीमीः । एषां ङसिङसोर्यण् । नत्वमत्वयोरसिङ्गत्वान् खय्यादित्युत्वम् । लून्युः । क्षाम्युः प्रस्तीम्युः । शुष्की-यतेः क्विप् । शुष्कीः । इयङ् । शुष्कियौ । शुष्कियः । ङसिङसोः शुष्किय इत्यादि ॥

273. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in भू or the word सुधी, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिभु—प्रतिभुवौ, प्रतिभुवः ; सुधी—सुधियौ, सुधियः ॥

Now, we take up the example of a word formed from a Denominative root, namely, the word सखी which is thus formed सखायं इच्छति = सखीयान् (i.e. he who desires a friend). Thus the root सखीय is a Denominative root, to this is added the affix क्तिप् and the letters अ and य are both elided. Here the elision of य being considered as स्थानिवत्, there would be यणादेश under the previous Sūtra in declining the word सखी. This is prevented by the following.

Vārtika:—when there is elision before the affix क्तिप् the elision is not considered as *sthānivat*.

The rules by which the word सखी is formed are the same which have been already referred to in forming the word कुमारी as explained under VII. 3. 116. S. 270. In declining this word सखी which means "he who desires a friend" the same rules are to be applied which were applied to the word सखि meaning a friend (see VI. 1. 68 and VII. 2. 115. S. 252, 254), because of the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्थानन्यतयाऽनङ्गित्वे ॥ Therefore we get the Nominative forms सखाः सखायौ; सखायः, Voc. हे सखीः. The Acc. Sing is सखायम्. It is thus formed सखी + अम्. Here VI. 1. 107. S. 194 requires Pūrva-rūpa, that is सखीम्. But that rule is set aside by the subsequent rule VI. 4. 82. S. 272. requiring यप् which would have given the form सख्यम्. Both these forms are wrong, for the last rule even is set aside by the subsequent rule VII. 1. 92. S. 253. Hence the form सखे + अम् = सखायम् ॥

The Acc. Dual is सखायौ. The Acc. Pl. is सख्यः for the Acc. Pl. not being a Sarvanāmasthāna, there is regular Sandhi. There is no peculiarity in other cases of this word सखी, meaning 'one who desires a friend'.

There is another word सखी which is thus formed सह खेन वर्तते इति सखः. It is a Bahu-vrīhi compound formed by II. 2. 28. S. 848. The सह is changed to स by VI. 3. 82 S. 849. In forming the Denominative verb from this सख, we add the affix क्यच् by III. 1. 8. S. 2657. Then, we add long ई by VII. 4. 33 S. 2658, and thus we get the Denominative root सखीय. From this root, we get the masculine noun सखी with the affix क्तिप् on the analogy of the previous word.

Similarly are also formed the words सुखी meaning 'one who desires happiness'; and सुती meaning 'one who desires a son'. The declension of these words is as follows :—Nom. Sing. सखीः ; सुखीः ; सुतीः. The dual is सख्यौ ; सुख्यौ ; सुत्यौ, The Abl. and Gen. Singular forms are सख्युः ; सुख्युः ; सुत्युः ; by applying the sūtra VI. 1. 112. S. 255.

Similarly the words हूनीः ; क्षानीः ; प्रस्तीनीः meaning respectively 'one who desires cut off things' e. g. flowers &c; 'one who desires Vishnu'; and 'one who desires crowd' &c. are to be declined.

Note:—The word लून is the past participle of the root लू to cut ; the *nishthā* त is changed to न by VIII. 2. 44. S. 3018. क्षाम is the past participle of the root क्षै to wane, the त is changed to म by VIII. 2. 53. S. 3032. Similarly प्रस्तीम is the past participle of the root स्तृ to make noise, preceded by the preposition प्र The *nishthā* त is changed to म by VIII. 2. 54. S. 3034. The *Samprasāraṇa* takes place by VI 1. 23.

The Nom. Sing forms are लूनाः ; क्षामीः ; प्रस्तीमीः In other cases their declension is like the word सुती &c., except the Abl. and Gen ; Sing. Here in these cases the words do not really end in स्त्री and ती and therefore the rule VI. I. 112 S 255. is not strictly applicable to them, but as the न of लून and the म of क्षाम and प्रस्तीम are substitutes of त and as these are taught in the *Tripāḍī*, namely the last three chapters of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, therefore the न and म substitutions are considered *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of the rule contained in the 7¼ *adhyāyas*. In other words these words are considered as लूती ; क्षाती ; प्रस्तीनी ; and the rule VI. I. 112. S. 255 applying to them ; we have the Abl ; and Genitive Sing forms as लून्युः ; क्षाम्युः ; प्रस्तीम्युः ॥

But the declension of the similarly formed word शुष्की, derived from the noun शुष्क through the derivative verb शुष्कीय with the affix क्तिप् is different. शुष्क is the past participle of the root शुष् where the *nishthā* त is changed to क by VIII. 2. 51. S. 3030 Thus the Nom. Sing. is शुष्कीः The Nom. Dual and Pl. are शुष्किया ; and शुष्कियः with the affix इयङ् by VI. 4. 77. S. 271 and not with यङ् because the long ई is preceded by a conjunct consonant. The Abl and Geni ; singular is शुष्कियः &c.,

Similarly पक्की is formed from the past participle पक्व where the *Nishthā* त is changed to व VIII. 2. 52. S. 3031 after the root पच् 'to cook.'

Here ends the declension of the masculine words ending in long ई ॥

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शंभुर्हरिवन् । एवं विष्णु वायु भान्वाद्यः ॥

Declension of Masculine words ending in उ ॥ The declension of the word शम्भु is like that of हरि ॥ So also of विष्णु ; वायु, भानु ॥

The declension of the word क्रौष्टु is somewhat different in the first five cases, where the following rules apply.

२७४ । तृज्वत्क्रौष्टुः । ७ । १ । ६५ ॥

क्रौष्टुशब्दस्त्वजन्तेन तुल्यं वर्तते असंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । क्रौष्टुशब्दस्य स्थाने क्रौष्टुशब्दः प्रयोग्य इत्यर्थः ॥

274. The word क्रौष्टु 'a jackal' is treated in the strong cases (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) as if it ended in तृच् (तृ) ॥

Note.—The word क्रौष्टु is declined like क्रौष्ट in the strong cases. As क्रौष्टौ, क्रौष्टारौ, क्रौष्टारः, क्रौष्टारम्, क्रौष्टारौ ॥ But क्रौष्टून् in weak cases, and हे क्रौष्टो in the Vocative Singular. The accent in the strong cases is also that of the तृच् affix, i. e. acute on the final. The word क्रौष्टु is formed by the affix तृच् (Un सितनिगमि &c, 1. 69).

The word क्रौष्टु is treated as क्रौष्ट and therefore the rules applicable to the words ending in कृ apply to it, viz, the following Sūtras.

२७५ । ऋतो ङि सर्वनामस्थानयोः । ७ । ३ । ११० ॥

हौ सर्वनामस्थाने च परे कदन्ताङ्गस्य गुणः स्यात् । इति प्राप्ते ॥

275. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ of a stem, in the Locative singular and in the Strong cases.

This rule requires क्रौष्टु to be changed to क्रौष्टर्, but this is prevented by the following.

२७६ । ऋदुशानस्पुरुदंसोऽनेहसां च । ७ । १ । १४ ॥

कदन्तानामुशानसादीनां चानङ् स्यादसंबुद्धौ सौ परे ॥

276. Anaṅ (अन्) is substituted for the final of the stems ending in ऋ as well as for the final of uśanas, puru-danśas, and aneḥas, in the Nominative Singular (but not in the Vocative Singular).

२७७ । अण्त्तृच्स्वसुनण्त्तृनेष्टृत्तृहोतृपोतृप्रशास्तृणाम् । ६ । ४ । ११ ॥

अबादीनामुपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । नप्त्रादिग्रहणं व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम् । तेन पितृभ्रातृप्रभृतीनां न उद्गातृशब्दस्य तु भवत्येव । समर्थसूत्रे उद्गातार इति भाष्यप्रयोगात् । क्रौष्टा । क्रौष्टारौ । क्रौष्टारः । क्रौष्टारम् । क्रौष्टारौ । क्रौष्टून् ॥

277. In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in अण्, in stems formed by तृन् and तृच् affixes, and in स्वसृ, नण्त्, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ and प्रशास्तृ ॥

The words नण्त् &c., in this sūtra are taken to denote *Niyama*, for if नण्त् &c. be taken as derivative words formed with the affix तृन् or तृच्, there was no necessity of their separate mention in this sūtra, because the word तृन् and तृच् of the sūtra would have included them. Therefore we say the inclusion of these words shows *Niyama*, or restriction, namely, other derivative words formed by the Unādi affixes तृन् and तृच् are not governed by this rule, such as the words पितृ भ्रातृ &c. But the word उद्गातृ is governed by this rule, because we find the उद्गातारः in the Mahābhāṣya. Thus we get the forms क्रौष्टा ; क्रौष्टारः ; क्रौष्टारम् ; क्रौष्टारौ ; क्रौष्टून् ॥

In the Instrumental and other cases, there are double forms and the following rules apply:—

२७८ । विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वचि । ७ । १ । २७ ॥

अजादिषु तृतीयादिषु क्रोष्टुर्वा तृज्वत् । क्रोष्ट्रा । क्रोष्ट्रे ॥

278. क्रोष्टु may optionally be treated as Kroshtṛ, before the endings beginning with a vowel, in the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As क्रोष्ट्रा or क्रोष्टुना, क्रोष्ट्रे or क्रोष्टवे, क्रोष्टुः or क्रोष्टोः, क्रोष्टैरि or क्रोष्टौ, क्रोष्टोः or क्रोष्ट्रोः ॥ But क्रोष्टून् in the Accusative Plural, and क्रोष्टूयां before consonant-beginning affixes.

In forming the Abl. and Genitive, the following rules apply.

२७९ । ऋत उत् । ६ । १ । १११ ॥

ऋन्तान् ङसिङ्सोरति परे उकार एकदिशः स्यात् । रपरस्वम् ॥

279. In the room of ऋ+अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, the single substitute is the letter short उ ॥

Note.—Thus होतु+अस्=होतुस् (The उ must always be followed by ₹ I. 1. 51 though this उ is not the substitute of ऋ only, but of ऋ+अ conjointly: on the maxim that a substitute which replaces two, both shown in the genitive case, as ऋतः and अकारस्य in this sūtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son of a father A and mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B. So the उ may be called the substitute of ऋ or अ) ॥ The final स् is then elided by VIII. 2. 24 and we have होतुर्=होतुः ॥ Thus होतुरागच्छति, होतुः स्वम् ॥

१८० । रात्सस्य । ८ । २ । २४ ॥

रेफात्संयोगान्तस्य सस्यैव लोपो नान्यस्य । रेफस्य विसर्गः । क्रोष्टुः । आमि परस्वान्तृज्वद्भावे प्राप्ते ।

* तुमाश्चिरतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुद पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन । क्रोष्टूनाम् । क्रोष्टरि । क्रोष्ट्रोः । पक्षे हलादौ च संभुवत् ॥

280. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only स् is elided, if it comes after र; (but any other consonant coming after र is not elided).

Thus क्रोष्टु+अस्=क्रोष्टुर्म् ॥ Here the final स् is elided and the र is changed to visarga. Thus we get क्रोष्टुः Before the Gen: Pl: आम्, क्रोष्टु requires to be treated as क्रोष्टु by VII. 1. 97. S. 278 but this is prevented by the following Vart:—नुस् and नुद् augments come in supersession of the Trich-vadbbhāva ordained by the preceding sūtras. Thus the Dative of the Neuter noun

मिथक्रोष्टु will be मिथक्रोष्टुने स्रग्वाच, हितक्रोष्टुने वृषलकुलाय, and not 'क्रोष्टु ॥ Similarly with दुह, as क्रोष्टुनाम् ॥

The Loc. forms are क्रोष्टरि or क्रोष्टा; क्रोष्टाः &c.

Before affixes beginning with consonants there is only one form.

Note.—The word क्रोष्टु is formed from the root क्रुश् to cry' or 'to call' with the affix तुन् by the Unādi I. 69. Similarly the word क्रोष्टु is formed from the same root with the affix नृच् ॥ Both words denote the same object, i. e. 'a jackal'. But the word क्रोष्टु is defective in the first five cases, where क्रोष्टु supplies the want.

Here ends the declension of Masculine words ending in short उ ॥

—:0:—

हूहः हूहौ । हूहम् । हूहौ । हूहूनि स्यादि । अतिचमूशब्दे तु नदीकार्ये विशेषः । हे अतिचमु । अतिचम्वै । अतिचम्वः । आतचमुनाम् । अतिचम्वाम् । खलपूः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of Masculine words ending in long ऊ ॥ As हूहू (name of a celestial songster). The Nom. and Acc. forms are हूहूः; हूहौ; हूहः । हूहम्; हूहौ; हूहून् &c.

In declining the word अतिचमू, the *Nadi* rules will apply, i. e. I. 4. 3. S, 266, 267, 268 &c. The Voc. Sing. is therefore. हे अतिचमु ॥ The Dat. Sing. is अतिचम्वै; Abl. and Gen. singular अतिचम्वः; Gens. Pl. अति चमुनाम्; Loc. Sing. अतिचम्वाम् ॥

Now we take up the declension of the Noun खलपू ॥ The Nom. Sing. is खलपूः ॥

In forming the Nom. Dual the following rule applies

२८१ । ओः सुपि । ६ । ४ । ८३ ॥

धात्ववयवसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य उवर्णस्तदन्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्यानेकाचोऽङ्गस्य यण् स्यादजावौ सुपि । गतिकारकेतरपूर्वपदस्य यण् नेष्यते । खलप्वौ । खलप्व इत्यादि । एवं मुल्वादयः । अनेकाचः किम् । लूः । लुवौ । लुवः ॥ धात्ववयवेति किम् । उल्लूः । उल्लौ । उल्लूः । असंयोगपूर्वस्य किम् । कटमुवौ । कटमुवः । गतीत्यादि किम् । परमलुवौ । सुपि किम् । लुलुवतुः । स्त्रभूः । न भूसूभिः ॥ स्वभुवौ । स्वभुवः ॥

281. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel व् is substituted for the final ऊ of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in ऊ not preceded if by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short उ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खलपू 'a sweeper':—d. खलप्वौ, pl. खलप्वः; so also द्यतस्वौ and द्यतस्वः, and सकृल्लूः dual सकृल्ल्वौ and सकृल्ल्वः ॥ But लुलुवतुः and लुलुवः before tense-affixes (non—सुप्); लू—लुवौ, लुवः (because consisting of one syllable only). Why do we say forming part of the root? Observe, उल्लूः; उल्ल्वौ; ल्वः ॥ Here the conjunct consonant is not part of the root but is

part of the preposition उन् + लू = उल्लू ॥ Why do we say when not preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe कट्भूः, कट्भुवौ, कट्भुवः । Why do we say that the first member must be a Gati or a Kāraka? Observe. परमलूः, परम लुवौ ; परमलुवः ॥ Why do we say when a case-affix follows? Observe लुलुवतुः ॥

But the declension of the word स्वभू is not governed by this rule but by VI. 4 85. S. 273. Thus Nom: forms are स्वभूः ; स्वभुवौ ; स्वभुवः ॥ So also स्वयंभूः ॥

But the declension of the Noun वर्षाभू (the frog) is different and is governed by the following rule.

२८२ । वर्षाभूश्च । ६ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अस्योवर्णस्य यण् स्यादचि सुपि । वर्षाभूवौ । वर्षाभूवः । हम्भवतीति हम्भूः । अन्वूहम्भूजम्भूकफेलूकर्कन्धूविधिषूरिद्युणादिसूत्रेण व्युत्पादितः । हम्भूवौ । हम्भूवः । हम्भूम् । हम्भूवौ । हम्भून् । शेषं हूहूवत् । हमिति नान्ते हिंसार्थेऽन्यथे भुवः क्तिप् । हम्भूः । हन्कारपुनःपूर्वस्य भुवो यण् वक्तव्यः । हन्वौ । हन्व इत्यादि खलपूवत् । करभूवौ । करभूवः । दीर्घपाठे तु कर एव कारः । स्वार्थिकः प्रज्ञाद्यण् । कारभूवौ । कारभूवः । पुनर्भूवौ-गिकः पुंसि । पुनर्भावित्यादि । हम्भूकाराभूशब्दौ स्वयंभूवत् ॥

282. व् is substituted for the ऊ of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्षाभूवौ, वर्षाभूवः ॥

This is an exception to rule S 273.

The words अन्वू, हम्भू, जम्भू, कफेलू, कर्कन्धू, विधिषू are Unādi formed words under Unādi sūtras I. 96. Thus हम्भू: "an author" or "a reciter"; हम्भूवौ, हम्भूवः ; हम्भूम् ; हम्भूवौ ; हम्भून्, The rest of the declensions is like those of हू हू ॥ The word हम्भू is formed from the root हम्भ् with the affix ऊ (technically कु) ॥ But there is another word हम्भू (meaning a kind of tree, snake or monkey) formed from the indeclinable word हन् to injure and the verb भू with the affix क्तिप् ॥ The declension of this word is governed by the following

Vart:—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when हन्, कार and पुनर् precede भू, as हम्भूवौ, हम्भूवः, पुनर्भूवौ, पुनर्भवः काराभूवौ (काराभूवौ), काराभूवः (काराभूवः) ॥

In this vārtika, one reading is कर, and another reading is कार, namely करभू or कारभू (the meaning of both is the same, because कार is formed by the affix अण् without changing the sense, under sūtra V. 4. 38, S. 2106).

The word पुनर्भू must be taken as a masculine derivative word, and not the word पुनर्भू which is always feminine.

The Nouns हम्भू and काराभू are declined like स्वयंभू ॥

Note:—According to Eastern Grammarians, these two words are declined like वर्षाभू ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculines in long ऊ ॥

Declension of masculines ending in ऋ.

धाता । हे धातः । धातारौ । धातारः ॥ ऋवर्णान्नस्य णत्वं वाच्यम् * ॥ धातूणामित्यादि ।
एवं नप्चादयः । उदात्तारौ । पिता । वृत्त्यन्तिपक्षे नप्चादिग्रहणस्य नियमार्थत्वात् दीर्घः । पितरौ । पितरः
पितरम् । पितरौ । शेषं धातुवत् । एवं जानातृभ्रात्रादयः । ना । नरौ । नरः । हे नः ॥

We take up the declension of the word धातृ. It is governed by the rules already referred to before, namely VII. 3. 110. S. 275 ; VII. 1. 94. S. 276., VI. 1. 111. S. 279. and VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus धाता; धातारौ; धातारः Voc. हे धातः

Vartika :—After words ending in ऋ, the dental न is changed to cerebral ण.

Therefore Genitive Pl : is धातूणां ॥

The declension of नप्त् &c mentioned in VI. 4. 11. S. 277. is like धातृ ॥
So also that of उदात्तृ ॥

But the declension of पितृ is not like this. पितृ is a Uṇādi formed word, about which there are two views. Some consider Uṇādi affixes as no affixes at all, and therefore Uṇādi words, as कृहि words. Others consider such words as derivative. According to the first view, the declension of पितृ is governed by VII. 3. 110. S. 275. and the ऋ of पितृ is gunated. Thus Nom. Dual and Pl : are पितरौ; पितरः.

According to the second view, the word पितृ is considered to be formed with the affix तृष् and तृच् added to the root पा 'to protect' by Uṇādi sutra II. 94. Then the sutra VI. 4. 11. S. 277 is read in a restrictive sense, by taking the word नप्त् as restricting the rule only to नप्त् &c and not to पितृ. Therefore, we never have पितारौ but always पितरौ. Thus पिता, पितरौ, पितरः ; पितरम्, पितरौ. The rest of the declensions is like those of धातृ. The words ग्रामातृ, भ्रातृ &c are to be similarly declined.

	Nom	Acca.	Instr.	Dati.	Abl.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing	धाता	धातारं	धात्रा	धात्रे	धातुः	धातुः	धातरि
Dual	धातारौ	धातारौ	धातृभ्यां	धातृभ्यां	धातृभ्यां	धात्राः	धात्रोः
Plural	धातारः	धातून्	धातृभिः	धातृभ्यः	धातृभ्यः	धातूणाम्	धातृषु

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Sing	पिता	पितरं	पित्रा	पित्रे	पितुः	पितुः	पितरि
Dual	पितरौ	पतरौ	पितृभ्यां	पितृभ्यां	पितृभ्यां	पित्रोः	पित्रोः
Plural	पितरः	पितृन्	पितृभिः	पितृभ्यः	पितृभ्यः	पितृणां	पितृषु

The declension of the Noun नृ is ना, नरौ, नरः The Voc. Sing. is हे नः ॥

In the Genitive Plural there are two forms according to the following rule.

२८३ । नृ च । ६ । ४ । ६ ॥

नृ इत्येतस्य नामि वा दीर्घः स्यात् । नृणाम् । नृणाम् ।

283. So also नृ before the Genitive Plural नाम् is lengthened optionally.

As त्वं नृणां नृभते, and त्वं नृणां नृभते ॥ According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others it extends to secular literature also.

Here ends the declension of masculines ending in short क् ॥

—————:O:—————

Declension of masculines ending in long क् ॥

कृ तू अनयोरनुकरणे प्रकृतिवदनुकरणमिति वैकल्पिकातिदेशादिष्वे रपरस्वम् । कीः । किरौ । किरः । तीः । तिरौ । तिरः । इत्यादि दीर्घत् । इत्वाभावपक्षे तु ऋदुशन इति कृतो ङीति च तपरकरणा-
वनङ्गुणौ न । कृः । क्रौ । क्रः । कृम् । क्रौ । कृन् । क्रा । क्रे इत्यादि ॥

कृ and तू are two roots, when imitative names are formed, we get the nouns कृ and तू ॥ These nouns are treated like verbs कृ and तू on the following maxim. *Paribhāṣā*:—"An imitative name is like original." Therefore the rule VII. 1. 100 S. 2390. read with I. 1. 51. S. 70. applies to these words. Thus we have किर् and निर् as bases. Therefore the Nom : forms are कीः ; किरौ, किरः ; तीः, तिरौ, तिरः ; These are, in fact, declined like the nouns ending in consonant र् as गिर् ॥

The above *Paribhāṣā* is, however, optional and the इर् substitution may not take place. In that case, the rules VII. 3. 110 S. 275 and VII. 1. 95. S. 276 requiring the gunation and अनङ्ग substitution do not apply, because those rules are confined to bases ending in short क् as the word कृत् in those sūtras shows, for the indicatory तू shows that the short क् is to be taken (see I. 1. 70 S. 15). Therefore, the declension of these words is कृः, क्रौ, क्रः ; कृम्, क्रौ ; कृन् ; क्रा, क्रे etc.

Here ends the declension of masculines ending in long क् ॥

—————:O:—————

Declension of Nouns ending in ल् ॥

गम्ल् शक्ल् अनयोरनुकरणेऽनङ् । गमा । शका गुणविषये तु लपरस्वम् । गमलौ । गमलः । गमलम् । गमलौ । गम्लन् । गम्ला । गम्ले । ङितिङ्ङोस्तु कृत उदित्युत्वे लपरस्वे संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । गमुल् । शकुल् । इत्यादि ॥

We take the declension of nouns गम्ल् and शक्ल् the imitative nouns formed from the roots गम्ल् 'to go' and शक्ल् 'to be able'. In the Nom. Sing. we have अनङ्ग by VII. I. 94. S. 276, as गमा, शका ॥ In the other strong cases, we have गुण by VII. 3. 110 S 275, as गमलौ ; गमलः ; गमलम्, गमलौ, गम्लन् ; गम्ला ; गम्ले ॥

In Abl. and Gen : singular, the sūtra VI. 1. III. S. 279 and I. 1. 51. S. 70 will apply. Therefore, the ल् + अ of the affix will be changed to उ followed by ल् ॥ Thus we have गम्ल् + अल् = गडुल् + स् ॥ The स् itself will be elided, because it is a final consonant. Thus, we have गडुल् ॥ So also शकुल् &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ल् ॥

—:O:—

सेः । सयौ । सयः । स्मृतेः । स्मृतयौ । स्मृतयः ॥

Declension of Nouns ending in ए ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word से ॥ This word is thus formed; स + इ = सेः or स + ई = सेः ॥ The short इ is the name of Kāma (Cupid), as it may be considered to be derived from the word अ meaning Vishnu with the अपत्य affix इ meaning the son of अ ॥ Similarly ई may be considered to be the feminine of अ, namely the wife of Vishnu. से may therefore mean 'he who is accompanied by Kāma' or 'he who is accompanied by Lakshmi.' Therefore, the word से is declined as सेः, सयौ सयः ॥

Similarly the word स्मृते which has also two meanings, 'he who remembers Kāma (इ)' or 'he who remembers Lakshmi'. The word स्मृत being *Nishthā* is placed first in this Bahu-vrihi compound by II. 2. 36 S. 899. Thus we get स्मृतेः, स्मृतयौ, स्मृतयः ॥

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ए ॥

—:O:—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ओ ॥

We take the word गो; to which the following rules apply:—

२८४ । गोतो णित् । ७ । १ । ६० ॥

गोशब्दात्परं सर्वनामस्थानं णित्त्वा स्यात् । गौः । गावौ । गावः ॥

284. The endings of the strong cases are णित् after गो ॥

That is, these affixes produce all the णित् operations: such as Vṛddhi &c. As गौः, गावौ, गावः ॥ Why have we added a त् after गो? The rule applies to the form गो, and not when it assumes the form गु, as in चित्रगुः, शबलगुः ॥

Note:—How do you explain the forms हे चित्रगो, हे शबलगवः? This is done on the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनरवृत्तावविधिर्निष्ठितस्य, (when an operation which is taught in the Angādhikāra VI, 4.—VII. 4. has taken place, and another operation of the Angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place). For when Guṇa once takes place before the Vocative and the Nominative Plural affix by VII. 3. 108-109, the णित् operation of this rule will not again take place. Or गौतः in the sūtra may be construed as Sam-

bandha-lakshana Sasthi (a Genitive denoting a general relation): and the meaning will be "that sarvanāmasthāna affix, denoting singular, dual, plural, which refers to the meaning of गो or 'cow'" While in चित्रगु, the sarvanāmasthāna affix does not refer to 'cow' but to another *object*, namely to a 'person' who possesses brindled cows. त् in गोत् in this view is for specification only.

२८५ । औतोऽमशसोः । ६ । १ । ६३ ॥

आ ओत इति छेदः । ओकारादमशसोरचि परे आकार एकादेशः स्यात् । शसा साहचर्यास्तुवेव भम् गृह्यते । नेह । अचिनवम् । असुनवम् । गाम् । गावौ । गाः । गवा । गवे । गोः । इत्यादि । औतो णिदिति वाच्यम् । विहितविशेषणं च । तेन । सुद्यौः । सुद्यावौ । सुद्यावः । ओकारान्ताद्विहितं सर्वनामस्था-
नमिति व्याख्यानान्नेह । हे भानो । हे भानवः । उः शंसुः स्मृतो येन सः, स्मृतौः । स्मृतावौ । स्मृतावः । स्मृताम् । स्मृतावौ । स्मृताः । इत्यादि ॥

285. For ओ of a Nominal stem+अ of the Accusative case-ending भम् and अस्, the single substitute is आ ॥

The word औतः is a compound of आ + ओतः ॥ Thus गो + भम्, = गाम्, गो + अस् = गाः ॥ Thus गां पश्य, गाः पश्यः ॥ This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. 1. 90. So also द्यां or द्याः पश्यः; as the word द्यौ is also a nominal stem ending in ओ ॥ The Sārvanāmsthāna affixes are णित् after this word also (see VII. 1. 90) which would have caused Vṛiddhi, therefore, this आ debars the Vṛiddhi. The word भम् here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix शस् and as the word सुप् of the last sūtra governs this also. Therefore भम् the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant; thus we have अचिनवम्, असुनवम् ॥ गाम्, गावौ ; गाः ; गवा ; गवे ; गोः etc.

Vārtika:—The sūtra VII. 1. 90 S. 284 should be read as औतोणित् meaning the ending of strong cases are णित् after bases ending in ओ ॥

Vārtika:—And the endings are णित् after those bases only which have ओ in them. Thus, the Noun सुद्यौ is declined as सुद्यौः ; सुद्यावौ, सुद्यावः ॥

Some read the sūtra as औतः णित्, so that the rule will apply to द्यौ also: as, द्यौः, द्यावौ, द्यावः ॥ If the reading be taken गोतः, then we extend this rule to द्यौ also, by taking गो as merely illustrative of all words ending in ओ ; and this is done by the letter त् in गोतः, for the तपर rule applies to *letters*, and not to *words*, so that गोतः means and includes words ending in ओ ॥

The Sarva-nāma sthāna affixes are णित् only after original bases ending in ओ and not after a derivative base ending in ओ ॥ Therefore the Sarvanama sthāna affix सु or जस् coming after the base भानो, which the Noun भानु assumes in the Vocative case is not to be treated as णित्, because the ओ here is derivative. Therefore हे भानो, हे भानवः ॥

Similarly, the word स्मृतौ formed from स्मृत + उ meaning 'he wh

remembers उ or शंभु', is declined as स्मृतौः, स्मृतावौ, स्मृतावः; स्मृतान्, स्मृतावौ; स्मृताः etc.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ओ ॥

—:o:—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ऐ.

We take the word ऐ (wealth).

२८६ । रायौ हलि । ७ । २ । ८५ ॥

देशद्वयक्रान्तादेशः स्याद्वलि विभक्तौ । अचि आयादेशः । राः । रायौ । रायः । रायम् । रायौ । रायः । राया । राभ्यानित्यादि ॥

286. Before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, आ is substituted for the final of ऐ ॥

Before affixes beginning with vowels, the ऐ of ऐ is changed to आय् by the ordinary rules of Sandhi. Thus राः, रायौ, रायः; रायम्, रायौ, रायः; राया, राभ्याम् &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ऐ.

—:o:—

Declension of Nouns ending in औ.

ग्लौ । ग्लावौ ग्लावः । ग्लावम् । ग्लावौ । ग्लावः । इत्यादि । औतोऽश्वसोरितीह न प्रवर्तते । एओजिति सूत्रेण औहोतोः सावर्ण्याभावज्ञापनात् ॥

We take the word ग्लौ. It is declined as ग्लौः, ग्लावौ, ग्लावः, ग्लावम्, ग्लावौ, ग्लावः etc.

The sutra VI. 1. 93. S. 285 applied only to bases ending in ओ and not to those which end in औ. Because ओ and औ are not savarna letters, a fact which we learn from Paṇini mentioning them separately in the Maheswara sūtras ए ओङ् and ऐ औच्.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in vowels.

—:o:—

DECLENSION OF सखि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	सखा	सखायं	सख्या	सख्ये	सख्युः	सख्युः	सख्यौ	हे सखे
Dual	सखायौ	सखायौ	सखिभ्यां	सखिभ्यां	सखिभ्यां	सख्योः	सख्योः	सखायौ
Plural	सखायः	सखीन्	सखिभिः	सखिभ्यः	सखिभ्यः	सखीनाम्	सखिषु	सखायः

शोभनः सखा=सुसखा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	सुसखा	सुसखायं	सुसखिना	सुसख्ये	सुसखेः	सुसखेः	सुसखौ	सुसखे
Dual	सुसखायौ	सुसखायौ	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसख्योः	सुसख्योः	सुसखायौ
Plural	सुसखायः	सुसखीन्	सुसखिभिः	सुसखिभ्यः	सुसखिभ्यः	सुसखीनाम्	सुसखिषु	सुसखायः

पति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	पतिः	पतिम्	पत्या	पत्ये	पत्युः	पत्युः	पत्यौ	हे पते
Dual	पती	पती	पतिभ्यां	पतिभ्याम्	पतिभ्यां	पत्योः	पत्योः	पता
Plural	पतयः	पतीन्	पतिभिः	पतिभ्यः	पतिभ्यः	पतीनाम्	पतिषु	पतयः

भूपति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Ab.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	भूपतिः	भूपतिम्	भूपतिना	भूपत्ये	भूपतेः	भूपतेः	भूपतौ	भूपते
Dual	भूपती	भूपती	भूपतिभ्याम्	भूपतिभ्यां	भूपतिभ्यां	भूपत्योः	भूपत्योः	भूपती
Plural	भूपतयः	भूपतीन्	भूपतिभिः	भूपतिभ्यः	भूपतिभ्यः	भूपतीनाम्	भूपतिषु	भूपतयः

कति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Plural	कति	कति	कतिभिः	कतिभ्यः	कतिभ्यः	कतीनाम्	कतिषु ॥

त्रि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Plural	त्रयः	त्रीन्	त्रिभिः	त्रिभ्यः	त्रिभ्यः	त्रयाणाम्	त्रिषु

द्वि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Dual	द्वौ	द्वौ	द्वभ्याम्	द्वो	द्वो	द्वयोः	द्वयोः

अतिद्वि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	अतिद्विः	अतिद्विम्	अतिद्विना	अतिद्व्ये	अतिद्वेः	अतिद्वेः	अतिद्वौ
Dual	अतिद्वी	अतिद्वी	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्व्योः	अतिद्व्योः
Plural	अतिद्वयः	अतिद्वीन्	अतिद्विभिः	अतिद्विभ्यः	अतिद्विभ्यः	अतिद्वीनाम्	अतिद्विषु

औडुलोमिः

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Si	औडुलोमिः	औडुलोमिम्	औडुलोमिना	औडुलोमिन्	औडुलोमेः	औडुलोमेः	औडुलोमौ	औडुलोमे
D	औडुलोमी	औडुलोमी	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोम्यः	औडुलोम्योः	औडुलोमी
P	औडुलोमाः	औडुलोमान्	औडुलोमैः	औडुलोमेभ्यः	औडुलोमेभ्यः	औडुलोमानाम्	औडुलोमेषु	औडुलोमाः

वातप्रमी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	वातप्रमीः	वातप्रमीम्	वातप्रम्या	वातप्रम्यै	वातप्रम्यः	वातप्रम्यः	वातप्रमी	हे वातप्रमीः
		वातप्रम्यम् ;				वातप्रम्यः ;		
Dual	वातप्रम्यौ	वातप्रम्यौ	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रम्योः	वातप्रम्योः	॥
Plural	वातप्रम्यः	वातप्रमीन्	वातप्रमीभिः	वातप्रमीभ्यः	वातप्रमीभ्यः	वातप्रम्याम्	वातप्रमीषु	॥
		वातप्रम्यः ;						

बहुश्रेयसी

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Si	बहुश्रेयसी	हे बहुश्रेयसि	बहुश्रेयसीम्	बहुश्रेयस्या	बहुश्रेयस्यै	बहुश्रेयस्याः	बहुश्रेयस्याः	बहुश्रेयस्याम्
D	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयसीभ्यां	॥	॥	बहुश्रेयस्योः	॥
P	बहुश्रेयस्यः	॥	बहुश्रेयसीन्	बहुश्रेयसीभिः	बहुश्रेयसीभ्यः	॥	बहुश्रेयसीनाम्	बहुश्रेयसीषु

अतिलक्ष्मी

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
S	अतिलक्ष्मीः	हे अनिलक्ष्मि	अतिलक्ष्मीम्	अतिलक्ष्म्या	अतिलक्ष्म्यै	अतिलक्ष्म्याः	अतिलक्ष्म्याः	अतिलक्ष्म्याम्
D	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्मीभ्यां	॥	॥	अतिलक्ष्म्योः	अतिलक्ष्म्योः
P	अतिलक्ष्म्यः	अतिलक्ष्म्यः	अतिलक्ष्मीन्	अतिलक्ष्मीभिः	अतिलक्ष्मीभ्यः	॥	अतिलक्ष्मीनाम्	अतिलक्ष्मीषु

कुमारी

	Nomi	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	कुमारी	कुमार्यम्	कुमार्या	कुमार्यै	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याम्	हे कुमारी
Dual	कुमार्यौ	॥	कुमारीभ्यां	कुमारीभ्यां	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमार्योः	॥	॥
Plural	कुमार्यः	॥	कुमारीभ्यः	कुमारीभिः	कुमारीणाम्	कुमारीषु	॥	॥

प्रधी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	प्रधीः	प्रध्यम्	प्रध्या	प्रध्ये	प्रध्यः	प्रध्यः	प्रध्याम्	प्रधीः
Dual	प्रध्यौ	प्रध्यौ	प्रधीभ्यां	प्रधीभ्यां	प्रधीभ्याम्	प्रध्योः	प्रध्याः	प्रधौ
Plural	प्रध्यः	प्रध्यः	प्रधीभिः	प्रधीभ्यः	प्रधीभ्यः	प्रध्याम्	प्रधीषु	प्रध्यः

उन्नी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	उन्नीः	उन्न्यम्	उन्न्या	उन्न्ये	उन्न्यः	उन्न्यः	उन्न्याम्	उन्नीः
Dual	उन्न्यौ	उन्न्यौ	उन्नीभ्यां	उन्नीभ्यां	उन्नीभ्यां	उन्न्योः	उन्न्योः	उन्न्यौ
Plural	उन्न्यः	उन्न्यः	उन्नीभिः	उन्नीभ्यः	उन्नीभ्यः	उन्न्याम्	उन्नीषु	उन्न्यः

ग्रामणी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	ग्रामणीः	ग्रामण्यम्	ग्रामण्या	ग्रामण्ये	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्यां	ग्रामणीः
Dual	ग्रामण्यौ	ग्रामण्यौ	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामण्योः	ग्रामण्योः	ग्रामण्या
Plural	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामणीभिः	ग्रामणीभ्यः	ग्रामणीभ्यः	ग्रामण्यां	ग्रामणीषु	ग्रामण्यः

नी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	नीः	नियम्	निया	निये	नियः	नियः	नियाम्	नीः
Dual	नियौ	नियौ	नीभ्यां	नीभ्याम्	नीभ्याम्	नियोः	नियोः	नियौ
Plural	नियः	नियः	नीभिः	नीभ्यः	नीभ्यः	नियाम्	नीषु	नियः

Sing	सुतीः	सुत्यम्	सुत्या					
Dual	सुत्यौ	सुत्यौ						
Plural	सुत्यः	सुत्यः	like	प्रधीः				

शंभु

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	शंभुः	शंभुम्	शंभुना	शंभवे	शंभोः	शंभोः	शंभो	शंभो
Dual	शंभू	शंभू	शंभुभ्याम्	शंभुभ्यां	शंभुभ्यां	शंभोः	शंभोः	शंभू
Plural	शंभवः	शंभून्	शंभुभिः	शंभुभ्यः	शंभुभ्यः	शंभूनाम्	शंभुषु	शंभवः

क्रोष्टु

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	क्रोष्टा	क्रोष्टारम्	क्रोष्ट्रा क्रोष्टुना	क्रोष्ट्रे क्रोष्टवे क्रोष्टुः	क्रोष्टोः	क्रोष्टुः	क्रोष्टोः क्रोष्टोः
Dual	क्रोष्टारौ	क्रोष्टारौ	क्रोष्टुभ्यां	क्रोष्टुभ्यः	क्रोष्टुभ्यां	क्रोष्ट्राः	क्रोष्ट्राः
Plural	क्रोष्टारः	क्रोष्टून्	क्रोष्टुभिः	क्रोष्टुभ्यः	क्रोष्टुभ्यः	क्रोष्टूनां	क्रोष्टुषु

हुह

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	हुहः	हुहम्	हुहा	हुहं	हुहः	हुहः	हुहः
Dual	हुहौ	हुहौ	हुह्याम्	हुह्यां	हुह्यां	हुहाः	हुहाः
Plural	हुहः	हुहः	हुहभिः	हुहभ्यः	हुहभ्यः	हुह्याम्	हुहषु

खलपू

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gan.	Loc.
Singular	खलपूः	खलप्वम्	खलप्वः	खलप्वे	खलप्वः	खलप्वः	खलप्वि
Dual	खलप्वौ	खलप्वौ	खलप्वभ्याम्	खलप्वभ्याम्	खलप्वभ्याम्	खलप्वोः	खलप्वौ
Plural	खलप्वः	खलप्वः	खलप्वभिः	खलप्वभ्यः	खलप्वभ्यः	खलप्वानां	खलप्वेषु

स्वभू

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	स्वभूः	स्वभुवम्	स्वभुवः	स्वभुवे	स्वभुवः	स्वभुवः	स्वभुवि
Dual	स्वभुवौ	स्वभुवौ	स्वभुवभ्याम्	स्वभुवभ्याम्	स्वभुवभ्याम्	स्वभुवोः	स्वभुवौ
Plural	स्वभुवः	स्वभुवः	स्वभुभिः	स्वभुभ्यः	स्वभुभ्यः	स्वभुवानां	स्वभुवेषु

Singular	वर्षाभूः	वर्षाभ्वम्	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभ्वे	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभ्वि
Dual	वर्षाभ्वौ	वर्षाभ्वौ	वर्षाभ्वभ्याम्	वर्षाभ्वभ्याम्	वर्षाभ्वभ्याम्	वर्षाभवोः	वर्षाभवौ
Plural	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभ्वभिः	वर्षाभ्वभ्यः	वर्षाभ्वभ्यः	वर्षाभवानां	वर्षाभ्वेषु

नृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	नः	नम्	नः	नै	नः	नः	नरि
Dual	नरौ	नरौ	नभ्याम्	नभ्याम्	नभ्याम्	नोः	नोः
Plural	नरः	नन्	नभिः	नभ्यः	नभ्यः	"	नृषु

कृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	कीः	किम्	किरा	किरे	किरः	किरः	किरि
Dual	किरौ	किरौ	कीभ्याम्	कीभ्याम्	कीभ्याम्	किराः	किरोः
Plural	किरः	किरः	कीभिः	कीभ्यः	कीभ्यः	किराम्	कीर्षु

OR

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	कृः	कृम्	क्रा	क्रे	क्रः	क्रः	क्रि
Dual	क्रौ	क्रौ	क्रभ्याम्	क्रभ्याम्	क्रभ्याम्	क्रोः	क्रोः
Plural	क्रः	कृन्	क्रभिः	क्रभ्यः	क्रभ्यः	क्राम्	कृषु

गम्लृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	गमा	गमलम्	गम्ला	गम्ले	गम्लः	गम्लः	गमालि
Dual	गमलौ	गमलौ	गम्लभ्याम्	"	गम्लोः	गम्लोः	गम्लोः
Plural	गमलः	गम्लन्	गम्लभिः	गम्लभ्यः	"	गम्लानां or गम्लानां	गम्लेषु

से

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	सेः	सयम्	सया	सये	सयः	सयः	सयि
Dual	सयौ	सयौ	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सयोः	सयोः
Plural	सयः	सयः	सेभिः	सेभ्यः	सेभ्यः	सयाम्	सेषु

गो

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	गौः	गाम्	गवा	गवे	गोः	गोः	गवि
Dual	गावौ	गावौ	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गवोः	गवोः
Plural	गावः	गाः	गोभिः	गोभ्यः	गोभ्यः	ग	गाषु व म्

स्मृतो

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	स्मृतौः	स्मृतान्	स्मृतवा	स्मृतवे	स्मृतोः	स्मृतोः	स्मृतवि
Dual	स्मृतावौ	स्मृतावौ	स्मृतोभ्यां	स्मृतोभ्यां	स्मृतोभ्यां	स्मृतवोः	स्मृतवोः
Plural	स्मृतावः	स्मृताः	स्मृतोभिः	स्मृतोभ्यः	स्मृतोभ्यः	स्मृतवाम्	स्मृतोषु

रै

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	राः	रायम्	राया	राये	रायः	रायः	रायि
Dual	रायौ	रायौ	राभ्यम्	राभ्यां	राभ्यां	रायोः	रायोः
Plural	रायः	रायः	राभिः	राभ्यः	राभ्यः	रायाम्	राषु

ग्लौ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	ग्लौः	ग्लावम्	ग्लावा	ग्लावे	ग्लावः	ग्लायः	ग्लावि
Dual	ग्लावौ	ग्लावौ	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लावोः	ग्लावोः
Plural	ग्लावः	ग्लावः	ग्लौभिः	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लावाम्	ग्लौषु

अथाजन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER IX.

DECLENSION OF FEMININES ENDING IN VOWELS.

Now we take up the declension of the word रमा. (This word is formed from the root रम् 'to play' with the affix अच् and the feminine affix राप्). The Nom. Sing is रमा. The affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In forming the Nom : and Acc : Dual the following rule applies:—

२८७ । औड आपः । ७ । १ । १८ ॥

आबन्ताङ्गात्परस्यौडः शी स्यात् । औडित्यौकारविभक्तेः संज्ञा । रमे । रमाः ॥

287. After a stem ending in the feminine affix आ, ई is substituted for the dual endings औ of the Nominative and Accusative.

The इ in औड् is for the purpose of including औड् also. There is, in fact, no such affix as औड् taught by Pāṇini any where. Thus रमा + औ = रमा + शी = रमे ॥

The Pl: will be रमाः ॥

The Vocative Sing is formed according to the following Sūtra.

२८८ । संबुद्धौ च । ७ । ३ । १०६ ।

आप एकारः स्यात्संबुद्धौ । एङ्ङस्वाकिति संबुद्धिलोपः । हे रमे । हे रमे । हे रमाः । रमाम् । रमे । रमाः । स्त्रीत्वान्नत्वाभावः ॥

288. ए is substituted for the final आ of a Feminine stem, in the Vocative Singular.

Thus रमा + सु = रमे + सु = रमे ॥ The affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus Voc: Sing. Dual and Pl: are हे रमे, हे रमे, हे रमाः respectively.

The Acc: forms are रमाम् ; रमे ; रमाः ॥ The न is not added in the Acc: Pl: because it is feminine. The rule VI. 1. 193. S. 196 applies only to the Masculine nouns.

In forming the Instrumental, the following applies.

२८९ । आङि चापः । ७ । ३ । १०५ ॥

आङि ओसि च परे आबन्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारः स्यात् । रमया । रमाभ्याम् । रमानिः ॥

289. Before the case-endings ओस् and before आ of

the Instrumental, ए is substituted for the final आ of the Feminine-affix.

आङ् is the name given to the affix दा, the Ins. Sing. by the ancient grammarians.

Thus रमा + दा = रमे + आ = रमया ॥ The Instr : dual and Pl. forms are रमाभ्याम् रमाभिः ॥

In forming the Dative, the following sūtra applies :—

२९० । याडापः । ७ । ३ । ११३ ।

भावः परस्य डिक्चनस्य याडागमः स्यात् । वृद्धिरेचि । रमायै । सवर्णदीर्घः । रमायाः । रमयोः । रमासु । एवं दुर्गादयः ॥

290. The augment याद् is added to the Dat. Abl. Gen and Loc. Sg. after a Feminine stem ending in आ ॥

Thus रमा + डे = रमायाद् + डे = रमाया + ए = रमायै according to VI. 1. 88. S. 72.

The Abl : and Gen : Singulars are thus formed :—रमा + डसि = रमा + याद् + डसि = रमाया + असि = रमायाः ॥

The Gen : and Loc : dual रमयोः is formed as follows रमा + ओस् = रमे + ओस् (VII. 3. 105 S. 289) = रमयोः ॥

The Gen : Pl : is रमाणाम् (न् being added by VII. 1. 54. S. 208).

The Loc. Sing. रमायाम् is formed according to VII. 3. 116. S. 270. Thus रमा + याद् + डि = रमा + याद् + आम् = रमायाम् ॥

The Loc. dual and Pl : are रमयोः and रमासु ॥ The Feminine Nouns दुर्गा &c. are to be similarly declined.

—————:O:—————

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Pronoun सर्वा ॥ In the first three cases, it is declined like रमा ॥ In forming the Dative and other cases the following rules apply :—

२९१ । सर्वनाम्नः स्याद्द्वस्वश्च । ७ । ३ । ११४ ॥

आबन्तात्सर्वनाम्नः परस्य डितः स्याद् स्यादापश्च द्वस्वः । यादोऽपवादः । सर्वस्यै । सर्वस्याः २ ।

एकादेशस्य पूर्वान्तत्वेन षड्गणानि सर्वनाम्न इति सुट् । सर्वास्ताम् । सर्वस्याम् । सवयोः । सर्वासु । एवं विश्वादय आबन्तः ॥

291. After a Pronominal stem ending in long आ of the Feminine, the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. receive the augment स्याद् and the आ of the stem is shortened.

As सर्वस्यै विश्वस्यै यस्यै तस्यै कस्यै भवत्यै भवत्याः । सर्वस्याः, विश्वस्याः, यस्याः तस्याः, कस्याः, भव्यस्यै भव्यस्याः ॥

But असुब्धे where the stem does not end in long आ of the Feminine

This debar the augment आद् Thus Dat : Sing is formed as follows.
सर्वा + स्याद् + डे = सर्व + स्या + इ = सर्वस्यै ॥

Similarly the Abl : and Gen : Singular सर्वस्याः is formed.

In Gen : Pl : सुद् is added by VII. 8. 52 S. 217. Though the Feminine pronoun सर्वा is not mentioned in the सर्वादि class, yet the word सर्वा is called सर्वानाम्, for the ekādes'a आ of सर्वा (सर्व + आ = सर्वा) is considered as the final of the first, and hence the rule VII. 1. 52. S. 217 will apply to it. Thus we get the Gen : Pl : सर्वासाम् ॥

The Loc : Sing is thus formed सर्वा + डि = सर्व + स्या + आम् = सर्वस्याम् ॥ The Loc : Dual and Pl : forms are सर्वयोः and सर्वासु ॥

So also other Feminine Pronouns ending in आ like विश्वा &c. are to be declined.

२९२ । विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ । १ । १ । २८ ॥

अत्र सर्वनामता वा स्यात् । उत्तरपूर्वस्यै । उत्तरपूर्वायै । दिङ्मामान्यन्तराले इति प्रतिपक्षेक्तस्य विकसमासस्य ग्रहणात्नेह । योत्तरा सा पूर्वा यस्या उन्मुखायास्तस्यै उत्तरपूर्वायै । बहुव्रीहिस्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । अन्तरस्यै शालायै । बाह्यायै इत्यर्थः । अपुरीत्युक्तेर्नेह । अन्तरायै नगर्यै ॥

292. The Sarvanāma words are optionally declined as such when they occur in a Bahuvrīhi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26. S. 845).

Thus उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or उत्तरपूर्वायै ॥ The Bahuvrīhi compound specifically taught in II. 2. 26. S. 845 and not every other bahuvrīhi. Therefore when the word उत्तरा or पूर्वा are so compounded as to denote a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East, there the word उत्तरपूर्वा (a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East) though a bahuvrīhi compound, formed of pronouns denoting points of compass, but as the whole compound does not denote the intermediate points of the compass but is the Name of a person, it is not treated as a Sarvanāma. Therefore its Dative Sing will be उत्तरपूर्वायै and not उत्तरपूर्वस्यै ॥

The word बहुव्रीहि is used in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra would have referred to Bahuvrīhi compound even without employing the word bahuvrīhi in it.

The word अन्तरा is a Sarvanāma denoting 'outer' and so it is declined as अन्तरस्यै शालायै meaning the outer court, but when the word अन्तरा denotes a city' it is not a sarvanāma and therefore its declension will be अन्तरायै नगर्यै (See Vārtika under sūtra VII. 1. 52 S. 217).

The word द्वितीया and तृतीया are similarly declined except in the डित् affixes to which the following rule applies.

२९३ । चिभाषा द्वितीया तृतीयाभ्याम् । ७ । ३ । ११५ ॥

आभ्यां डितः स्याद् स्यादापञ्च ह्रस्वः । इहे सूत्रं त्यक्तुं शक्यम् । तीयस्य डित्स्वपसंख्यानान् । द्वितीयस्यै । द्वितीयायै । द्वितीयस्याः । द्वितीयायाः । द्वितीयस्याम् । द्वितीयायाम् कोषं रमावन् । एवं तृतीया ॥ अम्बार्थनद्योह्रस्वः ॥ हे अम्ब । हे अक् । हे अल्ल ॥ असंयुक्ता ये डलकास्तद्वातां ह्रस्वो न ॥ हे अम्बाडे । हे अम्बाले । हे अम्बिके । जरा । जरसौ । शीभावात्परस्वाज्जरस् । आनि नुदः परस्वाज्जरस् । जरसामित्यादि । पक्षे हलादौ च रमावन् । इह पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन शीभावं कृत्वा संनिपातपरिभाषाया अनित्यतां चाश्रित्य जरसी इति केचिदाहुस्तान्निर्मूलम् । यद्यपि जरसादेशस्य स्थानिवद्भावनाबन्ततामाश्रित्य । औङ आपः । आङि चापः । याडापः । ह्रस्वनद्यापः । डेराम् । इति पञ्चापि विधयः प्राप्ताः । एवं नसुनिश्चयः । तथाप्यनन्विधाविद्युक्तेन भवन्ति । आ आबिति प्रश्लिष्य आकाररूपस्यैवाऽऽपः सर्वत्र ग्रहणात् । एवं हल्ङ्बाहिसुत्रेऽपि आ आप् डी ई इति प्रश्लेषादित्यदुः निष्कौशाम्भिरित्याहिसिद्धेर्द्विग्रहणं प्रत्याख्येयम् । नपैवमप्यनित्यद्विग्रहणं स्वार्थ्यमाकारत्वं स्थानिवद्भावनात्वं चाश्रित्य याद् स्यादिति वाच्यम् । आबन्तं यद्वा ततः परस्य याडुविधानात् । उपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्यये तदादिनियमात् । पदत्रय इति नासिकाया नस् । नसः । नसा । नोभ्यामित्यादि । पक्षे मुदि च रमावन् । निशाया निश्र । निशः । निशा ॥

293. After द्वितीया and तृतीया the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. may optionally get the augment स्याद् before which the आ is shortened.

As द्वितीयस्यै or द्वितीयायै; तृतायस्य or तृतीयायै, द्वितीयस्याः or द्वितीयायाः, तृतीयस्याः or तृतीयायाः द्वितीयस्याम् or द्वितीयायाम्; तृतीयस्याम्; or तृतीयायाम् ॥

The remaining forms are like those of रमा ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word अम्बा ॥

According to VII, 3. 103. S. 267. the Voc. Sing is हे अम्ब ॥ So also हे अल्ल ॥

The final आ of the word ending in simple ड, ल and क is not shortened. Thus हे अम्बाडे; हे अम्बाले; हे अम्बिके ॥

The declension of जरा is somewhat peculiar. Thus Nom. Sg. जरा + सु = जरा; Nom. Dual. जरा + औ = जरसौ; जरा is replaced by जरस् (VII. 2. 101 S. 227) before the sūtra शी (VII. 1. 18. S. 287) could be applied. In Gen. Pl. जरस् substitution takes place before the augment नुद् could be added; hence जरसाम् ॥ But the जरस् substitution is optional, so when there is no जरस् substitution and before consonantal affixes जरा is declined like रमा ॥

Some form the Nom. Dual as जरसौ; their reason is that शी will replace औ even where जरस् substitution takes place and संनिपातपरिभाषा is not of universal application. The Paribhāshā is as follows :—

सनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्य i. e. "That which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination." This

argument however is incorrect for the form जरसी is nowhere to be found. Ques. जरस् replacing जरा may be considered as like जरा by the rule of स्थानिवदादेश (I. 1. 56. S. 49), therefore the five rules mentioned above, namely, VII. 1. 18. S. 287. VII. 3. 105. S. 289. VII. 3. 113. S. 290; VII. S. 208; VII. 3. 116 S. 270. apply to जरा ॥ Similarly those rules would apply also to नस् the substitute of नासिका; निश् the substitute of निश्वा, पुत् the substitute of पुतना 'an army'. (See VI. 1. 64 S. 2264).

Answer. No, for the स्थानिवत् rule does not apply in cases of भलिवाधि ॥ For the five rules mentioned above apply only to those Feminine forms which end in long आ and not to those forms which are substitutes of such long आ ending word. In fact, in the above rules the word आप्, डी should be construed as compounded of आ + आप् = आप् and डी + ई = डी; that is those Feminine words in आप् and डी which retain their आ and ई in this state before the affixes are added and not those words which do not end in आ and ई ॥ For the same reason, the forms भतिखद् and निष्कौशाम्बि are not to be governed by these rules for they end in short अ and short इ ॥ Similarly the Dative of भतिखद् will be भतिखद्वाय ॥ Here also the augment याद् will not apply.

नस् is substituted for नासिका in weak cases and is then declined as नस्; Instr: Sg. नसा &c. when this substitution does not take place नासिका is declined like रसा ॥ Similarly निश्वा is declined. But before the affixes भ्याम् &c. the श् is changed to इ by the following rule.

२९४ । ब्रश्चभ्रस्जस्जम्जयजराजभ्राजच्छशां षः । ८ । २ । ३६ ॥

ब्रश्चादीनां सप्तानां छशान्त्योश्च षकारोऽन्तादेशः स्याज्झालपदान्ते च । षस्य जद्वेग उकारः । निङ्भ्याम् । निङ्भिः । सुपि डः सीति पक्षे धुट् । चर्त्त्वम् । तस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चया द्वितीया इति दन्त्याद्यथा न । न पदान्तादोऽस्ति दुस्त्वं न । निङ्स्त्वं । निङ्स्त्वं ॥

294. For the final consonants of vrasch, bhrasj, srij mrij, yaj, rāj, and bhrāj, and for the final छ and श, there is substituted ष before jhal letter, or at the end of a word.

Thus ब्रश्च्—ब्रष्टा, ब्रष्टुम्, ब्रष्टव्यम् मूलवृद्ध ॥ भ्रष्टा । भ्रष्टुम् । भ्रष्टव्यम् । धानाष्टद । सृष्ट । सृष्टुम् । रज्जुष्टद । वृज् । नार्ष्ट । नार्ष्टुम् नार्ष्टव्यम् । कंसवरिष्टद । यज् । यष्टा । यष्टुम् । यष्टव्यम् । उपयष्ट । राज् । सभाष्ट । स्वराष्ट । विराष्ट । विभाष्ट ॥

Thus निश् + भ्याम् = निष् + भ्याम् = निङ्भ्याम्; निङ्भिः ॥ By VIII. 3. 29. S. 131, there is an optional augment इ before the Loc. Pl.: सुप्; then this इ is changed to ह and धु to त् ॥ This last substitution being considered as asiddha because it is a चिपादि rule, the ह and त् are not changed to द् and थ as will be required by Vārtika under VIII. 3. 28, S. 131. Nor will the rule VIII. 4. 42. S. 114. apply. Thus we get. निङ्स्त्वं or निङ्स्त्वं ॥

Now appears the following rule also for application.

२९५। षढोः कः सि। ८। २। ४१॥

यस्य ढस्य च कः स्यात्सकारे परे। इति तु न भवति। जडत्वं प्रत्यसिद्धत्वात्। केचित्तु प्रत्या-
दिसूत्रे वारिधातोरिति सूत्राद्धातोरित्यनुवर्तयन्ति। तन्मते जडत्वेन जकारे। निज्भ्याम्। निजिभः। जडत्वं-
म्। इचुत्वंम्। चर्त्वंम्। निच्यु। चोः कुरिति कुत्वं तु न भवति। जडत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्॥ मांसपूतनासानूनां
मांसपूतनवो वाच्याः शसादो वा *॥ पूतः। पूता। पूत्याम्। पक्षे सुदि च रमावत्। गोपा विश्वपावत्।
मतिः प्रायण हरिवत्। स्त्रीत्वान्नस्वाभावः। मतीः॥ नास्वै न मत्या॥

295. क is substituted for ष or ढ before स ॥

Therefore निश् + सु (Loc. Pl.) = निष् + सु = निङ् + सु = निक् + सु = But the application of this rule would be wrong, for the जश् rule is considered as *asiddha* for the purposes this rule.

Some explain the last Sūtra by confining it to roots only, they read the anuvritti of चातोः in that Sūtra from the previous Sūtra, VIII. 2. 32 S. 325. According to them, there will be ज when जश् rule is applied. Thus निज्भ्याम्; निजिभः। In fact, according to this opinion, there is no substitution of ष and so निश् + भ्याम् is changed to निङ् + भ्याम्, Therefore, according to them, the Loc. Pl. will be निश् + सु = निङ् + सु = निङ् + सु = निच् + सु, The च् is not changed to क् by VIII. 2. 30 S. 378, because the जश् substitution is considered as *asiddha*.

Vārtika. Before the affixes of the Acc. Pl. and the rest the words मांस, पूतना and सानु are optionally replaced by मांस, पूत and सनु.

Therefore Acc. Pl. of पूत will be पूतः; Instr : Sg. पूता; Instr - Dual पूद्भ्याम् In the other alternative and in the strong cases, namely the first five inflectional cases पूतना is declined like रमा. The Feminine गोपा is declined like विश्वपा॥

The Feminine मतिः is declined like हरि except in the following cases :— The Acc. Pl. is मतीः; there is no न because it is Feminine. Similarly the Instr : Sg. is मत्या and not मतित्ना because VII. 3. 120. S. 244. does not apply to Feminine nouns.

Before the ङित् affixes, मति is governed by the following rule:

२९६। ङिति ह्रस्वश्च। १। ४। ६॥

इयङुवङ्स्थानौ स्त्रीशब्दमित्रौ नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गावीवृतौ ह्रस्वौ च इउवर्णौ स्त्रियां वा नवी संज्ञौ स्त्री ङिति परे॥ भाण् नद्याः॥ मत्यै। मतये। मत्याः। मतेः। नदीत्वपक्षे भौदिति ङेरीत्वे प्राप्ति॥

296. When a case-affix having an indicatory ñ (ñit) follows, then feminine words ending in short इ and उ are optionally termed Nadi, as well as feminine nouns in long ि and ु which admit of iyañ and uvañ; but not so the word stri, which is always Nadi.

Feminine words in long ि and ु have been defined as nadi, words in

short vowels can never be termed nadi, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition, if they take iyañ and uvañ. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory ङ follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory ण are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have :—

Dative मत्तये or मत्तै, धनवे or धेन्वै, श्रिये or श्रियै ; Ablative and Genitive मते or मत्याः, धेनो, or धेन्वाः, श्रियः or श्रियाः ; Locative मतौ or मत्याम्, धेनौ or धेन्वां, श्रियि or श्रियां ॥ So also भुवे or भुवे &c. But stri is always स्त्रियै &c.

When the word मति is treated as a Nadi word, then the Loc. Sg. requires औ by VII. 3. 118, S. 256. But this is prevented by the following rule,

२६७ । इदुद्भ्याम् । ७ । ३ । ११७ ॥

नदीसंज्ञकाभ्यामिदुद्भ्यां परस्य डेराम् स्यात् । पक्षे अच् घेः । मत्याम् । मतौ । एवं श्रुतिस्मृत्या-
दयः ॥

297. After the Feminine nadi words ending in इ and उ short, आम् is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg.

When this rule does not apply, then it is treated as a चि word and rule VII. 3. 19 S. 247 applies. Thus Loc. Sg. is मत्याम् or मतौ.

The words श्रुति, स्मृति &c. are declined like मति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of feminine nouns ending in क् like तिसृ, and चतसृ the feminine of त्रि and चतुर् which are formed by the following Sūtra.

२६८ । त्रिचतुरोः स्त्रियां तिसृचतसृ । ७ । २ । ६६ ॥

स्त्रीलिङ्गयोरेतयोरेतावादेशौ स्तो विभक्तौ परतः ॥

298. तिसृ is substituted for त्रि and चतसृ for चतुर् in the feminine, when a case-ending follows.

२६९ । अचि र ऋतः । ७ । २ । १०० ॥

तिसृचतसृ एतयोर्ऋकारस्य रेफादेशः स्यादचि । गुणदीर्घोत्त्वानामपवादः । तिस्रः २ । आनि
भुमचिरेति बुद्ध ॥

299. र् is substituted for the क् of तिसृ and चतसृ before case-affixes beginning with a vowel.

In the Genitive there is the augment नुद् under Vārtika VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus तिसृ + नुद् + आम् = तिसृ + नाम्. Here the Sūtra VI. 4. 3. S. 209. requires the lengthening of the क् but it is prevented by the following Sūtra.

३०० । न तिसृचतसृ । ६ । ४ । ४ ॥

एतयानामि द्वीषो न स्यात् । तिसृणाम् । तिसृषु । स्त्रियामिति त्रिचतुरविशेषणान्नह । प्रियास्त्र-
यस्त्रीणि वा यस्याः सा प्रियत्रिः मतिवत् । आनि तु प्रियत्रयाणामिति विशेषः । प्रियास्तिस्रो यस्य स इति
विग्रहे तु प्रियतिसा । प्रियतिसौ । प्रियतिस्रः । प्रियतिस्रमित्यादि । प्रियास्तिस्रो यस्य तत्कुलं प्रियत्रि । स्वमो-
र्लुका लुप्तत्वेन प्रत्ययलक्षणाभावात् तिस्रदिशः । न लुप्ततेति निषेधस्यानित्यत्वात्पक्षे प्रियतिसृ । * रादेशात्
पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन तुम् । प्रियतिसृणी प्रियतिसृणि । तृतीयादिषु वक्ष्यमाणपुंवङ्गाविकल्पात्पर्यायेण नुस्भावो ।
प्रियतिस्रा । प्रियतिसृणा । इत्यादि । द्वेत्वे सत्याप् । द्वे २ । द्वाभ्याम् ३ । द्वयोः २ । गौरी । गौरौ । गौर्यः ।
नक्षीकार्थम् । हे गौरि । गौर्यै इत्यादि । एवं वाणीनद्यादयः । प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणादनङ्गि-
णिद्वङ्गाव च प्राप्तिः ॥ विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टाग्रहणम् ॥ सखी । सख्यौ । सख्यः इत्यादि गौरिवत् । अङ्ग्यन्तत्वात्
सुलोपः । लक्ष्मीः । शेषं गौरीवत् । एवं तरीतन्त्यादयः ॥ स्त्री । हे स्त्रि ॥

300. The finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are not lengthened before नाम् ॥

The Loc. Pl. is तिसृषु.

The word स्त्रियाम् qualifies त्रि and चतुर् and not the word अङ्ग 'stem' which is of course understood here. Therefore, though the anga may be feminine, yet if त्रि and चतुर् refer to Masculine or Neuter nouns, the substitution will not take place: as प्रियास्त्रयाऽस्याः or प्रियाणि त्रीणि वा अस्या ब्राह्मण्याः = प्रियत्रिः 'a Brāhmaṇi to whom three are beloved,' dual. प्रियत्राः, Pl. प्रियत्रयः ॥ Similarly प्रियचत्वाः, प्रियचत्वारो, प्रियचत्वारः ॥ The word प्रियत्रि will be declined like मान्ति. The only distinction being that the genitive Pl. will प्रियत्रियाणाम्.

Similarly the substitution will take place even where the anga refers to a Masculine, or a Neuter; when त्रि and चतुर् refer to a Feminine; as प्रियास्तिस्रो ब्राह्मण्योऽस्य ब्राह्मणस्य = प्रियतिसा ब्राह्मणः (VII. 1. 94) प्रियतिसौ, प्रियतिस्रः ॥

If the compound is analysed as प्रिया तिस्रो यस्य तत्कुलं, namely, if the compound refers to a neuter word, then the form will be प्रियत्रि. Here the Nom. and Acc. case endings सु and अम् are elided by VII. 1. 23 S. 319 by using the word लुक्. Therefore, there being no प्रत्यय लक्षणं (See I. 1. 63. S. 263), there will be no तिसृ substitution. But if the Sūtra I. 1. 63. S. 263 be considered as not of universal application, then the तिसृ substitution will take place and the Nom. and Acc. Singular will be प्रियतिसृ. The Nom. and Acc. Dual and Plural will be formed by the following Vārtika:—

Vārtika:—The guṇa of VII. 3. 110 S. 275 is debarred in anticipation by VII. 2. 100 S. 299 and therefore there will be the augment नुम् by VII. 1. 73 S. 320. Thus the forms are प्रियतिसृणी and प्रियतिसृणि.

Before the Instrumental and other case-endings there will be optionally नुम् or the इ substitution, because the word may be treated optionally as Neuter or Masculine. Thus प्रियतिस्रा or प्रियातिसृणा &c.

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun द्वि. The इ of द्वि is replaced by अ according to Sūtra VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and it assumes the form द्व. To this is added the Feminine affix आप् and thus we get the form द्वा. It is always Dual and is declined as द्वे; द्वे; द्वाभ्याम्; द्वाभ्याम्; द्वाभ्याम्; द्वयोः; द्वयोः।

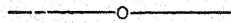
Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun गौरी. Its Nominative: forms are गौरी; गौर्यैः; गौर्यः। Its Voc. is हे गौरि according to VII. 3. 107 S. 267. Its Dat: will be गौर्यै by VII. 3. 112 S. 268 and VI. 1. 90 S. 269.

The Feminine Nouns वाणी and नदी &c. are similarly declined.

Now we take up the declension of the Fem: Noun सखी. There arises the doubt as to whether this word should take the affix अनङ् under Sūtra VII. 1. 93 S. 248 and the affix should be treated as जित् by VII. 1. 92. S. 253 on the maxim that "A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender." For the above rules only use the Prātipadika form सखी, and so according to this maxim, they may apply to the Noun सखी when it is Feminine. But this is not the case, however, when a Vibhakti is to be added, because then the above maxim is set aside by the following.

Paribhāṣā :—"A Prātipadika in a rule that teaches an operation which affects the Prātipadika before a case-termination after the Prātipadika, does not denote a crude form derived from the Prātipadika by the addition of an affix denoting gender."

Thus Nom. forms of सखी are सखी; सख्यौ; सख्यः The rest of the declensions are like those of गौरी.



Now we take up the declension of लक्ष्मी. As this word is not formed by the Feminine affix ई, therefore the Nom: Singular affix सु will not be elided, because the rule of elision taught in VI. 1. 68 S. 252 applies only to those Feminine words which are formed by the Feminine affix ई. The word लक्ष्मी is an Unādi formed word. The long ई is not a Feminine affix. Thus Nom. Sing. is लक्ष्मीः॥ The rest of the declensions are like those of गौरी.

So are the words तरी, तन्त्री &c. declined.

Note :—Some consider the लक्ष्मी to be formed by the Vārtika कृदिकारादन्तिनः under IV. I. 45. S. 503. the affix डीप् is added to every कृदन्त word ending in इ or ई with the exception of the affix क्ति. According to this view, लक्ष्मी, तरी &c. are डीप् formed, and so the Nom: Sing affix will be elided after them.



Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun स्त्री. Its Nom: Sg. is स्त्री. Its Vocative Sg. is हे स्त्री.

In forming the Nom : Dual and Pl : the following rule applies.

३०१ । स्त्रियाः । ६ । ४ । ७६ ॥

स्त्रीशब्दस्येयङ् स्याद्जावौ प्रत्यये परे । स्त्रियौ । स्त्रियः ॥

301. इयङ् is substituted for the ई of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As स्त्रियौ, स्त्रियः ॥

In the Acc : Dual and Pl : the following rule gives option as regard the इयङ् *adesa*.

३०२ । वाम्नासोः । ६ । ४ । ८० ॥

अभि शसि च स्त्रिया इयङ् वा स्यात् । स्त्रियम् । स्त्रीम् । स्त्रियौ । स्त्रियः । स्त्रीः । स्त्रिया । यि स्त्र । स्त्रियाः २ । स्त्रियोः । परस्वानुद् । स्त्रीणाम् । स्त्रियाम् । स्त्रियोः । स्त्रीषु । स्त्रियमतिक्रान्तः अतिस्त्रिः । अतिस्त्रियौ ॥

गुणनाभावौत्वनुङ्भिः परस्वात्पुंसि बाध्यते । क्लीबे नुमा च स्त्रीशब्दस्येयङित्यवधार्यताम् ॥

जसि च ॥ अतिस्त्रियः । इ अतिस्त्रि । हे अतिस्त्रियौ । हे अतिस्त्रियः ॥ वाम्नासोः ॥ अतिस्त्रियम् । अतिस्त्रियौ । अतिस्त्रियः । अतिस्त्रीन् । अतिस्त्रिणा ॥ घेर्ङिति ॥ अतिस्त्र्ये । अतिस्त्रिः २ । अतिस्त्रियोः २ । अतिस्त्रीणाम् ॥ अद्य घेः ॥ अतिस्त्री अतिस्त्रियोः ॥

भोस्यौकारे च नित्यं स्यादम्नासोस्तु विभाषया । इयदेवोऽपि नान्यत्र स्त्रियाः पुंस्युपसर्जने ॥

क्रीबे तु नुम् । अतिस्त्रि । अतिस्त्रिणी । अतिस्त्रीणि । अतिस्त्रिणा । अतिस्त्रिणे । ऊप्रभृतावजावौ वक्ष्यमाणपुंवङ्गावात्पक्षे प्राग्वद्भूपम् । अतिस्त्रिय or अतिस्त्रिणे । अतिस्त्रिणः २ । अतिस्त्रेः २ । अतिस्त्रिणो २ । अतिस्त्रियोरित्यादि । स्त्रियां तु प्रायेण पुंवत् । शसि अतिस्त्रीः । अतिस्त्रिया । डिति ह्रस्वश्चेति ह्रस्वान्तत्वप्रयुक्तो विकल्पः । अस्त्रीति तु इयङ्बुवङ्स्थानावित्यस्यैव पशुशसः । तत्संबन्धस्यैवानुवृत्तेर्दीर्घस्यायं निषेधो नतु ह्रस्वस्य । अतिस्त्रिये । अतिस्त्र्ये । अतिस्त्रियाः २ । अतिस्त्रेः २ । अतिस्त्रीणाम् । अतिस्त्रियाम् । अतिस्त्री । श्रीः । श्रियौ । श्रियः ॥

302. The substitution of इयङ् for the ई of स्त्री is optional before the accusative endings अम् and शस् (अस्) ॥

Thus स्त्रियम् or स्त्रीम् ; स्त्रियः or स्त्रीः

The Instr : Sing is स्त्रिया ; Dat : Sing स्त्रिये. Abl : and Gen : Sing : स्त्रियाः ; Gen : Dual स्त्रियोः Gen : Pl. is formed by the addition of नुद् to the exclusion of इयङ्, because नुद् is taught subsequently. Thus स्त्रीणाम्. The Loc. forms are स्त्रियाम् ; स्त्रियोः ; स्त्रीषु.

Now, we take up the declension of अतिस्त्रि, which means "one who has surpassed the woman." Its Nom. Sing. is अतिस्त्रिः ; Dual अतिस्त्रियौ.

Verse :—The इयङ् substitution, being taught previously, is superseded by the following rules in the Masculine, because they are taught subsequently, viz. the rule of Guna (VII. 3. 109, S. 241; VII. 3. 111 S. 245.); the ना substitution in the Instr : (VII. 3. 120. S. 244) ; the औ substitution (VII. 3. 119 S. 247)

and the नुद् augment (VII. 1. 54. S. 208). In the Neuter the नुद् being subsequent replaces the इयङ्.

Thus the rule 'जसिच' gives us the form अतिस्त्रियः. The Voc forms are हे अतिस्त्रे; हे अतिस्त्रियौ; हे अतिस्त्रियः. The Acc. forms are अतिस्त्रियम् or अतिस्त्रियम्; अतिस्त्रियै; अतिस्त्रियः or अतिस्त्रिन्. The Instr. Sing is अतिस्त्रिणा. The Dat. Sing is अतिस्त्रये (with the guṇa, according to VII. 3. 111. S. 245). The Abl. Sing. is अतिस्त्रे; The genitive forms are अतिस्त्रे; अतिस्त्रियो; अतिस्त्रिणाम्. The Loc. Sing. is अतिस्त्रौ formed by वच्च् घे: (VII. 3. 119. S. 247) The Loc. Dual is अतिस्त्रियोः.

Verse :—The इयङ् substitution taught above, is compulsory before the affixes of the Gen. and Loc. Duals (Viz. ओस्) also the Nom. and Acc. Duals (औ) and optionally before the Acc. Sing. and Pl. अम् and णम् and nowhere else when the स्त्री becomes the secondary member of a compound which denotes a Masculine.

When the compound अतिस्त्रि denotes a Neuter, then the declension is as follows :—Nom. and Acc. forms are अतिस्त्रि; अतिस्त्रिणी; अतिस्त्रिणि. The augment नुद् is added to the affixes of the Dual and Plural by VII. 1. 72 and 73 S. 314 and 320 The Instr: Sing: is अतिस्त्रिणा; VII. 1. 73. In the dative and the rest, the Neuter is optionally treated like the Masculine according to VII. 1. 74 S. 321. Thus the Dat: Sing: is अतिस्त्रये or अतिस्त्रिणे. The Abl: Sing: is अतिस्त्रे; or अतिस्त्रिणः and so also is Gen: Sing. The Gen: and Loc: Dual अतिस्त्रियोः or अतिस्त्रिणोः &c.

When the word अतिस्त्रि is Feminine then it is declined almost like the Masculine अतिस्त्रि with the following exceptions :—The Acc. Pl: is अतिस्त्रीः; Instr: Sing: अतिस्त्रिया. Before the डिन् case affixes, the rule of I. 4. 6 S. 296 applies and there is the option. The word अस्त्री of the Sūtra I. 4. 4. S. 303 which is read by *anuvritti* in the Sūtra I. 4. 6. S. 296 is confined to that form of स्त्री which takes the substitution इयङ्. Therefore the prohibition regarding the non inclusion of the word स्त्री in the Sūtra I. 4. 6. S. 296 refers to that form of स्त्री which ends in long ई and not to short ई as in अतिस्त्रि. The result is that the rule I. 4. 6. S. 296 will apply to the word अतिस्त्रि and it will be optionally treated as a Nadi word. Therefore, the Dat: Sing: is either अतिस्त्रिये (as a Nadi) or अतिस्त्रिये (as a ghi). The Abl: and Genitive Sing: forms are either अतिस्त्रिया: (as a Nadi) or अतिस्त्रे: (as a ghi). The Genitive Pl: is अतिस्त्रिणाम्. The Loc: Sing: forms are either अतिस्त्रिणाम् or अतिस्त्रौ ॥

—:O:—

Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun श्री. Its Nom; forms are श्रीः; श्रियौ; श्रियः

The Vocative is governed by the following rule :—

३०३ । नेयडुवड्स्थानावस्त्री । १ । ४ । ४ ॥

इयडुवडोः स्थितिर्योस्तावीदुतौ नरीसंज्ञौ न स्तो नतु स्त्री । हे श्रीः । श्रियै । श्रिये । श्रियाः । श्रियः ॥

303. Feminine words ending in *î* and *û* which admit the substitute (इयड्) *iyāṇ* and (उवड्) *uvaṇ* (VI. 4. 77) are not called *Nadî* ; except the word *strî*, (which is called *nadî* notwithstanding its substituting *iyāṇ*).

The Vocative Singular is therefore हे श्रीः ॥

The Dative Sing is श्रियै or श्रिये ; Abl : Sing is श्रियाः or श्रियः by I. 4. 6. S. 296.

But in the Gen ; Pl : the following Sûtra applies:—

३०४ । वामि । १ । ४ । ५ ॥

इयडुवड्स्थानौ स्त्र्याख्यौ श्रू वामि वा नरीसंज्ञौ स्तो नतु स्त्री । श्रीणाम् । श्रियाम् । श्रियि । श्रियाम् । प्रथीशब्दस्य तु वृत्तिकारादीनां मते लक्ष्मीवद्रूपम् । पदान्तरं विनापि स्त्रियां वर्तमानत्वं नित्यस्त्रीत्वमिति स्वीकारात् । लिङ्गान्तरानभिधायकत्वं तदिति कैयटमते तु पुंवद्रूपम् । प्रकृष्टा धीरिति विग्रहे तु लक्ष्मीवत् । अमि शसि च प्रध्यं प्रध्य इति विशेषः । सुष्ठु धीर्यस्याः सुष्ठु ध्यायति वेति विग्रहे तु वृत्तिमते सुधीः श्रीवत् । मतान्तरे पुंवत् । सुष्ठु धीरिति विग्रहे तु श्रीवदेव । ग्रामणीः पुंवत् । ग्रामनयनस्योत्सर्गतः पुंघर्मतया पदान्तरं विनापि स्त्रियामप्रवृत्तेः ॥ एवं खलपवनदेरपि पुंघर्मत्वमौत्सर्गिकं बोध्यम् । धेनुर्मतिवत् ॥

304. Feminine words ending in *î* and *û*, though admitting *iyāṇ* and *uvaṇ* substitutes, are optionally termed *Nadî*, when the affix *âm* (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word *strî*, which is always *Nadî*.

श्री + वाम् = अ इयड् + वाम् = श्रियाम् ; or श्री + वाम् = श्री + तुद् + वाम् (VII. I. 54.) = श्रीणाम् ;

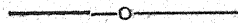
The Loc. Sing. is श्रिये or श्रियाम् ।

The word प्रथी is declined like लक्ष्मी according to the author of वृत्तिकार and others, because it is taken to be a word which is always Feminine ; and which by its own annotation is Feminine without the help of any other word. But according to Kaiyata it is to be declined as a Masculine Noun, because it does not denote any gender. When this word is analysed as प्रकृष्टा धीः then it is to be declined like लक्ष्मी The only peculiarities being in the Acc. Sing and Plural, where the forms are प्रध्यम् and प्रध्यः ।

The word सुधी when analysed as, सुष्ठुधीर्यस्याः " that woman whose understanding is good " or when analysed as सुष्ठुध्यायति या ' She who meditates well ' ; then it is declined as श्री according to वृत्ति author. According to others it is

to be declined as a Masculine Noun. But when it is analysed as a कर्मधारय Compound सुष्ठु धीः 'Good intelligence' it is always to be declined as a Feminine Noun like श्री.

The Feminine Noun ग्रामणी 'a female head of a village' is to be declined like the Masculine Noun ग्रामणी; because leadership of a village is, as a general rule, the duty of a male person, and so the word ग्रामणी in exceptional cases only denotes a female, and then it must have some epithet used along with it to indicate that it refers to a woman. Similarly, the word खलम् 'a sweeper' applies primarily to a male person though a woman may occasionally take up that work.



Declension of Feminines ending in उ,

The Feminine Noun धेनु is declined like मति. We take up the declension of the Feminine Noun क्रोष्टु. In its declension, the following rule applies:—

३०५। स्त्रियां च। ७। १। ६६॥

स्त्रीवाची क्रोष्टुशब्दस्तुजन्तवद्रूपं लभते ॥

305. The word क्रोष्टु is treated as if it ended in तुच्, in the feminine, before all case-endings.

And because क्रोष्टु is treated as if it was क्रोष्टु, the feminine will be formed by the affix डीप् by IV. 1. 5. as given below:—

३०६। ऋच्चेभ्यो डीप्। ४। १। ५॥

ऋदन्तेभ्यो नान्तेभ्यश्च स्त्रियां डीप् स्यात् । क्रोष्ट्री । क्रोष्ट्र्यौ । क्रोष्ट्र्यः । वधूगौरिवत् । भूः श्रीवत् । हे सुभूः । कथं तर्हि हापितः कासि हे सुभू इति भट्टिः । प्रमाद एवायमिति बहवः । खलपूः पुंवत् । पुनर्भूः । दृक्करति यथा उवडो बाधनत्रियहुवडिति निषेधो न । हे पुनर्भू । पुनर्भवम् । पुनर्भवौ । पुनर्भवः ॥

306. The affix डीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in ऋ or in नृ ।

Thus क्रोष्टु becomes क्रोष्ट्री and is declined as Nom : क्रोष्ट्री ; क्रोष्ट्र्यौ ; क्रोष्ट्र्यः ।



Declension of Feminine nouns endings in ऊ,

The Feminine Noun वधू is declined like गौरी; भू is declined like श्री. Its Voc. Sing is हे सुभूः । How then does the Bhatti use the Voc. Sing as सुभू in the following passage हा पितः कासि हे सुभू ? The Bhatti has misapplied Sūtra I. 2. 48 S. 656 which is not applicable because भू is not formed by any Feminine affix but by the affix डू added to the root भ्रम (See Uṇādi II. 68). If he has not applied that rule, he might have applied the Sūtra VII. 3. 107. S. 267

and so shortened the vowel in the Vocative. But सुधू is not a Nadi word, because of the prohibition I. 4. 4. S. 303 and so the rule of shortening will not apply to it. The use by Kālidāsa of the form सुधु in the sentence विमाने सुधु पितृगृहे कुतः is also erroneous.

The Feminine Noun खलू is to be declined like the Masculine Noun खलू ।

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun पुनर्भू. By the *Vārtika*. under VI. 4. 84. S. 282, the ऊ is replaced by वृ and thus the उवङ्, substitution is prevented, and therefore the prohibition of the *Sūtra* I. 4. 4. S. 303 does not apply to पुनर्भू which is declined like a Nadi word. Thus the Voc. Sing. is हे पुनर्भू. The Acc. forms are पुनर्भवम्; पुनर्भवौ; पुनर्भवः.

In forming the Gen. Pl. the following rule will apply.

३०७ । एकाजुत्तरपदे णः । ८ । ४ । १२ ॥

एकाजुत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मिन् समासि पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्बिभक्तिस्थस्य नस्य नित्यं णत्वं स्यात् । आरम्भसामर्थ्यान्नित्यत्वे सिद्धे पुनर्णग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । यणं बाधित्वा परत्वात्तुद् । पुनर्भूणाम् । वर्षाभूः । भेकजातौ नित्यस्त्रीत्वाभावात् । हे वर्षाभूः कैयटमते । मतान्तरे तु हे वर्षाभु । पुनर्नवायां तु हे वर्षाभु । भेक्यां पुनर्नवायां स्त्री वषाभूर्दुरे पुमानिति यादवः । वर्षाभ्वौ । वर्षाभ्वः । स्वयंभूः पुनर्भूः ॥

307. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a prâtipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Text.—The ण is repeated in this sūtra merely for the sake of distinctness, (and not to make the sūtra obligatory as is the view of the author of the *Kāśikā*). Because the sūtra would be an obligatory rule even without it, because, the very fact that a separate sūtra is commenced, shows that it is not an optional rule like the sūtras VIII. 4. 10 and II. S. 1054. and 1055. The augment नुद् is added, because it is subsequently taught and supersedes the यण of the *Vārtika* under VI. 4. 84 S. 282. Thus पुनर्भूणाम् ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun वर्षाभू ॥ When the word means a frog, it is both a Feminine and a Masculine and hence according to the opinion of Kaiyata, the Voc. Sing. will be हे वर्षाभूः ॥ According to others, the Voc. Sing. is हे वर्षाभु ॥

According to the Lexicographer Yādava, वर्षाभू is feminine when denoting a frog or the herb called Punarnavā; and it is masculine when meaning a frog only.

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are वर्षाभ्यौ ; वर्षाभ्यः ॥

The declension of the Feminine Noun स्वयम्भू is like that of the Masc : Noun.

—————:O:—————

Declension of the Feminine Nouns ending in ऋ ॥

We take up the declension of the Feminine nouns स्वस्व &c. In the declension of these Nouns the following rule applies.

३०८ । न षट्स्वस्वादिभ्यः । १ । १ । १० ॥

षट्संज्ञकेभ्यः स्वस्वादिभ्यश्च ङीप्दापौ न स्तः ।

स्वसा तिस्रश्चतस्रश्च ननान्दा दुहिता तथा । याता मातेति सौतेते स्वस्वादय उदाहृताः ॥

अप्तुन्निति दीर्घः । स्वसा । स्वसारौ । स्वसारः । माता पितृवत् । शसि मातृः । व्यागावत् राः पुंवत् ॥ नौग्लौवत् ॥

308 The feminine affixes ङीप् and दाप् are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1, 24), 'स्वस्व' &c.

The following seven words belong to the Svasrâdi class:—स्वसा 'a sister', दुहिता 'a daughter'; ननान्दा 'a husband's sister', याता 'a husband's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्रः 'three', चतस्र 'four'.

There is lengthening of the perultimate Vowel by VI. 4. 11. S. 277. in the case of स्वस्व ॥ Thus the Nom : forms are स्वसा ; स्वसारौ ; स्वसारः ॥

The feminine Noun मातृ is declined like पितृ ॥ In the Acc : Pl : the form is मातृः ॥

—————:O:—————

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in ऐ ॥

The feminine Noun रै is declined like the Masc : Noun रै ॥

—————:O:—————

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in ओ ॥

The feminine Noun द्यौ is declined like the Masculine Noun ज्यौ ॥

—————:O:—————

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in औ ॥

The feminine Noun नौ is declined like the Masculine Noun ग्लौ ॥

—————:O:—————

Here ends the declension of the Feminine Nouns ending in Vowels.

रमा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	रमा	रमाय्	रमया	रमायै	रमायाः	रमायाः	रमायाम्	हे रमे
Dual	रमे	रमे	रमाभ्याम्	"	"	रमयोः	"	हे रमे
Plural	रमाः	रमाः	रमाभिः	रमाभ्यः	"	रमाणाम्	रमासु	हे रमाः

सर्वा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	सर्वा	सर्वाम्	सर्वथा	सर्वस्यै	सर्वस्याः	"	सर्वस्याम्
Dual	सर्वे	सर्वे	सर्वाभ्याम्	"	"	सर्वयोः	"
Plural	सर्वाः	"	सर्वाभिः	सर्वाभ्यः	"	सर्वासाम्	सर्वासु

उत्तरपूर्वा N. E.

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	उत्तरपूर्वा	उत्तरपूर्वाम्	उत्तरपूर्वथा	उत्तरपूर्वस्यै	उत्तरपूर्वस्याः or उत्तरपूर्वायै	"	उत्तरपूर्वस्याम् or उत्तरपूर्वायाम्
Dual	उत्तरपूर्वौ	"	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्याम्	"	"	उत्तरपूर्वयोः	"
Plural	उत्तरपूर्वाः	"	उत्तरपूर्वाभिः	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्यः	"	उत्तरपूर्वासाम्	उत्तरपूर्वासु or उत्तरपूर्वाणाम्

जरा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	जरा	जराम्	जरासा	जरसे	जरसः	"	जरसि
Dual	जरसौ	"	जराभ्याम्	"	"	जरसोः	"
Plural	जरसः	"	जराभिः	जराभ्यः	"	जरसाम्	जरासु

OR

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	जरा	जराम्	जराया	जरायै	जरायाः	"	जरायाम्
Dual	जरे	"	जराभ्याम्	"	"	जरयोः	"
Plural	जराः	"	जराभिः	जराभ्यः	"	जराणाम्	जरासु

नासिका

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	नासिका	नासिकाम्	नसा	नसे	नसः	नसैः	नसि
Dual	नासिके	"	नोभ्याम्	"	"	मसोः	"
Plural	नासिकाः	नसः	नोभिः	नोभ्यः	"	नसाम्	नसु

निशा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	निशा	निशाम्	निशा	निशे	निशः	निशः	निशि
Dual	निशे	"	निड्भ्याम् or निड्भ्याम्	"	निशोः	"	"
Plural	निशाः	निशः	निड्भिः or निड्भिः	निड्भ्यः or निड्भ्यः	"	निशाम्	निड्सु or निड्सु or निड्सु

अथाजन्त नपुंसक लिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER X.

DECLENSION OF NEUTER NOUNS ENDING IN VOWELS.

We take up the declension of the Neuter Noun ज्ञान ॥ In forming Nom : Sing the following rule applies.

३०६ । अतोऽम् । ७ । १ । २४ ॥

अतोऽज्ञात् क्लीबात्स्वनोरम् स्यात् ॥ अणि पूर्वः ॥ ज्ञानम् ॥ एङ्हस्वाङिति हल्मात्रलोपः ।
हे ज्ञान ॥

309. After a Neutral stem in अ, अम् is substituted for सु and अम् the endings of the nom. and acc. sing.

Thus ज्ञान + अम् = ज्ञानम् (See VI. 1. 11 7. S. 194)

In forming the Voc. Sg. the consonant only of the Nom : Sg. is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus हे ज्ञान ; i. e. the न् of अम् is elided and not the अ.

३१० । नपुंसकाच्च । ७ । १ । २६ ॥

क्लीबात्स्वरस्योङः शी स्यात् । भसंज्ञायाम् ॥

310. After a neutral stem, ई is substituted for the nom. and acc. dual औ and the base gets the designation of *Bha*.

Note :—By Sûtra I. 1. 43. S. 229 the affixes coming after Neuter bases are not *Sarva-vâma Sthâna*, consequently the base before such affixes is *bha* by I. 4. 18. S. 231 if such affix begins with a Vowel. शी is such an affix and therefore the base before this affix is *bha* and hence the following rule applies.

३११ । यस्येति च । ६ । ४ । १४८ ॥

भस्येवर्णावर्णयोर्लोपः स्यादिकारे तद्धिते च परे । इत्यकारलोपे प्राप्ते ॥ औङः इयां प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ ज्ञाने ॥

311. The final इ and अ (both long and short), of a *bha* stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus ज्ञान + शी = ज्ञान् + ई = ज्ञानी. But this is not the correct form. The elision of अ is prevented by the following *Vârtika* :—

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (शी), when it is the substitute of औ (VII. 1. 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter and of certain feminines in long आ ॥ Before this ई, the preceding vowel, इ and अ are not elided. The stem before this ई is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns. Thus ज्ञान + ई = ज्ञाने ॥ It is owing to this Vārtika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sūtra.

In forming the Nom : and Acc : Plurals, the following rules apply

३१२ । जश्शसोः शिः । ७ । १ । २० ॥

क्लीबादनयोः शि स्यात् ॥

312. After a neutral stem, इ is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural (जस् and शस्) ॥

Thus ज्ञान + जस् or शस् = ज्ञान + शि. Now, this शि gets the designation of *Sarvanāma Sthāna* as taught in the next Sūtra and being so called, the Sūtra after that applies to it ; by which a न् is inserted.

३१३ । शि सर्वनामस्थानम् । १ । १ । ४२ ॥

शि इत्येतदुक्तसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

313. The affix शि (VII. I. 20) is called *sarvanāma-sthāna*.

३१४ । नपुंसकस्य झलचः । ७ । १ । ७२ ॥

झलन्तस्याऽजन्तस्य च क्लीबस्य तुमागमः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे । उपधाधीर्यः । ज्ञानानि । पुनस्तद्वत् । शेषं रामवत् । एवं धनवनफलादयः ॥

314. The augment नुम् is added in the strong cases to a Neuter stem ending in a consonant (other than a nasal or a semivowel), or ending in a vowel.

Thus ज्ञान + शि = ज्ञान + नुम् + शि = ज्ञान । न् + इ = ज्ञान + नि = ज्ञानानि. The penultimate vowel is lengthened by VI. 4. 8. S. 250.

The Acc : forms are similar to those of the Nominative. The rest are declined like those of राम ॥

Thus are to be declined the Neuter Nouns धन, वन, फल &c.

Now we take up the declension of the word कतर. In its declension, the following rule applies.

३१५। अद्ङ् इतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः । ७।१।२५ ॥

एभ्यः क्लीबेभ्यः स्वमोर्द्वादेशः स्यात् ॥

315. अद्ङ् is substituted for the Nom. and Acc. singular endings सु and अम् after the five Pronouns इतर &c. (i. e. the stems formed with the affixes 1. इतर, and 2. इतम्, and the stems 3. इतर, 4. अन्य and 5. अन्यतर).

Note :—These are the five pronouns, which in the list of Sarvanāmans are read together (See I. 1. 27. S. 213)—इतर, इतम्, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर ॥ Thus कतर + अद्ङ् = कतरत् (the अ of katarā elided by ङ्) : as कतरत् तिष्ठन्ति, कतरत् पश्य ॥

The force of this indicative letter ङ in the affix अद्ङ् is to elide the final vowel by the following Sūtra.

३१६। टेः । इ । ४ । १४३ ॥

ङिति परे भस्य टेलोपः स्यात् ॥ वावसाने ॥ कतरत् । कतरद् । कतरे । कतराणि । भस्येति किम् । पञ्चमः । टेलुप्रत्याययमयोरिति पूर्वसवर्णक्षिपः एङ्ङ्स्वादिति संबुद्धिलोपश्च न भवति । हे कतरत् । पुनस्तद्धत् । शेषं पुंवत् । कतमत् । इतरत् । अन्यत् । अन्यतरत् । अन्यतमशब्दस्य तु अन्यतममित्येव ॥ एकतरात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ एकतरम् । सोरमादेशे कृते संनिपातपरिभाषया न जरम् । अजरम् । अजरसी अ जरे । परत्वाच् जरसि कृते झलन्तत्वान्नुम् ॥

316. Before an affix having an indicatory ङ्, the last vowel, with the consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided in the case of a *bha* Stem.

Thus कतर + सु or अम् = कतर + अद्ङ् = कतर + अद् = कतरद् or कतरत् (द् is optionally changed to त् by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206.)

The Nom : and Acc : Dual and Pl. forms are कतरे ; कतराणि.

Why have we read the anuvritti of *bha* in this Sutra? Observe पञ्चमः

Note :—The anuvritti of *bha* is read into this Sūtra from VI. 4. 129. S. 233. the word पञ्चम is formed by adding the affix ङ्ङ् to the word पञ्चन् with the augment म् (V. 2. 48 & 49. S. 1849 and 1850) Thus पञ्चन् + ङ्ङ् The affix ङ्ङ् does not cause the elision of the अन् of पञ्चन् but the न् is elided because it is final in a pada (See VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

Why do we make the affix have an indicatory ङ्? In order to prevent the lengthening of the vowel in the nominative singular : as कतर + अन् = कतरान् by VI. 1. 102. In the case of the accusative, अन् being the substitute of अम् will be sthānivat, and give us कतरत् by VI. 1. 107 even without

इ ॥ Why not make the affix merely त् and not अत्इ; it would give कतरत् &c. without the application of any rule of Sandhi? The simple त् would not give us the Vocative हे कतरत्. The final would have been elided in the Vocative, as being an aprkta. See however VI. 1. 1. 69. S. 193.

If in the sūtra VI. 1. 69, there is the anuvṛitti of the word 'aprkta' then there is fault with regard to अम् (i. e. the vocative of members in अम् will not be elided, हे कुण्डम् will be the form required and not हे कुण्ड); if however, the anuvṛitti of aprkta ceases, there will be anomaly with regard to pronouns कतरत् &c (i. e. we shall not have the form हे कतरत् but हे कतर). Therefore, by reading the affix अत् with an indicatory इ i. e. reading it as अद्इ we get out of this dilemma, and so there is not the elision of अत् in कतरत् &c in the vocative; nor is there lengthening of the vowel (कतरात्, which would have been the form had there been no इ).

Thus the Voc : Sing. is हे कतरत्.

The Acc. forms are similar to those of the Nominative. In the rest the declension is like that of the Masculine.

The declension of कतम, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर is like that of कतर. Thus कतमत्; इतरत्, अन्यत् and अन्यतरत् ॥ The word अन्यतम् forms its Nom : and Acc : Sing अन्यतमम् and not अन्यतमत् ॥ Therefore it is a mistake to say सामान्यादि-व्यन्यतमत्तमः ॥

Vārtika :—Prohibition must be stated with regard to the word एकतर although it is formed with the affix उत्तर. Thus its Nom : Sing is एकतरम् and not एकतरत्.

—:O:—

Now, we take up the declension of the Neuter Noun अजर meaning 'one who does not decay' (अविद्यमाना जरा यस्य). The आ of जरा is shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656. Thus we get the form अजर. Thus अजर + सु = अजर + अम् (VII. 1. 24. S. 309). At this stage Sūtra VII. 2. 101. S. 227 requires the substitution of जरस् in the place of जरा, but this is prohibited by the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्य that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination. For अम् is added to अजर as it ended in अ and since अ' has caused the production of अम्, this latter affix though beginning with a vowel will not cause जरस् to be substituted for जर ॥

Thus Nom. Singular is अजरम् dual is अजरासी or अजरे,

In the case of Nom. Plural there is affix शि, and when जरस् is substituted, then we have the augment जुम् (VII. 1. 72. S. 314) because शि is Sarvanamasthāna. This जुम् must be added after the जरस् substitution has taken

place, because जरस् substitution is taught by VII. 2. 101. S. 227. which is latter in order of the Ashtādhyāyī than नुस् augment which is taught by VII. 1. 72 S. 314.

Thus अजर + शि = अजरस् + नुस् + इ = अजरन् स् + ई ॥ At this stage, applies the following Sūtra,

३१७ । सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य । ६ । ४ । १० ॥

सान्तसंयोगस्य महत्तश्च यो नकारस्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । अजरांसि अजराणि । अमि लुक्कोपवादमम्भावं बाधित्वा परन्वाङ्जरस् । ततः संनिपातपरिभाषया न लुक् । अजरस् । अजरम् । अजरासी । अजरे । अजरांसि । अजराणि । शेषं पुंवत् । पदत्र इति ह्रस्वोदकाश्यातां ह्रस्व उदक् भासन् । हन्दि । हरा । ह्रस्वामित्यादि । उदानि । उहा । उद्भ्यामित्यादि । भासानि । आघ्रा । आतभ्यामित्यादि । मांसि । मांसा । मान्भ्यामित्यादि । वस्तुतस्तु प्रधातिग्रहणं प्रकारार्थमित्युक्तम् । अत एव भाष्ये मांस्त्वचन्या इत्याद्या इत्युदाहृतम् । अयस्स्यादित्वेन भत्वात्संयोगान्तलोपो न । पदत्र इत्यत्र हि छन्दसां-त्यनुवर्तितं वृत्तौ तथाप्यपोभीत्यत्र मासच्छन्दसीति वार्तिके छन्दोग्रहणसामर्थ्याल्लोकप्रति क्वचित्ति कैयटोक्तरीत्या प्रयोगमनुसृत्य पदाव्ययः प्रयोक्तव्या इति बोध्यम् ॥

317. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in स्, with a Nasal consonant preceding it, and of महत् ॥

That is, a stem ending in the conjunct consonant न्स्, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases.

Thus अजरांसि. When जरस् substitution does not take place, the Nom. Pl. will be अजराणि In the Acc: Sing.; we have अजर + अम्.

Here three rules present themselves simultaneously; first luk-elision of the affix अम् by VII. 1, 23, (2) then the अम् substitution by VII. 1. 24, (3) and thirdly, जरस् for जर by VII. 2. 101 Of these लुक्-elision is superseded by अम् of VII. 1. 24 which is an exception to VII. 1. 23; and in its turn अम् is replaced by the जरस् of VII. 2. 101 जरस् being substituted for जर, we have अजरस्, now luk cannot again appear and cause elision, as it has already lost the opportunity: and we are left with अम् alone, and have अजरसे ॥

When there is no जरस् substitution, the Acc. Sing. will be अजरम् ॥

The Acc: Dual will be अजरासी or अजरे and Pl: अजरांसि or अजराणि ॥ The rest of the declensions is like those of the Masculine.

Note:—The form अजरांसि is thus evolved अजर + इ ॥ Here if the नुस् augment be added first, it will be a portion of the anga, and will not be an intervention to anything which is to be added or operated upon the anga. But this augment will be an intervention with regard to जरा which is but a portion of the word अजर ॥ So that an operation applicable to जरा will not take effect, because

of this **नुम्** intervention. And though *tadantavidhi* applies in these chapters (**पदाङ्गाधिकारि तस्य च तदन्तस्य च**), yet the maxim is that the substitutes only replace those which are specifically exhibited in a rule (**निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति**), therefore **जरस्** would not replace **जरा** which forms only a portion of a full word **अजर** ॥ Even if the substitution doestake place, the **नुम्** would be found after the **स्** of **जरस्** ॥ Therefore, the **जरस्** substitution should be made first, because this is a subsequent rule; and having done so, the **नुम्** should be added after-wards under VII. 1. 72.

The form **अजरस्** is thus evolved. We have **अजर + अम्** ॥ Here on the maxim **एकदेशाविकृतस्य अनन्यत्वात्**, we substitute **जरस्** for **जर** also, (for **जर** and **जरा** are considered as one). Then appears VII. 1. 23. ordaining the **लुक्** of **अम्** and VII. 1. 24. teaching **अम्** ॥ The latter rule is preferred for the reasons given above.

Now, we take up the declension of **हृदय** &c referred to in Sûtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

The word **हृदय** is replaced by **हृद्**; **उदक** by **उदन्** and **आस्य** by **आसन्** and **मांस** by **मांस**.

Thus in the weak cases (that is, Acc. Plural and onwards) the forms are **हृन्ति हृद्**, **हृद्भ्याम्** &c ; **उदानि** ; **उदना**, **उदभ्याम्** &c ; **आसानि**, **आसन्ना**, **आसभ्याम्** &c ; **मांसि**, **मांसा**, **मांसभ्याम्**, &c.

In fact, the word **प्रभृति** is used in the Sûtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228. in order to indicate method, so that not only the words mentioned in that sûtra, but other words also take such substituted forms before the weak cases. Therefore the author of *Mahābhāṣya* gives the example of 'मांसचन्या उखायाः' Here there is not the elision of the final of the conjunct consonant.

Note:—**मांसचन्या** is thus formed. From the root **पच** we form **पचन्** with the affix **ल्युट्** in the sense of instrument and location, under Sûtra, III. 3. 93. S. 3271, meaning the vessel for cooking. To **पचन्** is added the feminine affix **ङीप्**. **मांसस्य पचनी** = **मांसचनी**. Here in forming the compound the genitive sign is elided by **लुक्** and the affix so elided leaves no trace behind by the Sûtra I. 1. 63. S. 263 and therefore **मांस** would not have been substituted for **मांस**, but for the fact of our having explained the word **प्रभृति** in the sense **प्रकार**.

By taking this compound under I. 4. 20. S. 3390 and taking it to be a *bha*, there is not **संयोगान्त लोप**. Moreover, if in the Sûtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228. the anuvritti of **हृन्ति** be read from the Sûtra VI. 1. 60 S. 3514, yet these words are formed in secular literature also. Because, in Sûtra VII. 4. 48. S. 442, the author of *Mahābhāṣya* has read the following Vartika. **मांसहृन्ति** meaning **तृ** is substituted for the final of **मांस** before a *bha* affix in the Chhandas. Now **अपोभि** (VII. 4. 48. S. 442) is a rule of Chhandas. Therefore the repetition of

छन्स् in the *Vārtika* indicates by implication that छन्स् rules are not confined to the Vedās only but are found in secular literature also. In fact, this is the opinion of *Kaiyat* who says that the inclusion of मास् in VI. 1. 63. S. 263. is for the purposes of *Chhandas* only. The repetition of the word *Chhandas* in मास्छन्स् *Vārtika* under Sūtra VII. 4. 48. S. 442. indicates that पद् &c substitution take place in secular literature also.

३१८ । ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य । १ । २ । ४७ ॥

क्रीवे प्रातिपदिकस्याऽजन्तस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात् । श्रीपं । ज्ञानवत् । श्रीपाय । अत्र संनिपातपरिभाषया अतो धातोरित्याकारलोपो न ॥

318. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a prātipadika.

Thus श्रीपा becomes श्रीप which is declined like ज्ञान ॥ The Dative Sing. is श्रीपाय ॥ Here आ is not to be elided by rule VI. 4. 140. S. 240 before the affix ड् on the maxim 'संनिपात लक्षण &c. (See S. 316)

—————:O:—————

Now, we take up the declension of वारि ॥ Thus Nom : Sg. वारि + सु ॥ Here applies the following rule.

३१९ । स्वमोर्नपुंसकात् । ७ । १ । २३ ॥

क्रीवारङ्गास्वमोर्लुक् स्यात् । वारि ॥

319. The nom. and acc. singular case-endings सु and अम् are elided after a Neutral stem.

Thus वारि + सु = वारि + O = वारि ॥

The Nom : Dual is वारि + औ ॥ At this stage, the following rule applies.

१२० । इकोऽचि विभक्तौ । ७ । १ । ७३ ॥

इगन्तस्य क्रीवस्य नुमागमः स्यादचि विभक्तौ । वारिणी । वारीणि । नलुमतेति निषेधस्यानित्यत्वा-
स्पक्षे संबुद्धिनिमित्तो गुणः । हे वारि । हे वारि । आङो न । वारिणा । वेङ्ङितीतिगुणे प्राप्तं ॥ वृद्धौत्वत्त्व-
ङ्गावगुणभ्यां नुम पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन * ॥ वारिणे । वारिणः । वारिणोः । नुमच्चिरोति जुद् । नापीति ईर्ष्यः ।
वारीणाम् । वारिणि । वारिणोः । हलादौ हरिवत् ॥

320. The augment नुम् is added to a Neuter-stem ending in a simple vowel, except अ, before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus वारि + नुम् + औ = वारि + नुम् = वी (VII. 1. 19. S 310) = वारिणी ॥ The Nom : Pl. is वारिणी ॥

The Voc : Sing : has two forms हे वारे or हे वारि ॥ हे वारे is formed by the guṇa of इ under rule VII. 3. 108. S. 242 and though the affix is elided, still it leaves its effect behind, in spite of the rule I. 1. 63. S. 263 which declares that when an affix is elided by लु it leaves no trace behind. In fact, the rule I. 1. 63 S. 263 is *anitya*, according to one view. But if that rule is not considered *anitya*, then we have the next form हे वारि ॥

The Inst : Sing : is वारिणा ॥

The Dat : Sing : is वारि + डे ॥ Here the rule घेडिति VII. 3. 111 S. 245 requires guṇa. But the guṇa is set aside by the following *Vārtika*.

Vārtik. The augment नुम् comes by superseding in anticipation the rules of Vriddhi, औ substitution, वृच्च्वाव and guṇa. Thus वारिणेः ॥

The Abl : and Gen : sing is वारिणः ॥

The Gen : dual is वारिणोः ॥

The augment नुद् is added by the *Vārtika* नुमच्चिर &c. under sūtra VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. in forming the Genitive Plural ; and the short इ is lengthened by VI. 4. 3. S. 209. Thus we get the Gen : Plural ; वारिणाम् ॥

The Loc : Sing : and Dual are वारिणि and वारिणोः respectively. Before the consonant beginning affix सु of the Loc : Pl : it is like that of हरि (VII. 3. 119. S. 247.) i. e. वारिषु ॥

—:0:—

Now we take up the declension of अनादि ॥ It may be a Masculine or a Neuter Noun. It is not exclusively a Neuter. Hence the following rule applies :—

३२१ । तृतीयादिषु भाषितपुंस्कं पुंवद्बालवस्य । ७ । १ । ७४ ॥

प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तैक्ये भाषितपुंस्कमिगन्तं क्लीबं पुंवद्वा स्याद्वावाचि । अनादये । अनादिने । इत्यादि । शेषं वारिवत् । पीलुर्वृक्षस्तत्फलं पीलु तस्मै पीलुने । अत्र न पुंवत् । प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तभेदात् ॥

321. A neuter stem ending in a vowel, except अ of which there exists an equivalent, uniform masculine, is treated like the masculine, in the opinion of Gālava, before the vowel beginning affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

Thus the Dative Singular is either अनादये or अनादिने &c. The rest of the declensions is like those of वारि ॥

पीलु is the name of a tree and is of Masculine gender ; its fruit called पीलु is of neuter gender. This last word has only one form. Thus the Dative

Singular is पीलुने and not पीलवे ॥ This is because the word पीलु denoting 'fruit' has no corresponding Masculine word denoting fruit, for the corresponding Masculine पीलु refers to the tree, and not to the fruit ; so this word पीलु cannot be said to be भाषितपुंस्कः ॥

—:O:—

Now we take up the declension of the Noun दधि ॥ In the declension of this word the following rule applies :

३२२ । अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङ्कुदात्तः । ७ । १ । ७५ ॥

एषामनङ् स्याद्वासावचि स चोदात्तः ॥ अल्लोपोऽनः ॥ दध्ना । दध्ने । दध्नः २ । दध्नोः २ । दध्नि । दधनि
बोधं वारिवत् । एवमस्थिसक्थ्यक्ष्णीणि । तदन्तस्याप्यनङ् । अतिदध्ना । सुधि । सुधिनी । सुधीनि । हे सुधे ।
हे सुधि । सुधिया । सुधिना । प्रध्या । प्रधिना । मधु । मधुनी । मधूनि । हे मधो । हे मधु । एवमम्बादयः ।
सानुशब्दस्य स्तुर्वा । स्तूनि । सानूनि । प्रियक्रोष्टु । प्रियक्रोष्टुनी । तृज्वङ्गावात्पूर्वविप्रातिषेधेन नुम् । प्रियक्रोष्टूनि
दादा पुंवत्पक्षे प्रियक्रोष्टु । प्रियक्रोष्टुना । प्रियक्रोष्टे । प्रियक्रोष्टवे । अन्यत्र तृज्वङ्गावात्पूर्वविप्रातिषेधेन नुमेव ।
प्रियक्रोष्टुना । प्रियक्रोष्टुने । नुमचिरोति । नुद् । प्रियक्रोष्टूनाम् । सुलु । सुलुनी । सुलूनि ॥ पुनस्तद्वत् । सुल्वा ।
सुलुना । धातु । धातुणी । धातूणि । हे धातः । हे धातु । धावा । धावणा । एवं ज्ञातकर्त्रादयः ॥

322. The acutely accented अन् (अनङ्) is substituted for the finals of asthi, dadhi, sakthi, and akshi, before the affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it, which begin with a vowel.

Note :—Thus अस्थौ, अस्थे, दधौ, दध्ने, सक्थौ, सक्थे, अक्षौ, अक्षे ॥ The words अस्थि &c have acute on the first syllable, the substitute अनङ् would have been also anudatta, but for this sūtra. The stem getting the designation भ, we elide the अ (VI. 4. 134), the udatta अ being thus elided, the case-ending, which was anudatta before, now becomes udatta (VI. 1. 161). The stems ending with 'asthi &c' and though not neuter, are governed by this rule. As प्रियास्था ब्राह्मणेन, प्रियदध्ना ॥ Why 'before the affixes of the Instrumental and the rest ?' Observe अस्थिनी, दधिनी ॥ Before affixes beginning with a consonant, we have अस्थिभ्याम्, दधिभ्याम् ॥

Thus दधि + आ (Ins-sing) = दध् + अँ + आ = दध् + न् + आ The अँ is elided by VI. 4. 134 = दध्ना, so also D. S. दध्ने G. A. S. दध्नः, G. and L. D. दध्नोः L. S. दध्नि, or दधनि ॥ In the remaining cases, it is like वारि as :—

N. S. दधि, N. D. दधिनी N. P. दधीनि ॥ Before consonantal affixes the form is दधिभ्याम् &c.

The अनङ् comes even after bases that are compound but which end in अस्थि &c as अतिदध्ना ॥

The word सुधि is thus declined :—

N. A. S सुधि, N. A. D. सुधिनी ; N. Pl. सुधीनि ; Voc. हे सुधे or हे सुधि ॥ I. S. सुधिया or सुधिना (VI. 4. 85 S. 323) the Ins. S. of प्रधि however is प्रध्या or प्रधिना (VI. 4. 82 S. 272)

The word मधु is thus declined : as N. A. मधु, मधुनी, मधूनि, Voc. हे मधो or हे मधु ; D. S. मधुने, never मधवे, and so on.

So also the words अम्बु &c. The word सानु optionally assumes the form स्नु by the Vārtika under VIII. 2. 41 S. 295. Thus स्नुनि or सानूनि ॥

So also प्रियक्रोष्टु, प्रियक्रोष्टुनी ॥ The plural will have नुम् by prohibiting in anticipation the तृज्जङ्गव (VII. 1. 95. S. 274), as प्रियक्रोष्टुनि । In Ins. S and other cases, when the rule VII. 1. 74 applies, we have two forms as प्रियक्रोष्ट्रा or प्रियक्रोष्टुना, प्रियक्रोष्ट्रे or प्रियक्रोष्टवे ॥ In other cases there will be one form with नुम् alone, as प्रियक्रोष्टुना प्रियक्रोष्टुने ॥ There will be नुद् by नुमचिर as प्रियक्रोष्टुनाम् ॥

The Noun सुलु is declined as follows: Nom : and Acc : forms are सुलु, सुलुनी, सुलूनि ॥ Instr : singular is सुलुवा or सुलुना ॥

The Noun धातृ is declined as follows:—Nom and Acc : forms are धातृ, धातृणी, धातृणि ॥ The Voc : Sing. is हे धातः or हेधातृ ॥

The Instr : Singular is धात्रा or धातृणा ॥

Similar is the declension of ज्ञातृ, कर्तृ &c.

—:O:—

Now we take up the declension of प्रचो ending in ओ ॥ In Neuter, the ओ is changed to उ in accordance with the following Sūtra :—

३२३ । एच् इग्रस्वादेशे । १ । १ ४८ ॥

आदिभ्यमानेषु ह्रस्वेषु मध्ये एच् इगेव स्यात् ॥ प्रचु । प्रचुनी । प्रचूनि । प्रचुनेत्यादि । इह न पुंवत् । यद्विगन्ते प्रचु इति तस्य भाषितपुंस्त्वभावात् । एवमग्रेऽपि । प्ररि । प्ररिणी । प्ररीणि । प्ररीणा । एकेदेशवि-
कृतस्यानन्यत्वाद्वायो हलीत्यात्वम् । प्रराभ्याम् । प्रराभिः नुमचिरेति नुञ्चात्वे प्रराणामिति माधवः । वस्तुतस्तु
संनिपातपरिभाषया नुञ्चात्वं न । नामीति दीर्घस्त्वारम्भसामर्थ्यात्परिभाषां बाधत इत्युक्तम् । प्ररीणम् ।
सुनु । सुनुनी । सुनूनि । सुनुना । सुनुने । इत्यादि ॥

323. Of एच् vowels, इक् is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

Note :—This sūtra points out the ह्रस्व substitutes of एच्. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and उ respectively. Thus, I. 2. 47 declares:—"the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude form provided it ends in a vowel." Therefore in compounding अति + रै, the ऐ must be shortened. Properly speaking ऐ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have अतिरि 'extravagant' so नौ अतिरु 'disembarked or landed,' गो, उपगु 'near a cow.' All avyāyibhāva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say 'of एच्' ? Because the short of other vowels will not be इक्, Thus the short of आ is अ. अति + खट्वा = अति खट्वः । अति + माला = अतिमालः ।

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted ?' Because when प्लुत or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एच्, the इक् will not be the substitute. As देवदत्त O Devadatta ! देवेदत्त !

Thus Nom : and Acc : forms are प्रत्तु, प्रत्तुनी ; प्रत्तूनि. The Instr : Sing. is प्रत्तुना etc. This word is not treated like a Masculine one because it has no corresponding Masculine form. 'प्ररि' which is derived from the root रै to give with the prefix प्र. The रै being changed to रि by the present Sūtra. we get the form प्ररि. It is declined as follows:—Nom : and Acc : forms are प्ररि प्ररिणी. प्ररिणी. Instr : Sing. प्ररिणा. By the maxim एकदेश &c, that is "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this changesomething else, than what it was before the change had taken place," the rule applying to रै will apply to रि also. Hence the rule रायो हलि VII.2. 85. S. 286 will apply to प्ररि also. Thus forms before श्याम् and भिः will be प्रराश्याम् and प्रराभिः । According to Mādhava, the Genitive Pl: will be प्रराणाम्, the augment नुद् being added by the Vārtika नुनचिर &c. But as a matter of fact, there is not आ before नुद् in accordance with the Maxim संनिपात लक्षणे विधिरनिमित्तं, i. e. That which is taught in a rule the application of which occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination." That is to say this, maxim does not apply and it is not of universal application, as we have already shown under Sūtra VI. 4. 9 S. 209. There the correct form is प्ररीणाम् ॥

The word सुनु which is the shortened form of सुना meaning that which has a good boat, is declined in the Nom : and Acc : forms as सुनु, सुनुनी, सुनुनि ॥ The Instr and Dat : Singular forms are सुनुना ; सुनुने respectively. &c.

Here ends the declension of Neuter Nouns ending in Vowels.

अथ हलन्तपुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XI.

DECLENSION OF MASCULINE NOUNS ENDING IN CONSONANTS.

Now, we take up the declension of the word लिङ् derived from the root लिङ् 'to taste,' 'to lick' with the affix क्तिप् ॥ The Nom : Sing : is लिङ् + सु ॥ The ङ is changed to ढ by the following rule.

३२४ । होढः । ट । २ । ३१ ॥

हस्य ढः स्याद्भलि पदान्ते च । हल्ङ्वाबिति सुलोपः । परान्तत्वाद्गस्थ ढः । जइस्त्वर्थे । लिट् ।
लिट् । लिहौ । लिहः । लिहम् । लिहौ । लिहः । लिहा । लिड्भायाम् । लिट्सु ॥

324. ढ is substituted for ह before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus लिङ् + सु = लिङ् + O (The सु is elided by हल्ङ्वाप् VI. 1. 68 S. 252.)
 = लिङ् (The ङ् is changed to ङ because it is final in a pada) = लिङ् (VIII. 2. 39
 S. 84) or लिङ् (VIII. 4. 56. S. 206).

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are लिहौ ; लिहः ॥

The Acc : forms are लिहम्, लिहौ ; लिहः ॥

The Instr : forms are लिहा, लिङ्भ्याम् लिङभिः ॥

The Loc: Pl: is लिदसु (The न being optionally added by VIII.
3. 29. S. 131) or लिदसु ॥

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Now we take up the declension of **हामलिह** ॥ It is derived from the Denominative Verb **हामलिह्यति** (**हामलिहमात्मानमिच्छति** one who desires a **हामलिह**) Here the following sūtra is inapplicable, though the root **हामलिह्य** begins with ह ॥

३२५ । दादध्वातोर्घः । ढ । २ । ३२ ।

उपदेशे दादेर्धातोर्हस्य चः स्याज्जालि पञ्चमे च । उपदेशे किम् । अधोगित्यत्र यथा स्यात् । राम-
लिहषात्मानं इच्छति रामलिह्यति । ततः क्विपि रामलिह् । अत्र मा भूत् ॥

325. Of a root beginning with द, in original enunciation, the घ is substituted for द, before a jhal letter or when final in a Pada.

But दामलिह does not become दामलिक because the anuvritti of the word उपदेश is understood in the above Sûtra and as in the Dhâtupâtha there is no root like दामलिह, so this rule is inapplicable (See the Not given below).

Why have we used the word upadesa in explaining the present sûtra ? So that there may be च substitution in अधोक् which does not begin with ह in its conjugated form, but the root of which begins with ह ॥

*Note:—*For the final ह् of a ह्-beginning root, च is substituted under similar circumstances. As हग्धा, हग्धुम्, हग्ध्वम्, काष्ठयुक्, होग्धा, होग्धुम्, होग्ध्वम्, गोधुक्, from हह and दुह् ॥ For the त् of the affixes ह् &c. घ is substituted by VIII. 2. 40, before which, the घ becomes ग by VIII. 4 53. For the घ in काष्ठद्घ is substituted ग by VIII. 2. 39, or क् by VIII. 4 56, and ह् becomes घ by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say "of a root beginning with ह्" ? Observe लेह, लहुम्, लेहव्यम्, गुडलिह् ॥

The force of the genitive case in धातोः is not to make it in apposition with the word होह् but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole : so that it means "the word which begins with ह् and forms part of a root, for the ह् of such a part is substituted च." What does follow from it ? The letter च is substituted in अधोम् also, which begins with अ ॥ For without the above explanation (धातोर्वयवो यो रादिशब्दस्तद्वयवस्य हकारस्य &c.), the च would have come in examples like नास्म धोक्, without the augment अ, but not where there was the augment अ ॥ Moreover, that it is an अवयवयोगा षष्ठी will appear necessary in sûtra VIII. 2. 37.

If it has the fore of denoting a 'portion or member', how do you explain the forms होग्धा, होग्धुम्, for here no *portion* is taken but *whole* word ? This will be explained on the maxim of व्यपदेशिवद् भावः "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone, and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach". (व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन्) ॥ Or we may explain the sûtra, by saying 'that root which begins with ह् in its original enunciation in Dhâtupâtha' ? Thus in original enunciation the root is लिह् not beginning with ह् ॥ If a Derivative root be formed from it like दामलिह्य (दामलिहनिच्छति = दामलिह्यति), it is a root which begins with ह्; the ह् of this Denominative root, however, will not be changed to च, for it is not a root of upadesa. Therefore, when we add क्तिप् to this root, we get दामलिह् by VIII. 2. 31, and not दामलिक ॥

Now we take up the declension of 'दुह' ॥ Here the following sûtra applies :—

३२६ । एकाचो वशो भष् भषन्तस्य स्ध्वोः । ८ । २ । ३७ ॥

धातोस्वयवो य एकाच् क्षपन्तस्तस्वयवस्य वशः स्थाने भष् स्यात्सकारे ध्वशब्दे पदान्ते च । एकाचो धातोर्लिति सामानाधिकरण्येनान्वये तु इह न स्यात् । गर्हभमाचष्टे गर्हभयति । ततः क्विप् । णिलोपः । गर्धप् । झलीति निवृत्तम् । स्ध्वोर्ग्रहणसामर्थ्यात् । तेनेह न । दुग्धम् । दोग्धा । व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन धात्ववयवत्वाद्भावावः । जश्त्वचत्वे । धुक धुग् । दुहौ । दुहः । षत्वचत्वे । धुक्षु ॥

326. For the letters **क्, ग, ङ** or **ङ** in the beginning of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, or a portion of it and which ends in **भ, म, च, ढ** or **घ**, there is substituted **भ, घ, ढ** or **घ** respectively in that portion of it which begins with **वश्** and ends with **जष्** before **स्** or **ध्व**, or at the end of a pada (word).

In explaining this sūtra, we have used the word अवयव or a member or a portion. The root itself may be of more than one syllable, but if there is any member in it, which satisfies the requirements of this sūtra, that is to say, which begins with **क्, ग, ङ** or **ङ** and ends with **भ, म, च, ढ, घ**, in other words, which begins with the third letter of the *Varga*, except **ज** and ends with the fourth letter of the *Varga*, then for **क्** is substituted **भ**, for **ग, च**, for **ङ, ढ**, and for **ङ, घ** ॥ But had we explained the sūtra by saying एकाच्धातोः, that is, of a root which is monosyllabic and satisfies the above qualifications then we could not have got the form गर्धप् from the denominative root गर्हभयति. The word गर्धप् is derived from the root गर्हभय by the affix क्विप् to the root and the elision of णि ॥ The **क्** is changed to **घ** ॥

The anuvritti of झलि ceases here and is not to be read in the sūtra. This had commenced from VII. 2. 26 of the *Ashtā dhyāyī*.

By taking the letters **स्** and **ध्व** in the sūtra, the substitution does not take place before any other letter, such as in दुग्धम्, दोग्धा ॥ Here **क्** is not changed to **घ** ॥

By applying the maxim व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्, that is "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach," the rule will apply to simple roots like to दुह् &c. also. Therefore दुह् + सु = दुह् + ० = दुष् + ० = धुष् = धुग् or धुक् ॥ The Nom : Dual and Pl : are दुहौ ; दुहः ॥

In forming the Loc : Pl : the present sūtra will apply and we get the form धुक्षु ॥ (**स्** being changed to **ष्** by VIII. 3. 59. S. 212).

In declining 'दुह' the following rule applies.

३२७ । वा द्रुहमुहण्णुहणिहाम् । ८ । २ । ३३ ॥

एषां हस्य वा वः स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च । पक्षे ढः । ध्रक् । ध्रुक् । ध्रुद् । ध्रुङ् । द्रुहो । द्रुहः । ध्रुग्भ्याम् । ध्रुङ्भ्याम् । ध्रुक्षु । ध्रुदत्सु । ध्रुदसु । एवं मुहण्णुहणिहाम् ॥ विश्ववाद् । विद्ववाङ् । विद्ववाहो । विद्ववाहः । विश्ववाहं । विश्ववाहो ॥

327. The ह of druh, muh, snuh, and snih is optionally changed to घ before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

The ह of these words is changed to घ optionally ; in the other alternative it would be changed to ढ ॥ Thus Nom : Sing is ध्रक् or ध्रुक् or ध्रुद् or ध्रुङ् ॥

Instrumental, Dative and Ablative Dual is ध्रुग्भ्याम् or ध्रुङ्भ्याम्. Locative Pl : is ध्रुक्षु or ध्रुदत्सु (VIII. 3. 29. S. 131) or ध्रुदसु ॥

Similar is the declension of मुह्, स्तुह् and क्षिह् ॥

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Now, we take up the declension of विश्ववाह ॥ The Nom : forms are विश्ववाद् or विश्ववाङ् ; विश्ववाहो, विश्ववाहः ; Acc : Sing and Dual are विश्ववाहम्, विश्ववाहो ॥

In forming the Acc : Pl : the rule after the following applies, because the base gets the designation of ' bha ' before this affix ; that is the semi-vowel व is changed to उ ॥ This change is called संप्रसारण (Samprasâraṇa) or vocalisation, which is defined in the following sūtra.

३२८ । इग्यणः संप्रसारणम् । १ । १ । ८ ॥

यणः स्थाने प्रयुज्यमानो य इक् स संप्रसारणसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

328. The ik vowels which replace the semivowels *yan* are called samprasâraṇa.

Note :—This defines the word samprasâraṇa, or vocalisation. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyâhâra ik includes the four simple vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ए, and their corresponding semi-vowels य, व्, इ, and ए included in the pratyâhâra yaṇ. The word samprasâraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of स्वप् ' to sleep,' is formed by adding the nishthâ affix क्त (see sūtra 26). So that we have स्वप् + त्त. But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasâraṇa of the व of स्वप् before the क्ति affixes, and we have the form सुप्तः ' slept ' Similarly from वद्-उदितः, यञ्-इष्टम्, व्यञ्-विद्धः, ग्रह-गृहीतम्-प्रह्-पृष्टम्. The term samprasâraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels as in VI. 1. 13 ; VI. 4. 131.

३२९ । वाह ऊङ् । ६ । ४ । १३२ ॥

भस्य वाह-संप्रसारणमूढ स्यात् ॥

329. The व् in वाह is vocalised to ऊ (ऊङ्), when the compound stem is Bha.

३३० । संप्रसारणाच्च । ६ । १ । १०८ ॥

संप्रसारणादचि परं पूर्वरूपमेकादशः स्यात् ॥ एत्येधत्तुः ॥ विद्वौहः । विद्वौहेत्यादि । छन्दस्येव पिवारिति पक्षे गिजन्ताद्विच् ॥

330. There is the single substitution of the first vowel for the vocalised semi-vowel and the subsequent vowel.

Thus विश्ववाह + शस् = विश्व + ऊ + आह् + शस् = विश्व + ऊह् + शस् = विश्वौहः (The Vriddhi is according to VI. 1. 89. S. 73) The Instrumental Singular is विश्वौहा and so on.

If वाह in विश्ववाह be considered to have been formed by the affix णि under sūtra III. 2. 64 S 3410, then there will be affix विच् after it by sūtra III. 2. 75. S 2980.

Note :—The word वाह is a णि formed stem by III. 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upapada : hence we have used the word “compound.” Thus विश्वौहः ॥ By VI. 1. 108, ऊ + आ (of वा) = ऊङ् ; and then विश्व + ऊह् = विश्वौह the Vriddhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasāraṇa thus : प्रष्ठ + वह् + शस् = प्रष्ठ + उह् + शस् (VI. 1. 108) = प्रष्ठ + ओह् + शस् (the affix णि III. 2. 64, will produce guṇa) = प्रष्ठौहः (VI. 1. 88). In fact णि is never added to वह् (III. 2. 64) unless the preceding member ends in अ and that अ + ओ of वा will always produce औ ॥ The making of this special samprasāraṇa in ऊङ् indicates the existence of the following maximः असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ; and the samprasāraṇa being a bahiranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of guṇa which is an antaranga operation : therefore, we can never get the form ओह ॥

—:O:—

Now we take up the declension of अनडुह्. In its declension the following rule applies :—

३३१ । चतुरनडुहोरामुदात्तः । ७ । १ । ६८ ॥

अनयोराम स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने स चोदात्तः ॥

331. चतुर and अनडुह् get the acutely accented augment आ (आम्) after the उ in the strong cases.

Thus अनडुह् + सु = अनडुह् + सु ॥ Then applies the following rule.

३३२ । सावनडुहः । ७ । १ । ८२ ।

अस्य नुम् स्यात्सौ परे । आदिस्थधिकारादवर्णात्परोऽयं नुम् । अतो विज्ञेयविहितेनापि नुमा आम् न बाध्यते । अमा च नुम् न बाध्यते । सौलोपः । नुम् विधिसामर्थ्याद्भुसुसुत्विति इत्वं न । संयोगान्तलोप-
स्थसिद्धत्वान्नलोपो न । अनङ्गान् ॥

332. अनङ्गुह gets the augment नुम् before the ending सु of the Nom. Sg. (and Vocative).

By the last अनङ्गुह gets the augment आ after ह in the strong cases, and अ in Vocative Singular (VII. 1. 99). It thus becomes अनङ्गवाह् and अनङ्गुह् ॥ By the present sūtra न् is added after this आ and अ ॥ The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final ह् by VIII. 2. 23. Thus we have अनङ्गान् Nominative Singular ; and अनङ्गवन् in the Vocative Singular. The augments आम् and अम् (VII. 1. 98, 99), do not supersede नुम्, nor are they superseded by नुम् ॥

The नुम् is specifically taught by this Sūtra, the ह् is not changed to व् by VIII. 2. 72 S 334. The final न् is not elided, because the elision of ह् by VIII. 2. 23. S 54 is not perceived by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236, requiring the elision of न् because of the rule VIII. 2. 1. S 12. So the न् is not elided. Thus the Nom : Sing is अनङ्गान्. In forming the Voc : the following rule applies.

३३३ । अम् संबुद्धौ । ७ । १ । ८२ ॥

चतुरनङ्गुहोरम् स्यात्संबुद्धौ । आमोपवादः । हे अनङ्गन् । अनङ्गाहौ । अनङ्गाहः । अनङ्गहा ॥

333. चतुर् and अनङ्गुह get the augment अ after the उ in the Vocative Singular.

This debars the previous rule. As, हे अनङ्गन्, हे अनङ्गाहौ, अनङ्गाहः ॥

The Instr: Sing. is अनङ्गहा.

Before the affixes भ्याम्, भिः &c, the ह् is changed to व् by the following rule.

३३४ । वसुसंभुध्वंस्वनङ्गुहां दः । ८ । २ । ७२ ॥

सान्तवस्वन्तस्य संसादिभ्य दः स्यात्पदान्ते । अनङ्गुहप्रामित्यादि । सान्तेति किम् । विशान् । पदान्ते इति किम् । सस्तम् । ध्वस्तम् ॥

334. द is substituted for the final स् of a word formed with the affix वस् and ending in सं and for the final of संस्, ध्वंस् and अनङ्गुह at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

Thus अनङ्गुद्भ्याम् &c.

Why do we say that the word formed with the affix वसु must end in सृ ? Observe विद्वान्.

Why do we say final in a Pada ? Observe सस्तम् ; ध्वस्तम्.

—:O:—

Now, we take up the declension of तुरासाह. In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३३५ । सहेः साडः सः । ८ । ३ । ५६ ॥

साड् रूपस्य सहेः सस्य मूर्धन्यादेशः स्यात् । तुराषाड् । तुराषाड् । तुरासाहै । तुरासाहः । तुराषाड्-भ्यामित्यादि । तुरं सह इत्यर्थे छन्दसि सह इति प्विः । लोके तु साहयतेः क्विप् । अन्येषामपीति पूर्वपदस्य वीर्घः ॥

335. व is substituted for the सृ in साह, when this occurs in the form of साड् (साट्) ॥

Thus तुराषाड्, साड् is derived from सह by the affix प्वि (III. 2. 63 S 3409), there is vridhhi of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ढ (VIII. 2. 31), and the upapada is lengthened (VI. 3. 137 S. 3539).

Note :—साडः सः would have been enough, for there is no other form साड् except this derived from सहः why then the word is used in the sūtra ? There is another form साड् not derived from सह ॥ Thus सह डेन वर्तते = सडः, सडस्य अपत्यं = साडिः ॥ He in whose name there is the letter ढ is called सड ; as मृड ॥

Why do we say 'in the form of साड्' ? The rule will not apply when the form is साह, as जलासाहम्, तुरासाहम् ॥ Why do we say सः "for the स" ? So that the आ of साड् may not be changed to cerebral : the ड् is already cerebral.

Here ends the declension of Masculine nouns ending in ह ॥

—:O:—

There is no masculine noun ending in ह् though on the analogy of the Noun कमल् (See 340) we may form तोय meaning तोयमाचक्षानः and decline as तोय, तोयौ, तोयः yet this ह् will allways be elided by the rule VI. 1. 66 S. 873. We take up, therefore, the declension of the Masculine nouns ending in व् eg सुदिक् In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३३६ । दिव औत् । ७ । १ । ८४ ॥

दिविति प्रानिपदिकस्य औत्स्यात्सौ परे । अन्विधित्वेन स्यानिवत्त्वाभावाद् औत्स्यविति सुलोपो न ॥ सुद्यौः । सुद्वौ । सुदिवः । सुदिवम् । सुद्वौ ॥

336. औ is substituted for the final of the prâtipadika दिक् before सु (Nom. Sg. and Voc. Sg.)

Note :—There is a nominal-stem दिक् which is taken here. It has no indicatory letters annexed to it. The root दिक् is not to be taken here, as it has the in-

dicatory letter **इ** and is exhibited in the Dhâtu-pāṭha as दिवु ॥ The nominal-stem derived from दिवु, does not take औ, but ऊ, the Nom. Sg. of which is द्युः as अक्षद्युः (See VI, 4. 19, and VI. 1. 131).

The rule VI. 1. 68 S 252, required the elision of सु; but this is prevented, because औ is not स्थानिवत् to इ for the purposes of अन्विधि rule VI. 1. 68. S 252. Thus the Nom: forms are सुद्यौः, सुदिवौ, सुदिवः. The Acc: forms are सुदिवम्, सुदिवौ &c.

Before भ्याम् and भिः the following rule applies:—

३३७ । दिव उत् । ६ । १ । १३१ ॥

दिवोऽन्तादेश उकारः स्यात्पदान्ते । सुद्युभ्याम् । सुद्युभिः । चत्वारः । चतुरः । चतुर्भिः । चतुर्भ्यः ॥

337. For the final of the nominal-stem दिव्, there is the substitution of उ, when it is a Pada (I. 4. 14 &c).

Note:—The portion पद् of the word पदान्त must be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 109. The word दिव् is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus दिवि कामो यस्य = द्युकामः, द्युमान्, विमलद्यु दिनं, द्युभ्याम्, द्युभिः ॥ We have said that दिव् is here a prātipadika and not a dhātu, for as a dhātu it ought to have its servile letter (anubandha) and should have been read as दिवु ॥ In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long ऊ for इ by VI. 4. 19. In that case we shall have अक्षद्युभ्याम्, अक्षद्युभिः ॥ The उत् with a त् shows that short उ is meant, and debars ऊट (VI. 4. 19). In the case of ऊट् substitution the forms will be द्युभ्याम्, द्युभिः ॥ The ऊट् also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sūtra. Why do we say 'when it is a Pada'? Observe दिवौ, दिवः ॥

Thus Instr: Dual and Pl. are सुद्युभ्याम् ; सुद्युभिः.

Here ends the declension of Masculine nouns ending in इ ॥

—————:o:—————

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in इ.

We take up the declension of चतुर् which is always Plural. Its Nom: Pl: is चतुर् + जस् = चतुर् + आम् + जस् (S. 331) = चत्वारः । Its Acc; Instr; Dat. and Abl: Pl: are चतुरः, चतुर्भिः, चतुर्भ्यः, चतुर्भ्यः respectively.

In forming the Gen: Pl: the following rule applies:—

३३८ । षट्चतुर्भ्यश्च । ७ । १ । ५५ ॥

षट्संज्ञकैश्च चतुरश्च परस्यानो नुडागमः स्यात् । णत्वं । द्वित्वं । चतुर्णाम् ॥

338. The augment न् is added before the Genitive pl. ending आम् after the Numerals called 'shash', and after चतुर् ॥

Text:—The न् is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 1. S, 235 and this ण is optionally doubled by VIII. 4. 46. S. 59.

As **चतुर्णाम्** ॥ A numeral ending in **र** is not 'shash', hence the specific mention of **चतुर** ॥

Note:—This rule applies to compounds ending with these numerals, when these latter are the principal member, as **परमषण्णाम्**, **परमपञ्चानाम्**, **परमचतुर्णाम्**, but **प्रियषषाम्**, **प्रियषञ्चाम्**, **प्रियचतुराम्**, where the Numerals are secondary (*upasarjana*).

In forming the Loc. Pl, the following 'is held in abeyance, because the **विसर्जनीय** taught there applies to that **र** which is derived from **ह** and not to every **र**.

३३६ । रोः सुपि । ८ । ३ । १६ ॥

सप्तमीबहुवचने परे रोरेव विसर्जनीयो नान्यरेकस्य । षत्वम् । षस्य द्वित्वे प्राप्ते ॥

339. *Visarjaniya* is substituted for the **ह** called **र** (and not any other **र**), before the Locative Plural case-affix **सु** ॥

This rule not applying, we have **चतुर**+**सु**=**चतुर्**+**सु** by VIII. 3. 59 S. 212. Then rule VIII. 4. 46 S. 59 requires optional doubling, but this is set-aside by the following.

३४० । शरोऽचि । ८ । ४ । ४६ ।

अचि परे शरो न द्वे स्तः । चतुर्षु । प्रियचत्वाः । हे प्रियचत्वः । प्रियचत्वारौ । प्रियचत्वारः । औणत्वे तु नुद् नश्यते । प्रियचतुराम् । प्राधान्ये तु स्यादेव । परमचतुर्णाम् । कमलं कमलां वा भाचक्ष्णः कमल् । कमलो । कमलः । षत्वं । कमळषु ॥

340. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (**शर**), when a vowel follows,

Note:—The word **न** is to be read into the *sûtra*. This debars the application of rule VIII. 4. 46, S. 59. Thus **कर्षति**, **वर्षति**, **आकर्षः**, **अक्षवर्षः** ॥

Why do we say **अचि** 'when a vowel follows? Observe **इद्ध्यते** ॥

Text:—Thus **चतुर्षु**.

Now, we take up the declension of **प्रियचतुर** which may be declined in all numbers (See Note under S. 338). **प्रियचतुर**+**सु**=**प्रियचतु**+**आ**+**र**+**स्** (VII. 1. 98. S. 331)=**प्रियचत्वाः**. In the Voc: Sing, instead of **आम्** there will be **अम्** by VII. 1. 99. S. 333. Thus **हे प्रियचत्वः**. The Nom: Dual and Pl: are **प्रियचत्वारौ**; **प्रियचत्वारः**. As **चतुर** here is a secondary member of a Compound, the augment **नुद्** required by VII. 1. 55. S. 338 is not added to the formation of the Gen: Pl: Thus we have **प्रियचतुराम्**. But if the compound be not a *Bahuvrihi*, and **चतुर** be a principal member, then the Genitive Pl. will be **प्रियचतुर्णाम्** ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **र** ॥

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ल्.

Now we take up the declension of कमल्. This is derived from the Noun कमलम् or कमला by passing through the चुरादिगण under the rule तत्करोति सदाच्चे, that is, when the sense is कमलं कमलां वा चक्ष्वाणः that one speaks of Kamala or Kamalā. Thus कमल + णिच् (of चुरादिगण). To this we add the affix क्विप्, when the णिच् is elided by VI. 4. 51. S. 2313. Thus we get कमल्. Its declension is Nom. कमल्, कमलौ, कमलः. Its Loc. Pl. is कमल्यु. (The स् being changed to ष्).

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ल्.

There is no noun ending in ञ्. Therefore we take up the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in न्. In the declension of these nouns, the following rule applies.

३४१। मोनो धातोः । ८ । २ । ६४ ।

धातोर्मस्य नः स्यात्पदान्ते । नत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाज्जलोपो न । प्रशाम्यतीति प्रशान् । प्रशामौ । प्रशामः । प्रशान्-भ्यामित्यादि ॥

341. न is substituted, at the end of a Pada, for the final म of a root.

As प्रशान्, this is formed by adding क्विप् to the root शम् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. S. 2556. The न् being considered as asiddha is not elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.

The word पदस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रशानौ, प्रशामः where न् is not at the end of a pada.

The Nom : forms are प्रशान्, प्रशामौ प्रशामः ; The Instr : Dual is प्रशान्भ्याम् &c.

—:0:—

Now, we take up the declension of किम् ॥ In its declension, the following rule applies ;—

३४२। किमः कः । ७ । २ । १०३ ॥

किमः कः स्याद्विभक्तौ । अकच्सहितस्याप्ययमादेशः । कः । कौ । के । कम् । कौ । कान् इत्यादि सर्ववत् ॥

342. क is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix.

As कः, कौ, के, कम्, कौ, कान् ॥ The substitution takes place even when the augment अकच् is added. Therefore, the substitute is here क and not अ which latter would have been sufficient for किम् ॥ For म् of किम् being replaced by अ (VII. 2. 102), the इ would be left, which would be replaced

by अ, had the sūtra been किमोऽन् and the forms would have been the same (क् + अ + अ = क VI. 1. 97). See V. 3. 1, 13 &c. The rest of the declension is similar to that of सर्व ॥

Now, we take up the declension of इदम् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies.

३४३ । इदमो मः । ७ । २ । १०८ ॥

इदमो मः स्यात्सौ परे । त्यदाद्यत्वापवादः ॥

343. म् is substituted for the final म् of इदम् in the Nominative Singular.

The substitution of म् for म् is to prevent the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102. At this stage applies the next sūtra.

३४४ । इदोऽय् पुंसि । ७ । २ । १११ ॥

इदम् इदोऽय् स्यात्सौ पुंसि । सौलोपः । अयम् । त्यदाद्यत्वं पररूपत्वं च ॥

344. अय् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Nom. Sing. masculine.

As अयम् ॥

The case ending सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In other cases, sūtra VII. 2. 102. S. 265. would apply and there will be Para-rupa (VI. 1. 97. S. 191) and so इदम् will assume the form इद् ॥

At this stage, will apply the following rule.

३४५ । इदम् । ७ । २ । १०९ ॥

इदमो इत्य मः स्याद्विभक्तौ । इमौ । इमे । त्यदादिः संबोधनं नास्तीत्युत्सर्गः ॥

345. And म् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् before a case-affix.

As इमौ, इमे, इमम्, इमौ, इमान् ॥ Thus इदम् + अम् = इदअ + अम् (VII. 2, 102 S. 265.) = इमअ + अम् (VII. 2. 109 S. 345.) = इमम् (VI. 1. 97, S. 191).

It is a general rule that there is no Vocative case of त्यदादि words.

In forming the Instrumental and other cases, the following rule applies :—

३४६ । अनाप्यकः । ७ । २ । ११२ ॥

अककारस्येदम् एदोऽन् स्यादापि विभक्तौ । आबिति वा इत्यारभ्य सुपः पकारेण प्रत्याहारः । अनेन ॥

346. अन is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Instrumental singular and the cases that follow, provided that the augment akach is not added.

As अनेन, अनयोः ॥ Why do we say “ not when क is added by V. 3. 71 ” ? Observe इमकेन, इमकयोः ॥ The word आप् (आपि) in the sūtra is a pratyāhāra, formed with the आ of दा (Ins. Sg), and ए of सुप् (Loc. Pl).

Before consonantal affixes, the following rule applies.

३४७ । हलि लोपः । ७ । २ । ११३ ॥

अकारस्येदम् इति लोपः स्यादापि हलादौ ॥ नानर्थक्यलोपविविधरन्ध्यासीवकारे ॥

347. The इद् of इदम् is elided before an āp case-affix beginning with a consonant, provided that the augment अकच् is not added.

Here applies the maxim—“The rule I. 1. 52. S. 42, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter of that which is exhibited in the genitive case, is not valid where what is exhibited in the genitive is meaningless, provided the rule teaching the substitution does not teach a change in a reduplicative syllable. ”

Having elided इद् of इदम्, the only portion that remains now is म् which is replaced by अ VII. 2 102 S. 265. Thus we have only अ left. Thus अ + भ्याम् ॥ Now VII. 3. 102 S. 202 declares that a final अ is lengthened before a case affix beginning with यच् ॥ But the solitary अ is initial and cannot therefore be final and so it should not be lengthened. To remove this doubt, we have the following Sūtra.

३४८ । आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् । १ । १ । २१ ॥

एकस्मिन् क्रियमाणं कार्यमाशविवाऽन्त इव स्यात् । आभ्याम् ॥

348. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

Thus अ + भ्याम् = आभ्याम् ॥

In forming the Instr : Pl : the following rule applies :—

३४९ । नेदमदसोरकोः । ७ । १ । ११ ॥

अकारयोरिवदसोर्भास ऐस् न स्यात् । एत्वम् । एभिः । अत्वम् । नित्यत्वात् डेः स्मौ ; पश्चाद्दालि-
लोपः । अस्मै । आभ्याम् । एभ्यः । अस्मात् । आभ्याम् । एभ्यः । अस्य । अनयोः । एषाम् । अस्मिन् ।
अनयोः । एषु । ककारयोगे तु अयकम् । इमकौ । इमके । इमकम् । इमकौ, इमकान् । इमकेन । इमका
भ्याम् । इमकैः ॥

349. This substitution of ऐस् (required by VII. 1. 9 S 203) does not take place after इदम् and अदस्, except when they end in क ॥

Thus अ + भिः = एभिः (VII. 3. 103 S 205) The dative forms are thus

formed :—अ + डे = अस्यै (VII. 1. 14 S. 215) ; अ + भ्याम् = आभ्याम् ; अ + भ्यः = एभ्यः ॥
 The Abl ; Gen : and Loc : forms are as follow:—अस्मात्, (VII. 1. 15 S. 216) ;
 आभ्याम् ; एभ्यः, अस्य (VII. 1. 12. S. 201) ; अनयोः (VII. 3. 104. S. 207 and
 VII. 2. 112. S. 346) ; एषाम् (VII. 1 52. S. 217) ; अस्मिन् (VII. 1. 15. S. 216) ;
 एषु (VIII. 3. 59 S. 212).

When अकच् is added the forms are as follows:—Nom : अयकम्, इमकौ, इमके ; Acc : इनकम्, इमकौ, इमकान् ; Instr : इमकेन, इमकाभ्याम्, इमकैः ॥

By the following rule, when इदम् is used in the second clause of a sentence referring to a man already mentioned in the first clause, the form is different in the Instr : and other cases.

३५० । इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽनुदात्तस्तृतीयादौ । २ । ४ । ३२ ॥

अन्वादेशविषयस्येदमोऽनुदात्तोश्च आदेशः स्यात्तृतीयादौ । अश्ववचनं साकञ्कार्थम् ॥

350. In the room of idam 'this,' in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvâdeśa) there is the substitution of अश् which is anudâtta i. e., gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

Note :—The word अन्वादेश means literally saying (âdeśa) 'after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

अश् (actually अ) replaces इदम् in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvâdeśa or repetition is implied. अश् replaces the whole of इदम् by I. 1. 55 S. 45. and not only the final म्.

Text :—The substitute अश् will replace इदम्, even when the latter takes the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71.)

३५१ । द्वितीयादौस्वेनः । २ । ४ । ३४ ॥

द्वितीयायां वैलोभ परत इमेतद्वेनादेशः स्यादन्वादेशे । किञ्चित्कार्यं विधातुमुपात्तस्य कार्यान्तं विधातुं पुनरुपादानमन्वादेशः । यथाऽनेन व्याकरणमधीतमेनं छन्दोऽध्यापयेति । अनयोः पवित्रं कुलमेतयोः प्रभूतं स्वामिति । एनम् । एनौ । एनान् । एनेन । एनयोः । गणयतेर्विच् । सुगण् । सुगणौ । सुगणः । सुगणइश् । सुगणइश् । सुगणश्च विवृप् । अनुनासिकस्य विवृहलोरिति दीर्घः । सुगाण् । सुगाणौ । सुगाणः । सुगाणइश् । सुगाणइश् सुगाणश्च । परस्वादुपधादीर्घः । हल्ङ्यादिलोपः । ततो नलोपः । राजा ॥

351. When an affix of the second case or टा (Ins. Sing.) or ओस् (Loc. dual.) follows, एन which is anudâtta is the substitute of इदम् and एतद् in the case of its re-employment.

Anvâdeśa means the employment again of what has been employed to direct some operation, to direct another operation. Thus, " The grammar has been studied by him (anena), now set him (enam)

to read the *Vedas*." or again "of these two (*anayoh*) the family is illustrious and their (*enayoh*) wealth is great." The cases in this form are:—*Acc.* एनम्, एनौ, एनान्, Instr: Sing: एनेन; Gen: & Loc. Dual एनयोः ।

Here ends the declension of Masc: Nouns ending in न्.

—————:0:—————

There is no Masculine noun ending in इ. Now we take up the declension of Masculine nouns ending in ण् *e. g.* सुगण् which is formed by the affix विच् added to गण् (III. 2. 75 S. 2980) Its Nom: forms are सुगण, सुगणौ, सुगणः; Loc. Pl. is सुगण्ड्सु, सुगण्ड्सु or सुगण्सु.

If it be formed with the affix क्विप् (III. 2. 76 S. 2983), then by VI. 4. 15 S. 2666, there is lengthening. Thus the forms will be सुगाण, सुगाणौ, सुगाणः; the Loc: Pl: is सुगाण्ड्सु, सुगाण्ड्सु, or सुगाण्सु.

Here ends the declension of Mas: Nouns ending in ण्.

—————0—————

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in न्.

Now, we take up the declension of राजन्. Its Nom: Sg. is राजन् + सु = राजान् + सु (The penultimate being lengthened by VI. 4. 8 S. 250) = राजान् + O (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.) = राजा (the न् being elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.).

In forming the Voc: the following rule applies:—

३५२ । न ङिसंबुद्धयोः । < । २ । < ॥

नस्य लोपो न स्यात् ङौ संबुद्धौ च । राजन् । ङौ तु छन्दस्युदाहरणम् । सुपां सुलुगिति डेलुक् । निषेधसामर्थ्यास्पत्यलक्षणम् । परमे व्योमन् ॥ डाबुत्तरपदे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ चर्मणि तिला अस्य चर्म-तिलः । ब्रह्मणि निष्ठा अस्य ब्रह्मनिष्ठः । राजानौ । राजानः, राजानम् । राजानौ ॥ भल्लोपोनः । इक्षुत्वम् । न चाल्लोपः स्थानिवत् । पूर्वत्रासिद्धे तन्निषेधात् । नापि बहिरङ्गतयाऽसिद्धः । यथोद्देशपक्षे षाष्टी परिभाषां प्रति इक्षुत्वस्थासिद्धतयाऽन्तरङ्गाभावेन परिभाषाया अप्रवृत्तेः । जमोर्ज्ञः । राज्ञः । राज्ञा ॥

352. (But such न्) is not elided in the Locative and Vocative Singular.

This debar the elision of न्, which otherwise would have taken place by the sūtra VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. The examples of non-elision of न् in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas. As परमे व्योमन् (Rig. I. 164. 39). Here the sign of the Locative, namely, इ (ङि) is elided by VII. 1. 39 S. 3561. In the Vocative singular the न् is not elided; as हे राजन्, हे तक्षन् ॥

The very fact of the prohibition of the elision of न्, as contained in this aphorism, indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that a word does get the designation of pada, though an affix has been elided after it by using लुक्, yet such elided affix does sometimes produce its effect inspite of I. 1. 63. S. 263.

Var:—Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound. That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpurusha, the न् is elided: as, चर्मणि तिला अस्य = चर्म तिलः, ब्रह्मणि निष्ठाभस्य = ब्रह्म निष्ठः ॥

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are राजानौ ; राजानः ।

The Acc. Sing and Dual are राजानम् ; राजानौ ।

The Acc : Pl. is thus formed :—राजन् + शस्. Here राजन् gets the designation of *bha* by I. 4. 18. S. 231. and therefore the अ of राजन् is elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234. and the न् is changed to अ by VIII. 4. 40. S. 111. The elision of अ is not *Sthānivat*, because it is so prohibited in Sūtra VII. 2. 1. S. 12. Nor can the elision be considered *asiddha* on account of its being *bahiranga*. There are two aspects under which संज्ञा or technical terms, and *Pribhāshās* may be viewed in Pāṇini's Grammar. One is अथोद्देशपक्ष and the other is कार्यकालपक्ष. The former *i. e.* अथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् means that "Samjñās and Paribhāshās remain where they are taught;" and the latter, *i. e.* कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् means that "Samjñās and Paribhāshās are attracted by, or unite with, the rules that enjoin certain operations, provided that Samjñās occur or are valid in those rules, and provided the Paribhāshās concern them."

Here we take the first alternative and the change of ज into अ being *asiddha* in the view of the rule I. 1. 94. S. 38., there is no *antaranga-hood* and so the Paribhāsha which declares that "antaranga is stronger than *bahiranga*" finds no scope for application. Therefore ज and अ combining form झ. Thus we get the Acc. Pl. राज्ञः. Inst. Sing is राज्ञा

Similarly परमे व्योमन् ॥ Here व्योमन् is in the Locative case. व्योमन् + डि = व्योमन् + O (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561) Here the affix is elided by using the word लुक्, and therefore there will be no *pratyaya-lakshana* (I. 1. 63 S. 263). The result would be that the word व्योमन् would not get the designation of पर (सुप्तिङन्तपरं) because it has no सुप् after it, so the rule न लोप (VIII. 2. 7. S. 236) will not hold good, and therefore there will be no elision of न् of व्योमन् ॥ But in that case the present Sūtra would have been useless. But the very fact that this sūtra is made, indicates that the rule न लुक्ताङ्गस्य is not *nitya*, and so, there will be *pratyalakshana*. That being the case, the word व्योमन् becomes पर, and so rule VIII. 2. 7 would have applied to it, but for this Sūtra.

Although न संज्ञा excludes and debars परसंज्ञा but in this case it has been superseded by the former.

Now we take up the formation of Acc. pl. Thus राजन् + शस् = राज् + O + न् + शस् (अङ्गोपोऽन) Here the zero will be *sthānivat* (by अचः परस्मिन् I. 1. 57 S. 50) That being the case, न् will not be changed to झ : and so we could not et

the form राज्ञः ॥ But the lopādeśa is not sthānivat, because of the vārtika पूर्वत्रासिद्धे न स्थानिवत् (See Mahābhāṣya I. 1. 58 and Siddhānta VIII. 4. 1)

If it be said that the lopa rule is Bahiranga, because it takes place on account of the affix ज्ञत् which is out side; and the change of न् into ञ् is inside it, or antaranga; and therefore the lopa will be asiddha with regard to इचुत्त्व, then we reply that there is no relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga here. The Paribhāṣhā असिद्ध बहिरङ्ग &c. is derived from the Jñāpaka of बाह ऊढ (VI. 4. 132 S. 329.) which belongs to the VIth Adhyāya and consequently does not see the इचुत्त्व vidhi of the VIIIth Adhyāya (VIII. 4. 41 S. 111.) by the sūtra पूर्वत्रासिद्ध, and so there will be no antaranga Bhāva. This proceeds on the view of यथादेश Paksha.

३५३ । नलोपः सुप्स्वरसंज्ञातुग्विधिषु कृति । ८ । २ । २ ॥

सुग्विधौ स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ कृतितुग्विधा च नलोपोऽसिद्धो नान्यत्र । राजाश्च इत्यासौ । इत्य-
सिद्धत्वात्स्वमेस्वैमस्व च न । राजभ्याम् । राजभिः । राज्ञे । राजभ्यः । राज्ञः । राज्ञोः । राज्ञाम् । राज्ञि ।
राजनि । प्रतिशेष्यतीति प्रतिदिवा । प्रतिदिवानौ । प्रतिदिवानः । अस्य भविष्येऽङ्गपेकृते ॥

353. The elision of a final न् (VIII. 2. 7) is considered as if not to have taken effect, in applying the following rules ; (1) rules regarding case-endings, (2) rules regarding accents, (3) rules regarding any technical term of Grammar, and (4) rules regarding the augment त् before a Kṛit-affix.

The word विधि in the sūtra applies to all the four words preceding it : as सुब्रविधि, स्वरविधि &c. The force of the Genitive compound in स्वरविधि, संज्ञाविधि, तुग्विधि is that of ordaining the existence of something : e. g. when an accent is to be given to a word, or a particular designation is be given to it or when त् is to be added to it, (भावसाधन) ॥ The compound सुब्रविधि means however, the rule relating to the case-endings themselves, as well as, the rule which would apply to a word, when a case-ending follows (कर्मसाधन) ॥

(1) सुब्रविधिः—As राजभिः, तक्षभिः ॥ Here the elision of न् of राजन् and तक्षन् being asiddha, the भिस् is not changed to ऐस् by VII. 1. 9. S. 203. So also राजभ्याम्, तक्षभ्यां, राजसु, तक्षसु ॥ Here the finals of राज and तक्ष are not lengthened before भ्यां by सुपिच (VII. 3. 102 S. 202.) nor changed to ए before सु by (VII. 3. 103 S. 205) : as in नराभ्यां and नरेषु of the stem ending in अ ॥

The elision of न् taught by VIII. 2. 7 S. 236. would be asiddha by the general rule VIII. 2. 1 S. 12. the specification of the four cases in which it is asiddha shows that it is a restrictive or niyama rule. That is, the elision of न् is considered asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राजीयते (राजन् + ययच् + ते = राज + य + ते = राजीयते III. 1. 8. S. 2657 VII.

4. 33 S. 2658). There would not have been long ई had the नलोप been asiddha. So also राजायते there is lengthening, (VII. 4. 25 S. 2298,) and राजाश्च there is ekādeśa (VI. 1. 101 S. 85).

On the other hand, from the elision's not being regarded as having taken effect, there is neither prolongation of the vowel (VII. 3. 102 S. 202) nor the change of अ to ऐ (VII. 3. 103 S. 205). nor the substitution of ऐस् for भिस् (VII. 1. 9. S. 203).

Thus Instr : dual and Pl : are राजभ्याम् and राजभिः respectively. The Dative forms are राज्ञे, राजभ्याम्, राजभ्यः ; Abl : and Gen Sing : राज्ञः ; Gen : dual and Pl : राज्ञोः and राज्ञाम् respectively. Loc : Sg. राज्ञि or राजनि ॥

—:0:—

Now we take up the declension of प्रतिदिवन् ॥ This word is formed by the Unādi affix कनिन् (Unādi I. 156) added to the root प्रतिदिच् ' to shine.' It is declined as follows :—Nom: forms are प्रतिदिवा, प्रतिदिवानौ, प्रतिदिवानः ॥

In the Acc ; Pl :. the base being bha, the अ of दिवन् is elided (VI. 4. 134 S. 234) and then the following rule comes into operation.

३५४ । हलि च । ८ । २ । ७७ ॥

रेफवान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घः स्याद्धलि । न चाल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वम् । दीर्घविधौ तन्निषेधात् । बहिरङ्गपरिभाषा तूक्तन्यायेन न प्रवर्तते । प्रतिदीवन् । प्रतिदीवित्वादि । यज्वा । यज्वानौ । यज्वानः ॥

354. Of a root ending in र् or च्, the penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

The lengthening takes place here, the elision of अ is not considered here as sthānivat because of the prohibition in I. 1. 58 S. 57 with regard to दीर्घविधिः and so च् becomes penultimate.

Nor is this elision by VI. 4. 134. S. 234. a bahiranga and therefore asiddha, for the purposes of this rule which is an antaranga, for the reasons already given above under VIII. 2. 8. S. 352.

Thus Acc : Pl : is प्रतिदीवन् ॥ Instr: Sg. प्रतिदीव्ना &c.

—:0:—

Now we take up the declension of यज्वन् ॥ Its Nom : forms are यज्वा, यज्वानौ, यज्वानः ॥

But in Bha cases there will not be the elision of अ of अन् because of the following prohibition.

३५५ । न संयोगाद्धमन्तात् । ६ । ४ । १३७ ॥

वकारमकारान्तसंयोगात्परस्यानोऽकारस्य लोपो न स्यात् । यज्वनः । यज्वना । यज्वभ्यामित्यादि । ब्रह्मणः । ब्रह्मणा । ब्रह्मभ्यामित्यादि ॥

355. The **अ** in **अन्** is not elided when the Bha stem ends in **चन्** or **मन्** with a consonant preceding **व** or **म्** ॥

Thus Acc: Pl: यञ्वनः ॥ Instr: Sing and dual यञ्वना, यञ्वभ्याम् &c. Similar is the declension of ब्रह्मन् ॥ Nom. ब्रह्मा, ब्रह्माणौ, ब्रह्माणः, Acc. ब्रह्माणम्, ब्रह्माणौ, ब्रह्माणः; Ins. ब्रह्मणा, ब्रह्मभ्याम्, ब्रह्मभिः ॥

—:O:—

Now, we take up the declension of वृत्रहन् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies:—

३५६। इन् हन् पूषार्थेष्वां सौ । ६। ४। १२ ॥

एषां शाववोपधाया शीर्षो नान्त्वं । इति निषेधे प्राप्ते ॥

356. The penultimate vowel is lengthened only before the affix **शि** (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in **इन्**, or **हन्**, or **पूषन्** or **अर्यमन्** and nowhere else.

To this prohibition is the exception contained in the following sūtra.

३५७। सौ च । ६। ४। १३ ॥

इन्द्रादीनामुपधाया शीर्षः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सौ परे । वृत्रहा । हे वृत्रहन् । एका जुत्तरपदे इति णत्वम् । वृत्रहणौ । वृत्रहणः । वृत्रहणम् । वृत्रहणौ ॥

357. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in **इन्**, **हन्**, **पूषन्** or **अर्यमन्** are lengthened before the affix **सु** of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus वृत्रहा, ॥ The **न्** is elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In the Vocative singular we have हे वृत्रहन् ॥

The **न्** is changed to **ण** by VIII. 4. 12 S. 307. Thus we get the following forms N. D. वृत्रहणौ; N. Pl: वृत्रहणः, Acc: Sg. and Dual: वृत्रहणम् and वृत्रहणौ respectively.

In Acc: Pl: the **अ** of **हन्** is elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234 and the **ह** is changed to guttural by the following Sūtra.

३५८। होहन्तेर्जिणशेषु । ७। ३। ५४ ॥

अिति णिति च प्रत्यये नकारे च परे हन्तेर्हकारस्य कुत्वं स्यात् ॥

358. A guttural is substituted for the **ह** in **हन्** before an affix having an indicatory **ञ्**, or **ण्** and before **न्** ॥

The next Sūtra हन्तेरुत्पूर्वस्य is divided by the author into two parts. V12, first, हन्तेः and then औत्पूर्वस्य ॥

३५६ । हन्तेः । ङ । ४ । २२ ॥

उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य हन्तेर्नस्य णत्वं स्यात् । ग्रहण्यात् ॥

359. The न, in the root हन्, is changed to ण, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change.

As ग्रहण्यात् ॥ This requires the न् of वृत्रहन् to be changed to ण् । But to this the second half of the above Sūtra makes an exception.

३५९ क । अत्पूर्वस्य । ङ । ४ । २२ ॥

हन्तेरत्पूर्वस्यैव नस्य णत्वं नान्यस्य । प्रव्रजति । योगविभागसामर्थ्यादन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो चेति न्यायं बाधित्वा एकाजुत्तरपदे इति णत्वमपि निवर्त्यते । नकारे परे कुत्वविधिसामर्थ्यादलोपो न स्थानिवत् । वृत्रघ्नः । वृत्रघ्ना इत्यादि । यत्तु वृत्रघ्न इत्यादौ वैकल्पिकं णत्वं माधवेनोक्तं तद्वाग्यवार्तिकविरुद्धम् । एवं शाङ्गिन् यशस्विन्नर्थमनूपन् । यशस्विन्निति विन्प्रत्यये इतोऽनर्थकत्वेऽपि इन्हन्तित्यत्र ग्रहणं भवत्येव । अनिनस्मन्ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधि प्रयोजयन्तीति वचनात् । अयमणि । अयमणि । पूषणि पूषणि ॥

359 A. The न् of हन् is changed to ण् when it is preceded by short अ and in no other case, that is to say, when हन् retains the form हन् and not when the अ is elided and हन् assumes the form घ्न or when the अ is lengthened.

Thus प्रव्रजतिः ॥ This interpretation is given because it is possible to divide this Sūtra into two by the maxim योगविभागादिति सिद्धिः i. e. "from a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we are allowed to derive only such results as may be desirable."

Paribhāṣā :—"A rule, may it enjoin or forbid anything, either enjoins or forbids only that which is nearest to it in some other rule."

This maxim being set aside by the fact of the योगविभाग, the Sūtra VIII. 4. 12. S. 307. ordaining णत्वं also ceases. The elision of अ is not sthānivat because otherwise the ह will never be followed by न and so there will be no scope for Sūtra VII. 3. 54. S. 358. Thus Acc. Pl. is वृत्रघ्नः. Instr. Sing. : वृत्रघ्ना &c.

But the optional form वृत्रघ्णः with a cerebral ण instead of dental न्, according to the opinion of Mādhava is a mistake, because it is opposed to Kātyāyana and Patanjali. The न् is never changed to ण्.

The nouns शाङ्गिन्, यशस्विन्, अयमन्, पूषन् are similarly declined.

यशस्विन् is formed with the affix विन् and not इन्. The इन् portion in यशस्विन् has no meaning ; and so the rules VI. 4. 12. S. 356 and VI. 4. 13. S. 357. should not apply to it. However these rules are applied, in accordance with the following *Paribhāṣā*,

Paribhāṣā:—"Whenever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are taught in Grammar denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with these, there they represent these combination of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning".

Loc : Sing of अर्यमन् is अर्यमिण् or अर्यमाणि ॥

Loc. Sing of पूषन् is पूषिण् or पूषाणि ॥

—o—

Now, we take up the declension of मघवन्. In its declension, the following rule applies.

३६० । मघवा बहुलम् । ६ । ४ । १२८ ॥

मघवन्शब्दस्य वा तु इत्यन्तादेशः स्यात् । ऋ इत् ॥

360. तु is diversely substituted for the final of मघवन् ॥

ऋ of तु is इत्. And thus we get मघवत्.

Here applies the next Sūtra, showing the force of this indicatory ऋ,

३६१ । उगिद्वां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः । ७ । १ । ७० ॥

अधातोः उगितो नलोपिनोऽञ्चतेश्च नुमांगमः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे । उपधादीर्घः । मघवान् । इह द्विष्य कर्तव्ये संयोगान्तलोपस्यासिद्धत्वे न भवति बहुलग्रहणान् । तथा च श्वन्तुक्षत्रिति निपातनान्मवशादन्मतुषा च भाषायामपि शब्दद्वयसिद्धिमाश्रित्येतत् सूत्रं प्रत्यख्यातमाकरे । इविर्जिति निःशङ्का मखेषु मघवानसाविति भट्टिः । मघवन्तौ । मघवन्तः । हे मघवन् । मघवन्तम् । मघवन्तौ । मघवतः । मघवता । मघवद्भ्यानि-
त्यादि । तृत्वाभावे मघवा । छन्दसीवनिपौ चेति वानिवन्तं मध्योदात्तं छन्दस्येव, अन्तोदात्तं तु लोकेऽपी-
ति विशेषः । मघवानौ । मघवानः । सुदि राजवन् ॥

361. Whatever has an indicatory उ, ऋ and लृ, (with the exception of a root), and the stem अच्, (अञ्चति) get the augment नुम् in the strong cases.

Thus Nom : Sing. is मघवान्. The penultimate अ is lengthened by VI. 4. 14. S. 425. The affix च् is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. and the त is elided by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54.

The form being मघवन्, the elision of त् takes place by the Tripādi rule संयोगान्तस्य लोपः VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. and therefore this elision is not perceived by the दीर्घ rule of the Sixth Book of Pāṇini (i.e. VI. 4. 14. S. 425). The अ of वन् therefore not being penultimate will not be lengthened, as it is not lengthened in Verbal Nouns like कुर्वन् &c, where also the elision of त् is held to be asiddha. Why do we lengthen it in the case of मघवन्? Because of the word बहुलं in the last Sūtra VI. 4. 128 S. 360.

As this word मघवान् requires the help of बहुल to give us the proper form, the author of Mahâbhâshya has effected the formation of मघवान् by the Unâdi I. 159, and he has also assumed that the affix मतुप् will effect the same form when added to मघ in secular literature, and therefore he has in his commentary stated that the Sûtra मघवा बहुलं is a redundancy. The author of Bhatti Kāvya also uses the form in secular literature as:—*हाविर्जाक्षति निःशङ्को मखेषु मघवानसौ॥* "That Maghavân eats fearlessly the sacrificial offerings in the sacrifices."

The Nom : Dual and Pl. will be मघवन्तौ, मघवन्तः ॥

The Voc : Sing will be हे मघवन् ॥

The Acc. forms are मघवन्तम्, मघवन्तौ, मघवतः ॥

Instr : forms are मघवता, मघवद्भ्याम् &c.

When त् is not substituted for the final न् of मघवन्, then the Nom : Sing is मघवा ॥

Vârtika :—In the Chhandas, the affixes ई and वनिष् are added to nouns in the sense of मतुप् (See Sûtra V. 2. 122. S. 3498.) Therefore if the word मघवन् be formed with वनिष् added to मघ then the word मघवन् will have acute accent on the middle in the Chhandas alone, but in the secular literature it has acute accent on the final also. This is the difference, as मघवन्.

The Nom : Dual and Pl. are मघवानौ, मघवानः ॥

In the Sarvanâmasthâna affixes, मघवन्, without त् is declined like राजन्. Thus N. D. मघवानौ, N. Pl. मघवानः ; Acc. S. D. are मघवानम् and मघवानौ.

In forming the Acc. Pl. the following rule applies :—

३६२ । इवयुवमघोनामतद्धिते । ६ । ४ । १३३ ॥

अन्नन्तानां भसंज्ञकानामेषामतद्धिते परे संप्रसारणं स्यात् । संप्रसारणाच्च । आहुणः । मघोनः । अन्नन्तानां किम् । मघवतः । मघवता । स्त्रियां मघवती । अतद्धिते किम् । माघवनम् । मघोना । मघवद्भ्यामित्यादि । शुनः । शुना । श्वद्भ्यामित्यादि । युवन्शब्दे वस्योत्वे कृते ॥

362. The व of श्वन्, युवन् and मघवन् when ending in अन् becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus मघवन् + शस् = मघवअन् + शस् = मघवउन् + शस् (उ and अ become उ by VI. I. 108. S. 330) = मघौन् + शस् (अ and उ become ओ by VI. I. 87. S. 69) = मघोनः ॥

Why do we say 'when ending in अन्'? Observe Acc : Pl. मघवतः when the noun is मघवन् and not मघवन् ॥ In this case the Instr : Sg. is मघवता ॥

The feminine form of मघवन् is मघवती ॥ Why do we say 'not before a Taddhita affix'? Observe माघवनम् ॥

The Inst : Sg. and Dual of मघवन् are मघोना, मघवभ्यां &c. Similar is the declension of श्वन् ॥ Thus श्वनः (Acc. Pl.), श्वना (Instr : S.); श्वभ्याम् (Instr: Dual) &c.

Now we take up the declension of युवन् ॥

युवन्+शस्=यु+उ+न्+शस् ॥ Here the य of यु would also require to be vocalised. But this is prevented by the following Sūtra.

३६३ । न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् । ६ । १ । ३७ ॥

संप्रसारणे परतः पूर्वस्य यणः संप्रसारणं न स्यात् । इति यकारस्य नेत्वम् । अत एव ज्ञापकादन्तस्य यणः पूर्वं संप्रसारणम् । यूनः । यूना । युवभ्यामित्यादि । अर्वा । हे अर्वन् ॥

363. When a semivowel has been once vocalised, there is no vocalisation of the other semivowel that may precede it in the same word.

So य् of युवन् is not vocalised. Therefore, by the inference to be drawn from this rule, the final semivowel is vocalised.

Thus Acc : Pl : is यूनः ; Instr : Sg, and Dual are यूना, युवभ्य and so on.

*Note :—*Though the rule of vocalisation does not specify what particular semivowel is to be vocalised, yet according to the maxim that the operation is to be performed on the letter nearest to the operator, the second semivowel in the above cases is vocalised and the first is not, by force of this rule. Had the first semi-vowel been vocalised, then there would be no scope for this sūtra, because then no semi-vowel will be found *preceding* a vocalised letter. This sūtra is a jñapaka that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvriti of संप्रसारण was understood here, the repetition of this word shows that the prohibition of double vocalisation in the same word applies even when the semivowels are not contiguous. Thus by VI. 1. 133 there is vocalisation of the word युवन्, the व being changed to उ, the य is not changed as यूना ॥ It might be objected that when उ of यु, and उ the samprasârṇa of व coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long ऊ for the two उ's and this is sthânavat to the original, the य and व् of युवन् should be considered in fact as contiguous and not separated by an intervening letter, and therefore, the explanation given above does not hold good ; we reply. The substitution of one long vowel for two vowels, is not considered sthânavat (See I. 1. 58 S. 51). Even though it be considered as sthânavat, it is still a separating letter.

Now, we take up the declension of अर्वन् ॥ Its N. S. is अर्वा, Its Voc : S, is हे अर्वन्

In forming the N. D. and other cases the following rule applies.

३६४। अर्वण स्त्रसावनजः। ६। ४। १२७॥

नञ्मा रहितस्यार्वन्तस्याङ्गस्य तृ इत्यन्तादेशः स्यान्न तु सौ। उगित्वान्तुम्। अर्वन्तौ। अर्वन्तः। अर्वन्तम्। अर्वन्तौ। अर्वतः। अर्वता। अर्वद्भ्यामित्यादि। अनञ्मः किम्। अनर्वा ; यज्ववत् ॥

364. तृ (which is changed to न्त् in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in ई unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem अर्वन्, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is तृ, the ऋ is for the sake of making this affix an उगित्, so that in sarvanāmasthāna cases we have तुम् augment VII. 1. 70. S. 361. Thus अर्वन्तौ, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्तम्, अर्वन्तौ, अर्वतः, अर्वता, अर्वद्भ्याम्, &c.

Why do we say when not having the negative particle न? Observe अनर्वा (N. S). The rest of its declension is similar to that of यज्वत् ॥

In the declension of पथिन्, मथिन् &c. the following rules apply :—

३६५। पथिमथ्यृभुक्षामात्। ७। १। ८५॥

एषामाकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्सौ परे। आ आहिति प्रदलेषेण शुद्धाया एव व्यक्तेर्विधानान्नानुनासिकः ॥

365. आत् (आ) is substituted for the final of 'pathin', 'mathin' and 'rbhukshin', before the ending सु (of the Nom. Sg.)

Though the sthānin here is a nasal (i. e. न्), yet the substitute आ is not to be nasalised by the rule of nearness (I. 1. 50. 39) but to be pronounced purely for the आत् of the sūtra is really आ + आत्, indicating that pure आ is to be taken and not the nasal आँ ॥

३६६। इतोऽत्सर्वनामस्थाने। ७। १। ८६॥

पथ्यादेरिक्कारस्याऽकारः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे ॥

366. अ is substituted for the इ of 'pathin, mathin and rbhukshin,' in the strong cases.

Note :—Though the anuvṛitti of आत् was here, the separate mention of अत् is for the sake of VI. 4. 9.S. 3541. by which in the case of ऋभुक्षिन् we have two forms, ऋभुक्षाणम् and ऋभुक्षणम् ॥

३६७। योन्थः। ७। १। ८७॥

पथिमथोस्थस्य न्यादेशः स्यात् सर्वनामस्थाने परे। पन्थाः। पन्थानौ। पन्थानः। पन्थानम्। पन्थानौ ॥

367. न्य् is substituted for the थ् of pathin and mathin, in the strong cases.

Thus पन्याः, पन्यानी, पन्यानः, मन्याः, मन्यानी मन्यानः ॥

३६८ । भस्य डेलोपः । ७ । १ । ८८ ॥

भसञ्जकस्य पथ्यादेरेलोपः स्यात् । पयः । पया । पयिभ्यामित्यादि । एवं मन्याः । ऋभुक्षाः । स्त्रियां नान्तलक्षणे ङीप् भत्वाङ्लोपः । सुपथी । सुमथी नगरी । अनसुक्षी सेना ॥ आत्वं नपुंसके न भवति । न लुप्तंति प्रत्ययलक्षणनिषेधात् । सुपथि वनम् ॥ संबुद्धौ नपुंसकानां नलोपो वा वाच्यः * ॥ हे सुपथिन् । हे सुपथि । नलोपः सुभ्वरेति नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्भस्वस्य गुणो न । द्विवचने भत्वाङ्लोपः । सुपथी । शौ सर्वनामस्थानत्वात् सुपन्यानि । पुनरपि । सुपथी । सुपथी । सुपन्यानि । सुपथा । सुपथे । सुपथिभ्यामित्यादि ॥

368. The last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, is dropped in pathin, mathin, and rbhukshin, before an affix beginning with a vowel or थ् (before which the stem is called Bha I. 4. 18).

As पयः, पया, पथे, मयः, मया, मथे, ऋभुक्षः, ऋभुक्षा, ऋभुक्षे ॥

In the Feminine the affix ङीप् will be added by IV. 1. 5. as पथिन् + ङीप्, and the इन् is elided before the affix ङीप् by the present Sûtra. Thus सुपथी नगरी, and अनसुक्षी सेना.

In the Neuter, there is not lengthening of VII. 1. 85. S. 365. because the affix is elided by using the word लुक् (VII. 1. 43. S. 319) and therefore the affix सु leaves no trace behind by I. 1. 63. S. 263. Thus सुपथि वनम्. Thus सुपथिन् + हुं = सुपथिन् + O = सुपथि (The final न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

In the Vocative Sing. of the Neuter Noun सुपथिन्, the elision of न् is optional, according to the following Vârtika:—

Vârtika:—In the Voc. Singular of the Neuter nouns, the elision of final न् is optional.

Thus हे सुपथिन् or हे सुपथि.

The short इ of सुपथि is not gunated (as it is gunated in हे हरे) because of the prohibition contained in VIII. 2. 2. S. 353 by which the elision of न् is asiddha in the case of case-endings.

In the Nom : Dual, the base being bha, the टि portion of पथिन् is elided before the Dual affix वी. Thus सुपथी ॥

In the Nom : Pl. (सि) which is a Sarvanâmasthâna affix (I. 1. 42. S. 313) there is no elision and the rules VII. 1. 86 and 87 S. 367 and 368 apply and so we get the form सुपन्यानि ॥

The Acc : forms are the same as the Nominative ones, as सुपथि, सुपथी, सुपन्यानि ॥

The Instr : Sing : and Dual are सुपया, सुपयिभ्याम् ॥

The Dative Sing : is सुपये &c.

—o—

Now, we take up the declension of पञ्चन्. It is a षट् word by the following definition.

३६९ । षणान्ता षट् । १ । १ । २४ ॥

षान्ता नान्ता च संख्या षट्संज्ञा स्यात् ॥ षड्भ्यो लुक् ॥ पञ्च २ । संख्या किम् । विप्रुषः । पामानः । शतानि सहस्राणीत्यत्र संनिपातपरिभाषया न लुक् ॥ सर्वनामस्थानसंनिपातेन कृतस्य तुमस्तद्विघातकत्वात् । पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्यः २ । षट्चतुर्थश्चेति नुद् ॥

369. The Sankhyâs having ष or न as their final are called shat.

It is one of the peculiarities of षट् words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22. S. 261). Thus पञ्च पञ्च ॥

Why do we say संख्या ॥ Observe विप्रुषः and पामानः ॥

Note :—This sūtra defines the term षट् which is a subdivision of the larger group sankhyâ. Those Sankhyâs which end in ष or न् are called षट् ॥ The word sankhyâ is understood in this sūtra, because the word षणान्ता is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies sankhyâ which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न are six, namely पञ्चन् 'five,' षष् 'six,' सप्तन्, 'seven,' अष्टन् 'eight,' नवन् 'nine,' दशन् 'ten.'

The word षन्त in the sūtra shows that the letters ष and न must be aupadeśika i. e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in शतानि 'hundreds,' सहस्राणि 'thousands,' अष्टानाम् 'of eights' the न is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not षट् and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided; as शतान् + इ = शतानि &c.

In forming Nom : Pl : of शत we have शत + शि Then we add नुम् by VII. 1. 72. S. 314. Thus we get शतन् + शि । Here the word is a sankhyâ and ends in न् ॥ Why should not this शि be elided by VII. 1. 22. S. 261. This is not elided by the maxim संनिपात परिभाषा ॥ For the maxim, see VII. 1. 13. S. 204. Because it was the presence of शि that caused the insertion of न् and now this न् cannot cause the destruction of its originator. Thus we get शतानि ॥ सहस्राणि is also similarly formed.

The Instr, Dative and Acc : plurals are पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्यः, पञ्चभ्यः respectively.

The augment नुद् is added by VII. 55. S. 338 in forming the Gen. Pl: Then the following sūtra comes into operation.

३७० । नोपधायाः । ६ । ४ । ७ ॥

नान्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यान्नामि परे । नलोपः । पञ्चानाम् । पञ्चसु । परमपञ्च । परमपञ्चानाम् । गौणत्वे तु न लुगुदौ । म्रियपञ्चा । म्रियपञ्चानौ । म्रियपञ्चानः । म्रियपञ्चानम् ॥ एवं सप्तन् नवन् दशन् ॥

370. In a stem ending in न्, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पञ्चन् + नाम् (VII. 1. 55. S. 338) = पञ्चान् + नाम् (VI. 4. 7. S. 370.) = पञ्चानाम् (न् being elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

The Loc. Pl. is पञ्चसु. Similar is the declension of परमपञ्च. Thus N. Pl. परमपञ्च. Gen : Pl. is परम पञ्चानाम्.

When पञ्च is a secondary member of a compound, there is neither लृक् of Sūtra VII. 1. 22, S. 261, nor the लुङ् augment of VII. 1. 55. S. 338. Thus म्रियपञ्चन् is declined as Nom : म्रियपञ्चा, म्रियपञ्चानौ, म्रियपञ्चानः; Acc. म्रियपञ्चाम् ॥

Similar is the declension of सप्तन्, नवन् and दशन्. In the declension of अष्टन् the following rules apply.

३७१ । अष्टन आ विभक्तौ । ७ । २ । ८४ ॥

अष्टन आत्वं स्याज्जलादौ विभक्तौ ॥

371. आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a case-ending beginning with a consonant.

३७२ । अष्टाभ्य औश् । ७ । १ । २१ ॥

कृताकारादष्टनः पर्योजसशसोरौश् स्यात् । अष्टभ्य इति वक्तव्ये कृतात्वनिर्देशो जसशसोर्विषये आत्वं ज्ञापयति । वैकल्पिकं चेदमष्टन आत्वम् । अष्टनो दीर्घादिति सूत्रे दीर्घप्रहणाज्ज्ञापकात् । अष्टौ २ । परमाष्टौ । अष्टाभिः । अष्टाभ्यः २ । अष्टानाम् । अष्टासु । आत्वाभावे । अष्ट । अष्ट । इत्यादि पञ्चवत् । गौणत्वे स्वात्वाभाविराजवत् । शसि म्रियाष्टः । इह पूर्वस्मादपि विधावल्लोपस्य स्थानिषद्भावान्न दुत्वम् । कार्यकालपक्षे वहिरङ्गस्यालोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्वा । म्रियाष्टा इत्यादि । जसशसोरनुमीयमानमात्वं प्राधान्य एव न तु गौणतायाम् । तेन म्रियाष्टौ हलादिवै वैकल्पिकमात्वम् । म्रियाष्टाभ्याम् । म्रियाष्टाभिः । म्रियाष्टाभ्यः २ । म्रियाष्टासु ।

म्रियाष्टौ राजवत्सर्वे हाहावच्चापरं हलि ॥

भबभावः । जडत्वचत्वे । सुत् । सुद । बुधौ । बुधः । बुधा । सुद्रुषाम् । सुल्लु ॥

372. After the stem अष्टा (the form assumed by अष्टन् V11. 2. 84) औश् is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural.

Why have we taken the form अष्टा and not अष्ट ? Observe अष्ट तिष्ठन्ति, अष्ट पश्य ॥ This peculiar construction of the present sūtra (अष्टाभ्यः instead of अष्टभ्यः) indicates, that the आ substitution for the न् of अष्टन् takes place in Nom : and Acc. Plural ; and that it is also optional, which we infer from

the jñâpaka of VI. 1. 172, S. 3718. where the word दीर्घ indicates that there are two forms of अष्टन् ॥ This sūtra is, moreover, an exception by anticipation, to the sūtra VII. I. 22, S. 261. by which the plural Nom. and Acc. endings are elided after the numerals called षट् ॥ The elision of case-endings taught by II. 4. 71, S. 650, is not, however, barred by this rule ; the elision taught therein will take place, whether this rule applies or not. Thus अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टमायः ॥

Note :—The use of दीर्घात् in sūtra VI. 1. 172, S. 3718 indicates that the word अष्टन् has two forms, and the substitution of long आ taught in VII. 2. 84, S. 371. thus becomes *optional*, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word दीर्घात् would be useless, for by VII. 2. 84 which is couched in general terms, अष्टन् would *always* end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word दीर्घात्, namely, it makes the word अष्टान् with long आ (VII. 2. 84) to get also the designation of षट् ॥ For if अष्टान् was not to be called a षट्, like अष्टन्, then there would be scope to the present sūtra in the case of अष्टान् while it would be debarred in the case of अष्टन् without long आ, by the subsequent rule VI. 1. 180 which applies to षट् word, and hence the employment of the word दीर्घात् would become useless.

The regular declension is as follows :—

अष्टौ, अष्टौ, परमाष्टौ, अष्टाभिः, अष्टाभ्यः, अष्टाभ्यः, अष्टानाम्, अष्टासु ॥

When there is not the lengthening of अ of अष्टन्, that is when the base is not अष्टान् then we have अष्ट, अष्ट, *i. e.* अष्टन् is then declined like पञ्चन् ॥

When अष्टन् forms a secondary member in a compound, it is declined like राजन् ॥ Thus the Acc. Pl. : is म्रियाष्टनः ॥ The न is not changed to ण because the elided अ is considered as sthânavat, because of I. 1. 57, S. 50 where the word पूर्वविधि is explained as पूर्वस्माद्विधि ॥ And as here, because of the prior (पूर्व) letter ट, the subsequent letter न requires to be changed to ण, the elided अ becomes sthânavat and prevents the change.

Moreover the form may be evolved by following the maxim of कार्यकालपक्ष then the elision of अ of अष्टन् being considered as a bahiranga for the purposes of the antaranga rule of षट्त्वं (VII. 4. 41, S. 113) then also there will be no change.

Because the elision rule VI. 4. 134 applies to an operation brought about by an external cause like. जस् while the change of न् to ण is internal, therefore the latter is antaranga to the former, and does not perceive it.

So also Ins. S. म्रियाष्ट्वा &c.

The lengthening of अ in to आ which we have inferred in the case of अष्टन् before जस् and शस् (see above) is to take place then only when अष्टन् retains its primary sense and not when it is a secondary member in a Bahuvrîhi compound. As in the compound म्रियाष्टन् meaning "he who loves eight persons," the word अष्टन् is secondary, the principal word being the lover : there-

fore we do not get at all the lengthening of **अ** in **प्रियाष्टन्** before **जस्** and **शस्** ॥ While there will be *optional* lengthening before affixes beginning with consonants. As **प्रियाष्टाभ्यान्** or **प्रियाष्टभ्यां** ॥

Verse :—This word **प्रियाष्टन्** resembles **राजन्** in all the cases, except the cases beginning with a consonant where it resembles **हाह**. Before consonantal cases, the base is **प्रियाष्टा** ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **न्**.

————:o:————

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **घ्**.

Now we take up the declension of **बुध्**. It is formed by adding the affix **क्विप्** to the root **बुध्**. The **ब** is changed to **भ** by VIII. 2. 37. S. 326 ; then **घ** is changed to **ङ**, optionally to **त**, by **भलांजशोऽन्ते** (VIII. 2. 39. S. 84). Thus N. S. is **भुन्** or **भुद्** Nom. D. **भुधौ**. N. P. **भुधः** Ins. S. **भुधा**. Ins. D. **भुद्भ्याम्**. Loc. Pl. **भुत्सु**.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **घ्**.

————:o:————

Declension of Masculine nouns ending in **ञ्** ॥

Now we take up the declension of **युज्**. It is formed irregularly by adding the affix **क्विन्** to the root **युज्** by the following Sûtra.

३७३ । ऋत्विग्दधृक्लृक्दिगुष्णिगञ्चुयुजिक्कुञ्चं च । ३ । २ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यः क्विन् स्यात् । अलाक्षणिकमपि किञ्चित्कार्यं निपातनालभ्यते । निरूपपराद्युजेः क्विन् । क्वनवितौ ॥

373. The words **ऋत्विक्** 'a domestic priest', **दधृक्** 'impudent' **लृक्** 'a garland' **दिक्** 'a direction' and **उष्णिक्** 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix **क्विन्**; and so also after the verbs **अञ्चु** 'to worship', **युजि** 'to join' and **कुञ्च** 'to approach', the affix **क्विन्** is employed.

The affix **क्विन्** comes after the three roots **युज्**, **अञ्चु**, and **कुञ्च** ॥ Being read along with the above-mentioned five irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of **क्विन्** to these verbs.

The affix **क्विन्** comes after **युजिन्** and **कुञ्च** when these are uncombined.

Note:—Otherwise in combination the affix would be **क्विप्** (III. 2. 61. S. 2975). The difference between **क्विप्** and **क्विन्** is that the latter gives us the Nom. S. **युज्**; while the former will give us the N. S. **युक्** as in **अभ्ययुक्** ॥

Of the affix **क्विन्** the **क्** and **न्** are indicatory (**इत्**); the affix is really **व** ॥ This is a **कृत्** affix or the affix from which a nominal stem is formed directly from the verb. **कृत्** is defined in the following sūtra.

३७४ । कृदतिङ् । ३ । १ । ६३ ॥

संनिहिते धात्वधिकारे तिङ्भिन्नः प्रत्ययः कृत्संज्ञः स्यात् ॥

374. In this portion of the Sûtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत् ॥

The Kṛit affix वि is elided by the following sūtra.

३७५ । वेरपृक्तस्य । ६ । १ । ६७ ॥

अपृक्तस्य वस्य लोपः स्यात् । कृत्तद्धितेति प्रातिपदिकत्वात्स्वादयः ॥

375. There is elision of the affix वि when reduced to the single letter व् ॥

Note:—The affix वि includes क्विप्, क्विन्, ण्वि &c. In all these, the real affix is व्, which being an aprikta (I. 2. 41 S. 251), is elided. Thus ब्रह्महा, भूणहा (III. 2. 87 S. 2998). Here the affix क्विप् is elided. So also घृतस्पृक्, तैलस्पृक् (III. 2. 58. S. 432). Here the affix क्विन् is elided. So also अर्धभाक्, पादभाक्, तुरीभाक् (III. 2. 62 S. 2976). Here the affix ण्वि is elided.

Why do we say “of an aprikta—an affix consisting of a single letter”? Observe हविः formed by the affix क्विन् (वि being the real affix); so also जागृविः formed by क्विन्, see Uṇādi Sûtras IV. 53. 44. No root can become a noun unless some kṛit affix is added to it (see I. 2. 45 and 46); hence the necessity of these imaginary affixes, in order to raise certain roots bodily, without any change, to the rank of nouns—from Dhātu to a Prâtipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by I. 1. 62, they leave their characteristic mark behind, namely, the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus च्वि words are adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

The word युज् being a कृदन्त word gets the designation of Prâtipadika by I. 2. 46 S. 179 and therefore we add to it the case affixes सु &c. Thus N. S. युज्+सु ॥ At this stage comes the following sūtra for application.

३७६ । युजेरसमासे । ७ । १ । ७१

युजेः सर्वनामस्थाने नुम् स्यादसमासे । सुलोपः । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥

376. The nominal stem युज् gets before the strong cases the augment न्, when it does not stand in a compound.

Thus यु+न्+ञ्+स्=यु+न्+ञ्+O (the स् being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.)=यु+न्+O (the ञ् being elided by VIII. 2 23. S. 54).

Thus we get युन् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra.

३७७ । किन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः । ८ । २ । ६२ ॥

किन्प्रत्ययो यस्मात्तस्य कवर्गोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्पदान्ते । नस्य कुत्वेनानुनासिको ङकारः । युङ् । नभापदान्तस्येति नुमोऽनुस्वारः परसवर्णः । तस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चोः कुरिति कुत्वं न । युञ्जौ । युञ्जः । युञ्जम् । युञ्जौ । युजः । युजा । युग्भ्यामित्यादि । असमासे किम् ॥

377. A stem formed with the affix किन् under III. 2. 58 &c, substitutes, at the end of a word, a guttural for the final consonant.

Note :—The word पदस्य is understood here. The word किन्प्रत्यय is a Bahuvrīhi meaning 'that stem which has kvin as its affix.' For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As घृतस्पृक् (III. 2. 58), हलस्पृक्, मन्त्रस्पृक् ॥

The न् being changed to guttural, we get ङ् Thus युन् becomes युङ् (Nominative Singular).

In forming N. Dual the न् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. and this anusvāra is changed to ञ् being the nasal letter belonging to च varga. But the anusvāra as ordained by the subsequent Tripādi rule VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. is asiddha for the purposes of the application of VIII. 2. 30 S. 378 which required the anusvāra to be changed to guttural.

Thus युञ्जौ (N. D.). युञ्जः (N. Pl.) Acc : forms are युञ्जम्, युञ्जौ, युजः ; Instr: forms are युजा, युग्भ्याम् &c.

Why do we say असमासे in the sūtra VII. 1. 71. S. 376. Because in compounds like सुयुज्, there is no नुम् augment. In declining this word the following rule applies—

३७८ । चोः कुः । ८ । २ । ३० ॥

चवर्गस्य कवर्गः स्याङ्मात्रं पदान्ते च । इति कुत्वं । किन्प्रत्ययस्येति कुत्वंस्यासिद्धत्वात् । सुयुक् । सुयुग् । सुयुजौ । सुयुजः । युजैरिति धातुपाठपठितकारविशिष्टस्यानुकरणं न त्विका निर्देशः । सेनेह न । युज्यते समाधत्ते इति युक् । युज समाधौ देवादिक आत्मनेपदी । संयोगान्तलोपः । खन् । खञ्जौ । खञ्जः । इत्यादि । ब्रूयति षत्वम् । जद्वचत्वं । राद् । राङ् । राजौ । राजः । राद्सु । राद्सु । एवं विभ्राद् । हेवेद् । हेवेजौ । हेवेजः । विश्वसृद् । विश्वसृङ् । विश्वसजौ । विश्वसृजः । इह सृजियज्योः कुत्वं नेति क्लीबे वक्ष्यते । परिभृद् । षत्वविधौ राजिसाहचर्यात् दुभ्राङ् सीमाविति फणादिरेव गृह्यते । यस्तु एज्भ्रञ्भ्राङ्भ्राङ्माविति तस्य कुत्वेमेव । विभ्राक् । विभ्राग् । विभ्राग्भ्यामित्यादि ॥ परौ व्रजे षः पदान्ते * ॥ परावुपपदे व्रजेः किम् स्याद्दीर्घश्च पदान्तविषये षत्वं च । परित्यज्य सर्वे व्रजतीति परित्राद् । परित्राजौ । परित्राजः ॥

378. A Guttural is substituted for a Palatal, before a *jhal* letter or at the end of a word.

This requires the change of ज् to a guttural i. e. of क class. The कुत्वं ordained by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377 is asiddha or not perceived by the present Sūtra, which is antecedent to VIII. 2. 62. S. 377 in the order of enunciation

by Pāṇini. In the case of विश्वसृज् and देवेज्, the ज् is not changed to a letter of the क् class even when we take words to be formed by the affix क्तिन् under Sūtra VIII. 2. 62 S. 377. The reason for this we shall explain under Sūtra अहन् VIII. 2. 68. S. 443 in declining the Neuter noun.

Thus Nom : forms are सृयुक् or सृयुग्, सृयुजौ, सृयुजः ॥ In the Sūtra VII. 1. 71, S. 376, the root is exhibited as युजेः showing that that root of the Dhātupāṭha should be taken which ends in इ, viz. the root युजि् योगे, the 7th root of the रुधादि class. Therefore it does not apply to the root युज् समाधौ the 10th root of the इवाद् class and is Ātmanepadi. In the latter case, the form will be युक्

Now we take up the declension of खञ्ज्. It is derived from खजि 'to move' and 'to feel done up' by adding the affix क्तिप् ॥

The इ of खजि is elided because it is इत्, leaving behind खज् to which the augment लुप् is added by VII. 1. 58. S. 2262. Thus we get ख+लु+ज्. Then ज् is elided by VIII. 2. 23 S. 54. Thus we get खल्. In the N. S. the affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. Thus the N. S. remains as खल्. The N. Dual and Pl. are खञ्जौ and खञ्जः &c.

Now we take up the declension of राज्. By VIII. 2. 36. S. 294 the ज् of राज् is changed to ष्. Then the ष् is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. and VIII. 4. 56. S. 206. Then इ is changed to ह्. Thus we get N. S. राह् or राड्. The N. D. and Pl. are राजौ, राजः ॥ Loc. Pl. is राह्सु or राड्सु. Similarly is declined विभ्राज्. So also देवेज्. Its Nom. forms are देवेद्, देवेजा, देवेजः ॥ The Nom. forms of विश्वसृज् are विश्वसृद् or विश्वसृड्, विश्वसृजौ, विश्वसृजः ॥

With regard to सृज् and यज् there is not gutturalisation as will be further explained under Sūtra VIII. 2. 68. S. 443. The N. S. of परिसृज् is परिसृद् ॥

The word विभ्राज् given above is formed from that root भ्राज् which belongs to कणादि subdivision of भ्रादि gaṇa, i. e. the root डुभ्राज् 'to shine' भ्रादि 875. and not the root भ्राज् number 20 of the भ्रादि where it is exhibited भ्राजि दीप्तौ. This we do, because the root भ्राज् is read along with root राज् in the कणादि subdivision; and as the VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. mentions राज् and भ्राज् together, the भ्राज् here should be taken as the भ्राज् of the कणादि class, where also both are enunciated together and not the other भ्राज् which is shown along with एज्, भेज् and भ्राज्, (Dhātupāṭha भ्रादि 193, 194 and 195). In the case of this भ्राज् there will be कुत्वं and not षत्वं. Thus N. S. is विभ्राक् or विभ्राग्. Instr. D. विभ्राग्भ्यां &c.

Vārtika. When व्रज् is preceded by upapada परि there comes the affix क्तिप् and the व्र is lengthened and ज् is changed to ष् when it is final in a Pada. Thus N. S. of परिव्राज् is परिव्राड् which means one who has gone out leaving every thing. The N. Dual and Pl. are परिव्राजौ and परिव्राजः respectively.

Now, we take up the declension of विद्वराज्. In its declension, the following rule applies:—

३७९ । विश्वस्य वसुवराजोः । ६ । ३ । १२८ ॥

विश्वराजस्य दीर्घः स्याद्वसौ राट्शब्दे च परे । विश्वं वसु यस्य स विश्वावसुः । राडिति परान्तोप-
लक्षणार्थम् । चर्त्तमविवक्षितम् । विश्वाराट् । विश्वाराड् । विश्वराजौ । विश्वराजः । विश्वाराड्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

379. The final vowel of विद्व is lengthened before वसु and राट् (the form assumed by राज्)

Thus विद्वावसुः, i. e. one whose wealth is the whole universe. The rule applies to the राट् form of राज् in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form : as विश्वराजौ, विश्वराजः ॥

The राट् is taken in the Sûtra only as an illustration of its Padânta form. It does not mean that the form विद्वाराड् is not valid. Thus N. S. has both forms, i. e., विद्वाराट् and विद्वाराड्.

—————:o:—————

Now, we take up the declension of भ्रज्. In its declension the following rule applies.

३८० । स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च । ८ । २ । २६ ॥

पदान्ते भ्राति च परे यः संयोगस्तदाद्योः संकारककारयोर्लोपः स्यात् । भृद् । भृङ् । सस्य इत्युत्वेन
शः । तस्य जइवेन जः । भृजौ । भृजः । ऋत्विगित्यादिना ऋतावुपपदे यजेः क्तिन् । क्तिन्नन्त्वात्कुत्वम् ।
ऋत्विक् । ऋत्विग् । ऋत्विजौ । ऋत्विजः । रास्सस्येति नियमान्न संयोगान्तलोपः । ऊर्क् । ऊर्ग । ऊर्जौ ।
ऊर्जः । लयाद्यत्वं पररूपत्वं च ॥

380. The स् or क्, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped before a jhal affix and at the end of a word.

Thus to the root भ्रज् we add the affix क्तिप् and the र is vocalised into ऋ by VI. 1. 16. S. 2412. and then the स् being elided by the present Sûtra, ङ् is changed into ञ् by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. which is again changed into द् or ड् as in the case of राट् already shown above under VIII. 2. 30. S. 378. Thus N. S. is भृद् or भृङ्.

In forming N. Dual, the स् is changed to ञ् by VIII. 4. 40. S. III. This ञ् is again changed to ङ् by VIII. 4. 53. S. 52. Thus N. D. is भृङ्जौ. N. Pl. is भृङ्जः.

Now we take up the declension of ऋत्विज्. This word is irregularly formed by adding the affix क्तिन् to the root यज् with the upapada (subsidiary term) ऋतु in combination. (See III. 2. 59. S. 373). The क्तिन् formed word is finally changed to guttural by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. Thus the N. S. is ऋत्विक् or ऋत्विग्. N. D. and Plural ऋत्विजौ and ऋत्विजः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of ऊर्ज्. By Sûtra VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. no consonant after ॠ is elided except स्. Therefore ज् is not elided, though it is the final of a conjunct consonant.

Though the final स् would have been elided even after ॠ by VIII. 2. 23, the special mention of स् after ॠ shows, that this is a niyama rule. So that any other letter than स् following after ॠ will not be dropped. Thus ऊर्ज् from ऊर्ज् + क्तिप् (III. 2. 177 S. 3157), here ज् is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII. 2. 30. S. 378. and to क् by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206 Thus N. S. is ऊर्ज् or ऊर्जे. N. D. and Pl. are ऊर्जौ and ऊर्जः ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ॠ.

—:o:—

There are no Masculine nouns ending in ॡ, ॢ or ॣ.

We take up now the declension of ल्यद्. The ॡ of ल्यद् is replaced by ॡ by VII. 2. 102. S. 265. and then there is the substitution of the form of the subsequent by VI. 1. 97. S. 191. Thus we get the base ल्य before the case affixes.

In forming the Nom. Sing. the following rule applies :—

३८१ । तदोः सः सावनन्ययोः । ७ । २ । १०६ ॥

ल्यद्दीनां तकारश्चकारयोरनन्ययोः सः स्यात्सौ परे । स्यः । ल्यौ । ल्ये । ल्यम् । ल्यौ । ल्याम् । सः । सौ । ने । परमसः । परमतौ । परमते । द्विपर्यन्तानामित्येव । नेह । स्वम् । नञ् तकारोच्चारणसामर्थ्यामेति वाच्यम्, अतिस्वमिति गौणे चरितार्थत्वात् ॥ संज्ञायां गौणत्वे चात्वसत्त्वेन । ल्यद् । ल्यदौ । ल्यदः । अतिल्यद् । अतिल्यदौ । अतिल्यदः । अः । यौ । ये । एषः । एतौ । एते । अन्वादेशे तु, एनम् । एनौ । एनान् । एनेन । एनयोः २ ॥

381. For the non-final त् and द् of ल्यद् &c. there is substituted स in the Nominative Singular.

As ल्यद् + सु = ल्य + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = स्य + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = स्यः (VI. 1. 97). Similarly सः from तद्, एषः from एतद् as एतद् + सु = एत + अ + सु (VII. 2. 102) = एत + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = एषः (VI. 1. 97). So असौ from अस् by the sûtra, VII. 2. 107. Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे से, सा ॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69. S. 193.

This rule only applies to ल्यद्दी words, which as we have already shown, begin with ल्यद् and end with द्वि in the list of sarvanāmas. Therefore this will not apply to स्वम् which is not included in the ल्यद्दी class.

Nor should it be stated that "this rule could not have applied to the त् of स्वे, for if it did so, what was the necessity of teaching स्वे substitution in the place of ल्यम् by VII. 2. 94 S. 384. That sûtra could have been made as स्वाहो सो instead of स्वाहोसौ for it would have been better to say at once let स्वम् be

the N. S. of युष्मद्, instead of first making it स्वस् and then changing the form into स्वं ॥ To this argument we reply, that the rule of स्वं substitution will find its unrestricted scope in words like अस्तिस्वस्, where स्वस् is a secondary member only. In the case of त्वस् the present rule would have applied. When these words i. e. त्वद् &c. are used as proper nouns or sanjñās (संज्ञा) or when used as secondary members of a compound, the rules of अस्त्व VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and सत्त्व VII. 2. 106 S. 381. will not apply because they are sarvanāmas, for see explanation under sūtra I. 1. 29. S. 222. Thus त्वद्, त्वसौ, त्वद् ; अस्तिस्वद्, अस्तिस्वसौ अस्तिस्वद् &c.

The pronoun यद् is declined as यः, यौ, ये ॥ एतद् is declined as एषः, एतौ, एते ॥

In re-employment or अन्वदिश for which, see II. 4. 34. S. 351. we have Acc. forms एनस्, एनौ, एनास्, Instr. Sg. एनेन; Genitive and Loc : Dual एनबोः ॥

—————:O:—————

Now we take up the declension of युष्मद् and अस्मद्. In its declension, the following rules apply :—

३८२ । डे प्रथमयोस्म् । ७ । १ । २८ ॥

युष्मदस्मद्व्यां परस्य डे इत्येतस्य प्रथमाद्वितीययोश्चामादेशः स्यात् ॥

382. अस् is substituted for the Dative case-affix ए and for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative in all numbers, after the stems युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Note :—The डे the ending of the Dative is exhibited anomalously in the sūtra without any case ending (compare VII. 1. 13, डेः) प्रथमयोः means 'of the first and second cases.' Thus युष्मद् + डे = तुभ्यद् + डे (VII. 2. 95) = तुभ्य + डे (VII. 2. 90) = तुभ्य + अस् VII. 1. 28) = तुभ्यस् (VII. 1. 107 or 97); similarly मम्यम् ॥

Then the rule after the following applies, to understand which the following rule is necessary.

३८३ । मपर्यन्तस्य । ७ । २ । ६१ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

383. The substitutions taught hereafter upto VII. 2. 98 take effect with regard to the portions of युष्मद् and अस्मद् upto स्, i. e. the substitutes replace युष्म and अस्म ॥

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra and exerts governing influence on all the seven subsequent sūtras in the order of Aṣṭādhyāyī.

३८४ । त्वाहौ सौ । ७ । २ । ६४ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य त्व अह इत्येतावादेशौ स्तः सौ परे ॥

384. In the Nominative Singular त्व is substituted for युष्म and अह for अस्म ॥

३८५ । शेषे लोपः । ७ । २ । ६० ॥

आत्वयवनिमित्तेतरविभक्तौ परतो युष्मदस्मदोरन्त्यस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥ अतो गुणे ॥ अमि पूर्वः ॥ त्वम् । अहम् । ननु त्वं स्त्री अहं स्त्री इत्यत्र त्वं अम् अहं अम् इति स्थिते अमि पूर्वरूपं परमपि बाधित्वाऽन्तरङ्गत्वाद्वाप् प्राप्नोति । सत्यम् । अलिङ्गे युष्मदस्मदी ॥ तेन स्त्रीत्वाभावात् दाप् । यद्वा । शेष इति सप्तमी स्थानिनोऽधिकरणत्वविवक्षया ॥ तेन मपर्यन्ताच्छेषस्य अद् इत्यस्य लोपः । स च परोऽप्यन्तरङ्गे अतो गुणे कृते प्रवर्तते । अदन्तत्वाभावात् दाप् । परमत्वम् । परमाहम् । अतित्वम् । अत्यहम् ॥

385. In the remaining cases where (आ or य is not substituted by VII. 2. 88. and 89. S. 387, 392.) there is elision of the final of yushmad and asmad.

Thus युष्मद् + सु = युष्मद् + अम् (VII. I. 28 S. 342) = त्वद् (VII. 2. 94. S. 384) + अम् = त्व + अम् (इ is elided by the present sūtra) = त्वम् (by VI. I. 97. S. 191. and VI. I. 107. S. 194). Similarly, the N. S. of अस्मद् is अहम् ॥

Why is not दाप् added in the feminine in ' त्वम् स्त्री ' ' अहम् स्त्री ' for त्व + अम् and अह + अम् the pūrvarūpa rule ordained by VI. I. 97. S. 191 and VI. I. 107. S. 194. though subsequent, is after all bahiranga, and would be set aside by the antaranga rule ordaining दाप् to be added to त्व and अह?

True. But युष्मद् and अस्मद् have no genders and therefore they have no feminine forms and consequently would not give occasion to the addition of the affix दाप्.

Or, in order to avoid all this difficulty about दाप् some would elide the अद् (or दि portion) of युष्मद् and अस्मद् under this sūtra. They argue that by the previous sūtra VII. 2. 91. S. 383 the portions 'yushm' and 'asm', namely the portions upto म् of युष्मद् and अस्मद् are replaced by substitutes. The portion that remains (शेष) is अद्, and it is this अद् which is to be elided.

According to their view, the word शेष does not refer to the vibhakti or case affix, but the force of Locative in शेषे is that of a genitive, meaning "of the शेष (remaining)" and to point out the particular स्थानि which is to be replaced. Therefore in युष्मद् and अस्मद्, the युष्म and अस्म portions have been already operated upon by other rules, the शेष that remains is अद् portion. In this view, the Sūtra should be translated as "in the remaining cases (i. e. where आ is not substituted as by VII. 2. 88. S. 387, nor य् as by VII. 2. 89 S. 392. there is elision of the remaining (अद्) portion (I. I. 64. S. 79) of these two (युष्मद् and अस्मद्)"

In the feminine, there is one more point to be considered even in the light of the second explanation. In युष्मत् + अम् = त्व + अत् + अम् if we follow the ordinary rule of विप्रतिषेध then अत् should be elided first by शेषे लोपः then should apply the rule of अतो गुणे if at all. Then the form will be त्व + अम् ॥ Here त्व ends with म्, and so would require दाप् in the feminine, and the same difficulty

again recurs. To clear up this point, we state that the rule of elision (शेष लोपः) is bahiranga, because its efficient cause lies outside in the affix अम् while the अतो गुणे rule is antarangā, because the occasion for its application or the efficient cause is *within* the very form स्व + अत्. Therefore अतो गुणे will apply first, we get स्वत् + अम्. Then अम् produces its effect ३. २. अत् is elided, and we get स्व + अम् ॥ As there is no अ in स्व, it would not require दाप् ॥ Thus we get स्वम् in the feminine also.

So also परमस्वम्, परमाहम्, अतिस्वम् and अत्यहम्. In forming the N. Dual, the following rules apply.

३८६। युवावौ द्विवचने। ७। २। ९२ ॥

इयोरुक्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्नपर्यन्तस्य युवावौ स्तो विभक्तौ ॥

386. युव is substituted for युष्म and आव for अस्म, when the bases themselves denote duality.

३८७। प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने भाषायाम्। ७। २। ८८ ॥

इह युष्मदस्मदोराकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात् । औडीत्येव सुवचम् । भाषायां किम् । युवं वस्त्राणि । युवाम् । आवाम् । नपर्यन्तस्य किम् । साकचकस्य मा भूत् । युवकाम् । आवकाम् । त्वया मयेत्यत्र त्वया न्येति मा भूत् । युवकाभ्यामावकाभ्यामिति च न सिद्धयेत् ॥

387. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the ending of the Nom. Du. in the spoken language.

As युवाम्, आवाम् ॥ It would have been better had the Sūtra been enunciated as “औडि.” only. Why in the “spoken language”? Observe युवं वस्त्राणि पीवसा वसाये in the Veda, so also आवाम् ॥

Why ‘upto न्’? Observe युवकाम्, आवकाम् ॥ The क (V. 3. 71 S. 2026), is not replaced. Similarly VII. 2. 97 S. 389. teaches that स्व and न replace ‘yushmad’ and ‘asmad’ in the singular; by the sūtra VII. 2. 91. S. 383. ‘yushm’ and ‘asm’ are only replaced. Thus त्वया, मया the अद् portion remains for which य is substituted by VII. 2. 89. S. 392. Had the whole been replaced, then the अ of स्व and न would have been replaced by य (VII. 2. 89 S. 392), and given us undesired forms like त्वया and मया ॥ Similarly the forms युवकाभ्याम् and आवकाभ्याम् would not have been evolved.

In forming the N. Pl. the following rule applies.

३८८। यूयवयौ जासि। ७। २। ८३ ॥

स्पष्टम् । यूयम् । वयम् । परमयूयम् । परमवयम् । आतियूयम् । अतिवयम् । इह शेषे लोपोऽन्यलोप इति पक्षः, जसः शीः प्राप्तः । अङ्गकार्ये कृते पुनर्नाङ्गकार्यमिति न भवति । ऊं प्रथमयोरित्यत्र मकारान्तरं प्राश्लष्य अम् मान्त एवावीशष्यते ननु विक्रियत इति व्याख्यानाद्वा ॥

388. In the Nom. Pl. यूय् is substituted for युष्म, and वय् for अस्म ॥

Thus यूयम्, वयम्, परमयूयम्, परमवयम्, अतियूयम्, अतिवयम् ॥

Now some one may object that जस् (Nom. Pl) should be changed into जी (VII. 1. 17. S. 214); after त् in युष्मत् has been elided by शेषे लोपः in the first sense; for then the base is युष्म which ends in म् which is the efficient cause for the application of जस्: जी rule. To this we reply, that the following maxim prevents this incongruity:—

Maxim:—If one sūtra of the Angādhikāra (VI. 4. 1. to VII. 4. end) has once been applied, another sūtra of the same Adhikāra is not subsequently applicable.

Therefore जस् is not replaced by जी. Or we may say that in the sūtra के प्रथमयोरम् (VII. 1. 28 S. 382) one more म् is understood, i. e. the sūtra is के प्रथमयोरम्म्, which म् indicates that अम् will not be changed into any other form, but will remain always as अम् ending in म्.

३८६ । त्वमावेकवचने । ७ । २ । १७ ॥

एकस्थोक्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य त्वमौ स्तो विभक्तौ ॥

389. त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म when the bases themselves denote a singular expression.

३८७ । द्वितीयायां च । ७ । २ । ८७ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरामकारः स्यात् । त्वाम् । माम् । युवाम् । आवाम् ॥

390. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the endings of the Accusative.

As त्वाम्, माम्, युवाम्, आवाम् ॥

३९१ । शसो न । ७ । १ । २६ ॥

नेत्याविभक्तिकम् । युष्मदस्मदभ्यां परस्य शसो नकारः स्यात् । अनोऽपवादः । आदिः परस्य । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । युष्मान् । अस्मान् ॥

391. न् is substituted for the अ of अस् the affix of the Accusative Plural after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

न् has been exhibited in the sūtra without any case affix. Thus युष्मत् + अस् = युष्म + न्स् = युष्मा + न् (the स् is elided by संयोगान्तस्य लोपः VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. and अ is lengthened by VII. 2. 87 S. 390.) The substitute न् replaces the initial अ of अस् on the maxim आदिः परस्य I. 1. 54. S. 44. because the operation is ordained after युष्मद्. Thus युष्मान् and अस्मान् ॥ This debars अम् (VII. 1. 28. S. 382.)

३९२ । योऽचि । ७ । २ । ८६ ॥

अनयोर्थकारादेशः स्यादनादेशोऽज्ञासौ परतः । त्वया । मया ॥

392. य is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, which is not a substitute, and which begins with a vowel.

Thus त्वया, मया, त्वयि, मयि. युवयोः, आवयोः ॥

३९३ । युष्मदस्मदोरनादेशे । ७ । २ । ८६ ॥

अनयोर्कारः स्यादनादेशे इलासौ विभक्तौ । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् । युष्माभिः । अस्माभिः ॥

393. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, beginning with a consonant, when it is not a substitute.

The substitute case-endings are given in VII. 1. 27—33. S. 399 &c. Thus युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्, युष्माभिः, अस्माभिः ॥

३९४ । तुभ्यमह्यौ डयि । ७ । २ । ९५ ॥

अनयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तुभ्यमह्यौ स्तो डयि । अमादेशः । शेषे लोपः । तुभ्यम् । मह्यम् । परमतुभ्यम् । परमतुभ्यम् । अतितुभ्यम् । अतिमह्यम् । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

394. In the Dative Singular तुभ्य is substituted for युष्म and मह्य for अस्म ॥

The affix अम् is substituted for डे by VII. 1. 28. S. 382. the त् is elided by VII. 2. 90. S. 385.

Thus तुभ्यम्, मह्यम्, परमतुभ्यम्, परमतुभ्यम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमह्यम्, युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम् ॥

३९५ । भ्यसोभ्यम् । ७ । १ । ३० ॥

भ्यसो भ्यम् अभ्यम् वा आदेशः स्यात् । आद्यः शेषे लोपस्यान्त्यलोपत्व एव । तच्चाङ्गवृत्तपरिभाषया एत्वं न । अभ्यम् तु पक्षाद्व्येऽपि साधुः । युष्मभ्यम् । अस्मभ्यम् ॥

395. भ्यम् or अभ्यम् is substituted for the Dative भ्यस् after 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

As युष्मभ्यम् and अस्मभ्यम् ॥ As the sūtra is constructed (भ्यसो भ्यम्) it is not easy to say whether the substitute is भ्यम् or अभ्यम् ॥ If it is भ्यम्, then we have two cases, (1) eliding the final द् of yushmad and asmad, by VII. 2. 90. S. 385 and adding भ्यम् (2) eliding अद् of yushmad and asmad by VII. 2. 90, and adding भ्यम् ॥ It has been already shown in S. 385 that VII. 2. 90, is capable of two explanations, one by which yushmad and asmad lose their द् only, and by another अद् ॥ Similarly with अभ्यम् we have also two cases, Thus we have four cases.

as (1) yushma + bhyam, (2) yushm + bhyam, (3) yushma + abhyam, (4) yushm + abhyam. In the case of the first (yushma + bhyam) we can get the proper form, though it may be objected that yushma + bhyam should be equal to युष्मभ्यम् by VII. 3. 103.S. 205. This इ substitution will not take place, however, by force of the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्ताविविधि निर्दिष्टितस्य "when an operation which is taught in the angādhikāra has taken place, and another operation of the angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place."

The second case is an impossibility, namely, yushm + bhyam can give us no form. The third case yushma + abhyam will give us the proper form युष्मभ्यम् (अ + भ = अभ by VI. 1. 97 S. 191). Moreover the accent also will be on the middle युष्मभ्यम् by VI. 1. 161, the udātta अ of yushma being elided by the anudātta अ of अभ्यम्, the acute will be on the anudātta अ ॥ It should not be objected that in VI. 1. 161, the word अन्त of VI. 1. 159 S. 3680 is understood, and the accent will be on the final. We shall show in that sūtra, that the udātta will fall on the आदि (beginning) of the anudātta term which causes the elision. The fourth alternative yushm + abhyam is free from all objections.

३९६ । एकवचनस्य च । ७ । १ । ३२ ॥

आभ्यां पञ्चम्येकवचनस्य अत्स्यात् । त्वत् । मत् । ङसेश्चेति सुवचम् । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

396. This substitution of अत् is made in the singular number also of the Ablative, after yushmad and asmad.

As त्वद् and मद् ॥ For the substitution of त्व and म see VII. 2. 97 ; S. 389. and त्व and म + अत् = त्वत् and मत् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

It would have been better to have enunciated the Sutra as 'ङसेश्च.'

Abl. Dual युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्.

३९७ । पञ्चम्या अत् । ७ । २ । ३१ ॥

आभ्यां पञ्चम्या भ्यसोऽत्स्यात् । युष्मत् । अस्मत् ॥

397. अत् is substituted for the Ablative भ्यस, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मत्, अस्मत् ॥ The इ is elided by VII. 2. 90. S. 385 before the case ending भ्यस and युष्म + अत् = युष्मत् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

३९८ । तवममौ ङसि । ७ । २ । ९६ ॥

अनयोर्मपर्थन्तस्य तवममौ स्तो ङसि ॥

398. In the Genitive Singular तव is substituted for युष्म and मम for अस्म ॥

३६६ । युष्मद्स्मद्भ्यां ङसांश्च । ७ । १ । २७ ॥

स्पष्टम् । तव । मम । युवयोः । भावयोः ॥

399. अश् (I. 1. 55), is substituted for the Genitive ending अस् after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Thus तव and मम ; युवयोः, भावयोः ॥

The indicatory श् of अश् shows that by I. 1. 55, S. 45 the *whole* of the affix अस् is to be replaced: otherwise it would have replaced only the first letter of the affix; and the affix not being a substitute-affix, rule VII. 2. 89 S. 392 would not be applicable to it. The तव is substituted for युष्मद्, and मम for अस्मद् by VII. 2. 96 S. 398 and तव + अ (अश्), and मम् + अ = तव and मम् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

४०० । साम आकम् । ७ । १ । ३३ ॥

आभ्यां परस्य साम आकं स्यात् । भाविनः सुदो निवृत्त्यर्थं ससुदकनिर्देशः । युष्माकम् । अस्माकम् । स्वयि । नयि । युवयोः । भावयोः । युष्मासु । अस्मासु ॥

समस्यमाने द्व्येकत्ववाचिनी युष्मदस्मदी । समासार्थोऽन्यसंख्यश्वेस्ततो युवावौ स्वमावपि ॥ १

सुजस्ङेङस्तु परत आदेशाः स्युः सदैव ते । त्वाहौश्रयवयौ तुभ्यमहौ तवममावपि ॥ २ ॥

एते परत्वाद्वाधन्ते युवावौ विषये स्वके । स्वमावपि प्रबाधन्ते पुर्वविप्रतिषेधतः ॥ ३ ॥

द्व्येकसंख्यः समासार्थो बह्वर्थे युष्मदस्मदी ॥ तयोरद्व्येकतार्थत्वात् युवावौ त्वमौ च न ॥ ४ ॥

त्वां मां वा अतिक्रान्त इति विग्रहे । अतित्वम् । अत्यहम् । अतित्वाम् । अतिमाम् । अतियूयम् । अतियवम् । अतित्वाम् । अतिमाम् । अतित्वान् । अतिमान् । अतित्वया । अतिमया । अतित्वाभ्याम् । अतिमाभ्याम् । अतित्वाभिः । अतिमाभिः । अतितुभ्यम् । अतिमह्यम् । अतित्वाभ्याम् । अतिमाभ्याम् । अतित्वभ्यम् । अतिमभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसोः । अतित्वत् २ । अतिमत् २ । भ्यामि प्राग्वत् । अतितव । अतिमम । अतित्वयोः । अतिमयोः । अतित्वाकम् । अतिमाकम् । अतित्वयि । अतिमयि । अतित्वयोः । अतिमयोः । अतित्वासु । अतिमासु ।

युवाम्, आवां वा अतिक्रान्त इति विग्रहे सुजस्ङेङस्तु प्राग्वत् । औभम् औहसु । अतियुवाम् । ३ । अत्यावाम् । ३ । अतियुवान् । अत्यावान् । अतियुवया । अत्यावया । अतियुवाभ्याम् । ३ । अत्यावाभ्याम् । ३ । अतियुवाभिः । अत्यावाभिः । भ्यासि । अतियुवभ्यम् । अत्यावभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसोः । अतियुवत् २ । अत्यावत् २ । ओसि । अतियुवयोः २ । अत्यावयोः २ । अतियुवाकम् । अत्यावाकम् । अतियुवयि । अत्यावयि । अतियुवासु । अत्यावासु ।

युष्मानस्मान्नेति विग्रहे सुजस्ङेङस्तु प्राग्वत् । औभम् औहसु । अतियुष्माम् । ३ । अत्यस्माम् । ३ । अतियुष्मान् । अत्यस्मान् । अतियुष्मया । अत्यस्मया । अतियुष्माभ्याम् । ३ । अत्यस्माभ्याम् । ३ । अतियुष्माभिः । अत्यस्माभिः । भ्यासि । अतियुष्मभ्यम् । अत्यस्मभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसोः । अतियुष्मत् । अत्यस्मत् । ओसि । अतियुष्मयोः २ । अत्यस्मयोः २ । अतियुष्माकम् । अत्यस्माकम् । अतियुष्मयि । अत्यस्मयि । अतियुष्मासु । अत्यस्मासु ॥

400. आकम् is substituted for the Genitive plural affix साम (VII. 1. 52 S. 217.), after yushmad, and asmad.

साम् is the affix आम् of the Genitive plural with the augment स ॥ Thus युष्माकम् and अस्माकम् ॥ Why is it read साम् and not आम्, when there is no स

at the time when the substitution is ordained? It is read as साम् in order to indicate that आकस् will not get the augment स्, for otherwise 'yushma' and 'asma' having lost their 'd' by VII. 2. 90, S. 385 end in अ, and so by VII. 1. 52, S. 217 would cause the genitive affix to get the augment स; the present Sûtra removes that also. The substitute is exhibited with a long आ, in order to make अ + आ = आ in युष्म + आकस्, had it been short अ, then there would have been no lengthening, but अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97. S. 191. If you say 'the very fact that अकस् was taught and not कस्, would prevent para-rûpa and cause lengthening'; we reply, that the अ of अकस् would find its scope in preventing ए substitution. For without अ, we should have युष्म + कस् = युष्मेकस् (VII. 3. 103 S. 205).

Why has Pânini used the form सामः and not आमः? The objector may say there was no necessity of using सामः for the following reason :—युष्मत् + आम as the base युष्मत् ends in a consonant, the sûtra आनि सर्वनामः सुद् (VII. 1. 52 S. 217) cannot apply here, as its efficient cause (i. e. an anga ending in a vowel) is absent. We reply to this, that after the elision of त् by शेषे लोपः, (VII. 2. 90. S. 385) the सुद् will come, because then the base ends in a vowel. To remove that स, Pânini has stated सामः आकस् ॥

But when the sûtra शेषे लोपः is taken in the second sense, there is no necessity of inserting स in the Present sûtra, as in that case, the base will end in a consonant whereby the sûtra सर्वनामः सुद् is prevented.

—:o:—

Verses :—When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denoting a unity or a duality in themselves are members of a compound, which may denote any number, then also त्व and युव will be substituted for युष्मद् and म and अव for अस्मद् ॥ (1)

But when they are followed by सु (Nom. S.) जस् (Nom. Pl.), डे (Dat. S.), डस् (Gen. S.), then युष्मद् will be replaced by त्व, यूय, तुभ्य and तव and अस्मद् by अह, वय, मय्य and मम ॥ (2)

Now these supersede युव, and अव by being taught subsequently to the rule teaching युव and अव substitutions. While त्व and म are superseded by the above, by the rule of पूर्व विप्रतिषेध ॥ (3)

When the compound denotes a singular or a dual number, and the component members युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote a plural number, then युव, अव, त्व and म will not be substituted for them, as the efficient cause (one-ness or duality) is wanting here. (4)

—:o:—

I. युष्मद् AND अस्मद् SINGULAR.

Now we take अतित्वम् and अव्यहम् ॥ When these compounds are analysed, they stand thus : त्वां अति क्रान्तः = अतित्वम्, मां अतिक्रान्तः = अव्यहम् ॥

Here the component parts युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote singular number, and the whole compound means a third person. The compound is thus formed अति + युष्मद् = अतियुष्मद् and so also अति-अस्मद् ॥ These are dvitīyā Tatpurusha compounds : and consequently they get Prātipadika samjñā and सु in the Nom. S. Thus अतियुष्मद् + सु ॥ Here the component number युष्मद् denotes a singular, and the compound itself is followed by सु, and so the rule contained in the second verse applies : and we have अतित्वम् and अत्यम् ॥

Now we take up अतियुष्मद् + औ (Nom. Dual.) = अतियुष्मद् + अम् (ङ् प्रथमयो-
रम् VII. 1. 28 S. 382). Here the rule contained in the first verse applies, so we get आतत्त्वं + अम् = अतित्वाम्. So also अतिमां ॥

Then अतियुष्मद् + अस् ॥ Here the second verse will apply, and we have अतियूय + अम् = अतियूयम् ॥ So also अतिवयम् ॥

Then in Acc. Sing and Dual we have अतित्वाम् and अतिमां by the first verse. In Acc. Pl. we have अतित्वान् and अतिमान् by the same.

The Ins. forms are derived by applying the first verse : as अतित्वया, अतित्वाभ्याम्, अतित्वाभिः &c. In the Dative Sing. the second verse will apply, and thus we get अतितुभ्यम् and अतिमह्यम् ॥ In the remaining numbers of the Dative, the first rule will apply.

In the Ablative, the first verse will apply. as अतित्वत् (S), अतित्वत् (D.) अतित्वाभ्याम् (Pl.)

In the Gen. S. the second verse will apply, and so we get अतितव and अतिमम् ॥ In the remaining numbers the first verse will apply.

In the Locative Sing, Dual and Plural the first verse will apply.

II. युष्मद् AND अस्मद् IN THE DUAL.

When the compounds अतियुष्मद् and अत्यस्मद् are analysed as अतिक्रान्तः युवां and अतिक्रान्तः आवां, then :—

अतियुष्मद् + सु = अतित्व + अम् = अतित्वम् and so also अत्यम् ॥ Here the second verse will apply. In the Nom. Dual the first verse will apply, and we get अतियुवां and अत्यावां ॥ In the Nom. Pl. the second verse will apply, and we have अतियूयं and अतिवयम् ॥

In all numbers of the Acc. the first verse will apply. as अतियुवां, and अतियुवां, and अत्यावां and अत्यावां ॥ In the plural we have अतियुवान् and अत्यावान् ॥

In the Ins. numbers the first verse will apply : and we have अतियुवया अतियुवाभ्याम् and अतियुवाभिः ; and अत्यावया, अत्यावाभ्याम् and अत्यावाभिः ॥

In the Dative Sing. the second verse will apply and we have अतितुभ्यम् and अतिमह्यम्. The dual and plural are formed by the first verse : as अतियुवाभ्याम् and अतियुवभ्यम् and अत्यावाभ्याम् and अत्यावभ्यम् ॥

In the Ablative, the first verse applies : as अतियुवत्, अतियुवत्, and अतियुवभ्यम् and अत्यावत्, अत्यावत् and अत्यावभ्यम् ॥

In the Gen. S. the second verse will apply and in the Dual and Plural the first : and we have ; अतितव, अतियुवयोः अतियुवाकम् ॥ So also अतिमम, अत्यावयोः and अत्यावाकम् ॥

In the Loc. Sing. Dual and Pl. the first verse will apply and so we get :—अतियुवयि, अतियुवयोः, अतियुवासु ॥ So also अत्यावयि, अत्यावयोः and अत्यावासु ॥

III. युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Plural.

When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote plural : as अतिक्रान्तः युष्मान् or अस्मान् ॥ Here the fourth verse will apply, and अतियुष्मद् and अति-अस्मद् will be declined as follow :—

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	अतिव्वम् अत्यहम्	अतियुष्मास् अत्यस्मा	अतियुष्मया अत्यस्मया	अतितुभ्यम् अतिमह्यम्	अतियुष्मत् अत्यस्मत्	अतितव अतिमम	अतियुष्मयि अत्यस्मयि
Dual	अतियुष्मास् अत्यस्मास्	" "	अतियुष्माभ्याम् अत्यस्माभ्याम्	" "	" "	अतियुष्मयोः अत्यस्मयोः	" "
Plural	अतियुभ्यम् अतिवयम्	अतियुष्मान् अत्यस्मान्	अतियुष्माभिः अत्यस्माभिः	अतियुष्मभ्यम् अत्यस्मभ्यम्	अतियुष्मन् अत्यस्मन्	अतियुष्माकम् अत्यस्माकम्	अतियुष्मासु अत्यस्मासु

४०१ । पदस्य । < । १ । १६ ॥

401. Upto VIII. 3. 54, inclusive, should be always supplied in every subsequent sūtra, the phrase "of a word," or "to the whole of a word."

Note :—This is an adhikāra sūtra, and extends up to VIII. 3. 55, in order of enunciation of Pānini's Ashtādhyāyī.

४०२ । पदात् । < । १ । १७ ॥

402. Upto VIII. 1. 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase "after a pada."

४०३ । अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ । < । १ । १८ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

403. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase "The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse".

४०४ । युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्वानावौ । ८ । १ । २० ॥

पदात्परयोरपादादौ स्थितयोरनयोः षष्ठ्यादिविशिष्टयोर्वानावित्यादेशौ स्तः । तौ चानुदात्तौ ॥

404. For the Genitive, Dative and Accusative Dual of yushmad and asmad, are substituted वाम् and नौ respectively, when a word precedes it and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudâṭṭa.

All the three sūtras पदस्य, पदात् and अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ are applicable here.

Note:—These two वाम् and नौ come in the Dual only, because other substitutes have been taught for the Singular and Plural in the two subsequent sūtras.

४०५ । बहुवचनस्य वस्नसौ । ८ । १ । २१ ॥

उक्तविधयोः षष्ठ्यादिवहुवचनान्तयोर्वस्नसौ स्तः । वान्नावोरपवादः ॥

405. For (the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative) plural of yushmad and asmad are substituted वस् and नस् respectively, (when a word precedes, and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudâṭṭa).

This Sūtra debars the the substitutes वाम् and नौ taught in the previous Sūtra.

४०६ । तेमयावेकवचनस्य । ८ । १ । २२ ॥

उक्तविधयोरनयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थ्येकवचनान्तयोस्ते मे एतौ स्तः ॥

406. For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) ते and मे respectively, (when a word precedes and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse and these are anudâṭṭa).

४०७ । त्वामौ द्वितीयायाः । ८ । १ । २३ ॥

द्वितीयैकवचनान्तयोस्त्वा मा एतौ स्तः ।

श्रीशस्त्वाऽवतु मापीह दत्तात्ते मेऽपि शर्म सः । स्वामी ते मेऽपि स हरिः पातु वामापि नौ विभुः ॥ १ ॥

सुखं वां नौ ददात्वांशः पतिर्वामपि नौ हरिः । सो ऽव्याहो नः शिवं वो नो दद्यात्सेव्योऽन्नं वः स नः ॥ २ ॥

पदात्परयोः किम् । वाक्यादौ मा भूत् । त्वां पातु । मां पातु । अपादादौ किम् । वेदैरशेषैः संवेद्योऽस्मान्कृष्णः सर्वदावतु ।

स्थग्रहणाच्छ्रयमाणाविभक्तिकयोरेव । नेह । इति युष्मत्पुत्रो ब्रवीति । इत्यस्मत्पुत्रो ब्रवीति ॥

समानवाक्ये निघातयुष्मदस्मादाहं वा वक्तव्याः * ॥ एकतिङ् वाक्यम् । तेनेह न । ओदैनं पच त्वं भविष्यति । इह तु स्योद्वं । शालीनां ते ओदनं दास्यामीति ॥

एनं वान्नावाह्य आदेशा अनन्वादेशे वा वक्तव्याः * ॥ अनन्वादेशे तु नित्यं स्युः । धाता ते भक्तोऽस्ति । धाता त्वं भक्तोऽस्तीति वा । तस्मै ते नम इत्ये । ॥

407. For the Accusative Singular of yushmad and asmad are substituted त्वा and मा respectively, under the same circumstances.

Verses.—"May the Lord of *Śrī* preserve thee (twā) and me (mā) also here—may He give to thee (te), and to me (me) also, felicity!

That Hari is thy (te) Lord and mine (me) also.

May the Omnipresent preserve you two (vām) and also us two (nau).

May God give felicity to you two (vām) and to us two (nau).

Hari is the Lord of you two (vām) and also of us two (nau)

May He preserve you (vaḥ) and us (naḥ), may He give prosperity to you (vaḥ) and to us (naḥ)

He is the object of worship here of you (vaḥ) and of us (naḥ)."

Why do we say "पदात्" *i. e.* after a Pada? So that the substitutions may not take place when pronouns are in the beginning of a sentence. As त्वं पातु and not त्वा पातु. Similarly मां पातु also.

Why do we say "अपादादौ" *i. e.* when not at the beginning of a hemistich? Observe वेदैरशेषैः संवेद्योऽस्मान्कृष्णः सर्वदावतु ॥ Here we have अस्मान् and not वयम् ॥

The word स्य in the sūtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution. Therefore, not here: इति शुष्मत्पुत्रः though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case, yet वः substitution (VIII. 1. 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided.

Vārt:—The rules relating to nighāta (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as VIII. 1. 19 and VIII. 1. 28 &c) and to the substitutes of yushmad and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighāta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence with the latter word. The word वाक्य or "sentence" means that which contains one finite verb. Therefore not here;—ओदनं पच, तव भविष्यति । ओदनं पच, मम भविष्यति ॥ "Cook the food, it will be for thee. Cook the food it will be for me." That is, the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the ते and मे substitutions have not taken place (VIII. 1. 22) for yushmad and asmad. But the rule will apply here:—शालीनां ते ओदनं दास्यामि ॥ In the last example, the verb and the substitutes of yushmad and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the substitution takes place, in spite of the general maxim समर्थः पदविधिः (II. 1. 1), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction.

For शाहीनां is not in construction with ते, but with भोदनं i. e. शाहीनां भोदनं ते दास्यामि ॥ Yet it causes ते substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the *same* sentence.

Vart:—It should be stated, that the substitutes वां, नौ &c. are *all* optional, when not employed in anvādesa, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not; but when there is anvādesa, then the substitution is *compulsory* and not optional. Thus धाता ते, भक्तोऽस्ति or धातातवभक्तोऽस्ति ॥ But in anvādesa, we have only one form, as तस्मै ते नमः ॥ Which means “Brahmā is Thy (ते or तव) worshipper.” But in the sequel, “to Thee (ते) that art such, our reverence is due,” the form ते alone is admissible.

४०८ । न चवाहाऽहैवयुक्ते । ८ । १ । २४ ॥

चादपञ्चकयोगे नैते आदेशाः स्युः । हरिस्त्वां मां च रक्षतु । कथं त्वां मां वा न रक्षेदित्यादि । युक्तग्रहणात्साक्षाद्योगेऽयं निषेधः । परंपरासंबन्धे तु आदेशः स्यादेव । हरो हरिश्च मे स्वामी ॥

408. The above substitutions do not take place, when there is in connection with the pronouns, any of these five, viz :—च, ‘and’ वा, ‘or’ ह, ‘oh ! अह ‘wonderful’, or एव ‘only’.

Thus हरिस्त्वां च मां च रक्षतु ॥ कथं त्वां मां वा न रक्षेत् &c.

The word युक्त is employed in the sūtra to indicate direct conjunction. Therefore, where the conjunction is not direct, but intermediate, the employment would be of the shorter forms. Thus हरो हरिश्च मे स्वामी ॥ Here the word च connects हर and हरि and not the pronoun in the above word. Therefore the prohibition does not apply.

४०९ । पश्यार्थैश्चानालोचने । ८ । १ । २५ ॥

आक्षाक्षुषज्ञानार्थैर्धातुभिर्योगे एते आदेशा न स्युः । चेतसा त्वां समीक्षते । परम्परासंबन्धेऽप्ययं निषेधः । भक्तस्तव रूपं ध्यायति । आलोचने तु भक्तत्वा पश्यति चक्षुषा ॥

409. The above substitutions do not take place also in connection with verbs having the sense of “seeing” when physical seeing is not denoted, but “knowing” is meant.

Note :—The word पश्यार्थाः is equivalent to दर्शनार्थाः, and दर्शन means ‘knowledge’, i. e. verbs denoting ‘to know’, आलोचन means perception obtained through sight i. e. physical ‘seeing’ opposed to metaphorical “seeing” = “knowing”. The substitutions of वां and नौ &c. for युष्मद् and अस्मद् do not take place when these pronouns are employed in connection with verbs denoting ‘seeing’ (metaphorically) but not ‘looking’ (physically).

Thus चेतसा त्वांसमीधते, भक्तस्तवरूपं ध्यायति ॥ Why do we say when not meaning 'to look'? Observe भक्तस्त्वा पश्यति चक्षुषा ॥

Ishb:— With regard to verbs of "Seeing" the rule should apply even where the connection is not direct : as. भक्तस्तव रूपं ध्यायति ॥

४१० । सपूर्वायाः प्रथमाया विभाषा । ८ । १ । २६ ॥

विद्यमानपूर्वात्यथमान्तात्परयोरनयोरन्वादेशोऽप्येते आदेशा वा स्युः । भक्तस्त्वमप्यहं तेन हरिस्त्वां त्रायते स माम् । त्वा मेति वा ॥

410. When the pronoun follows after a Nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above substitutions may take place optionally even in anvâdeśa.

Thus भक्तस्त्वमप्यहं तेन हरिस्त्वां त्रायते स माम् ॥ Here the alternative forms त्वा and मा are admissible.

—:o:—

We have already said that युष्मद् and अस्मद् substitutions do not take place when they are in the beginning of a pāda. To this, however, there is an exception, when the first word is a Vocative, technically called आमन्त्रित which is defined in the next sūtra, then also though युष्मद् and अस्मद् may not really be in the beginning of a pāda, yet the substitutions will not take place by the sūtra after next.

४११ । सामन्त्रितम् । २ । ३ । ४८ ॥

संबोधने या प्रथमा तदन्तमामन्त्रितसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

411. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or Vocative.

४१२ । आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत् । ८ । १ । ७२ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अंगु तव । देवास्मान्पाहि । अग्ने नय । अग्र इन्द्र वरुण । इह युष्मदस्मद्वेरादेशास्तिङन्तनिघात आमन्त्रितनिघातश्च न । सर्वदा रक्ष देव न इत्यत्र तु देवेत्यस्याविद्यमानवद्भावेऽपि ततः प्राचीनं रक्षेत्येताभिर्यादेशः । एवम् इमं मे गङ्गा यमुने इति मन्त्रे यमुने इत्यादिभ्यः प्राचीनामन्त्रिताविद्यमानवद्भावेऽपि मेराद्वमेवाभित्य सर्वेषां निघातः ॥

412. A preceding Vocative is considered as non-existent, (for the purposes of the accent of the following word, and the enclitic forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्) ॥

Thus अग्ने ! तव ॥ देव ! अस्मान्पाहि ॥ अग्ने ! नय ॥ अग्र ! इन्द्र ! वरुण ! ॥ Here तव and अस्मान् cannot get the shorter form, though they are not at the beginning of a hemistich, because they are preceded by the आमन्त्रित words अग्ने and देव ॥

Similarly in अग्र नय the verb नय does not become accentless as it would otherwise have become by VIII. 1. 28. S. 3935.

In अग्न ! इन्द्र ! वरुण ! the rule VIII. 1.19 S. 3654 does not apply.

*Note :—*Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored. The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed. What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent ? They are (1) the absence of the accent-less-ness of the subsequent Vocative, which the first, taken as a पद, would have caused under VIII. 1. 19. S. 3654. As देवदत्त ! यज्ञदत्त ! Here the first Vocative देवदत्त does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI. 1. 198. S. 3653 (2) The accent less-ness of the verb required by VIII. 1. 28 S. 3935 is prevented : as, ईवेदत्त पृच्छसि ॥ (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्, required by VIII. 1. 20-23 S. 404 &c. is prevented, as देवदत्त तव (not ते) ग्रामः स्वम्, देवदत्त मम (not मे) ग्रामः स्वम् ॥ (4) The application of VIII. 1. 37. S. 3944 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb ; such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (अनन्तरम्) of the Particle from the verb : as, यावद् देवदत्त पृच्छसि ॥ (5) For the purposes of VIII. 1. 47, S. 3954 though a Vocative may precede जानु, the latter is still considered as अविद्यमानपूर्व and VIII. 1. 47 applies, as देवदत्त जानु पृच्छसि ॥ (6) So also in the case of VIII. 1. 49, S. 3956 as आहो देवदत्त पृच्छसि, उताहो देवदत्त पृच्छसि, no option is allowed here by VIII. 1. 50. S. 3957

In ' सर्वदा रक्ष देव नः ' although the word देव is non-existent, yet taking रक्ष as a preceding word नः is used.

In हनं म गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति क्षतुद्रि the first Vocative गङ्गे is considered as non-existent with regard to यमुने, and, therefore, यमुने is considered as following immediately after the pada मे and thus यमुने becomes anudatta, not because of गङ्गे, but because of मे. In other words, the intervention of the Vocatives does not stop the action of मे ॥ This nighâta or accentlessness is heard in Pada-Pâtha only, i. e. when the words are read separately, and not in Sanhitâ-reading. In Sanhitâ there will be eka-sruti of I. 2. 39 S. 3668.

४१३ । नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम् । ८ । १ । ७३ ॥

विशेष्ये समानाधिकरणे आमन्त्रिते परे नाविद्यमानवत्स्यात् । हरे दयालो नः पाहि । अग्ने तेजस्विन् ॥

413. A preceding Vocative, when it conveys a general idea, is not to be considered as if non-existent, for the purposes of the subsequent Vocative, which stands in apposition with the former.

Thus हरे दयालो नः पाहि " O Hari ! O Merciful ! protect us. ' अग्ने तेजस्विन् " O Agni ! O powerful ! " Here तेजस्विन् is all anudatta by VIII. 1. 19 S. 3654, because it is preceded by a word, though that word is Vocative.

*Note :—*Why do we say सामान्यवचनम् 'which is a generic word' ? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms. Thus ईदृश्ये ईदृशि ईदृशस्वति ईदृडे

कौव्ये विह्वये एतानि ते अघ्न्य नामानि ॥ All these Vocatives are synonyms of Saraswati, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI. 1. 198). According to Padamanjari the reading given in Taittiriya Br. is:—इडे रत्नेऽदिते सरस्वति प्रिय प्रेयासि महि विश्रूते, एतानि ते अघ्नये नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term'. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

This sūtra prevents the operation of the last sūtra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first. Thus अग्ने गृहपते, मौनवक्त्रजदिलकाध्यापक ॥ The first vocative being considered as existing, the second vocative loses its accent.

Why do we say 'the vocative subsequent'? Observe देवदत्त पंचासि here the verb does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'standing in apposition' or सामानाधिकरणे? Observe देवदत्त पण्डित यज्ञदत्त, here the word पण्डित qualifies यज्ञदत्त, and is not in apposition with देवदत्त, and hence it retains its accent.

Then applies Sūtra VIII. 1. 74. S. 3655 which for the sake of convenience we repeat here.

४१३ (क) । विभाषितं विशेषवचने । ८ । १ । ७४ ॥

अत्र भाष्यम् । बहुवचनमिति वक्ष्यामीति । बहुवचनान्तं विशेष्यं सामानाधिकरणे आमन्त्रिते विशेषणे परे अविद्यमानवद्वा । श्रूयं प्रभवः । देवाः शरण्याः । युष्मान् भजे वा भजे इति वा । इहान्वादेशोऽपि वैकल्पिका भादशाः । सुपाद् । सुपाद् । सुपादौ । सुपादः । सुपादम् । सुपादौ ॥

413. A. When the preceding Vocative is in the plural number, it is optionally considered as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term.

Here the author of the Mahābhāṣya states:—"The word *bahuvachanam* should be added to the sūtra to complete the sense." That is the sūtra should run as विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् ॥ We have therefore translated the sūtra with this emendation of Patanjali.

Thus श्रूयं प्रभवः, देवाः शरण्याः । युष्मान् भजे or वा भजे ॥ Here even in anvādeśa, there is optional substitution of वः for युष्मान् ॥

—O—

Now, we take up the declension of सुपाद्. In the strong, i. e. in the first five cases it is declined as:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom :	सुपात् or सुपाद्,	सुपादौ	सुपादः
Ac.	सुपादम्.	सुपादौ.	

In the formation of the Acc: Pl. and the rest, the following rule applies,

४१४। पाद्ः पत् । ६।४। १३० ॥

पाच्छब्दान्तं यङ्गं भे तद्वयवस्य पाच्छब्दस्य पदादेशः स्यात् । सुपद्ः । सुपदा । सुपाद्भ्यामित्यादि । अग्निं मन्थनीत्यग्निवत् । अग्निमद् । अग्निनयौ । अग्निमथः । अग्निमद्भ्यामित्यादि । ऋत्विगित्यादिसूत्रेणाञ्चेः सुप्युपपदे क्तिन् ।

414. For पाद् is substituted पद् when the former is Bha.

Note:—The substitute replaces the whole form पाद् and not only the final, on the maxim निदिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति “substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule.” ॥

Thus the Acc. Pl. is सुपद्ः ॥ Instr: Sing and Dual are सुपदा, सुपद्भ्याम् &c.

—O—

Now we take up the declension of अग्निमथ् meaning ‘kindling fire.’ It is declined as.

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	अग्निमत् ^१ or अग्निमद्	अग्निमथौ	अग्निमथः

Instr: Dual is अग्निमद्भ्याम् &c.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in थ्

—O—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in च्.

Now we take up the declension of प्राञ्च्.

According to Sûtra. III. 2. 59. S. 373, the affix क्तिन् is employed after the verb ञञ्च् to make it a Prâtipadika, before the case terminations.

Thus having got the noun प्राञ्च्, in its declension, the following rules apply.

४१५। अग्निदितां हत उपधायाः किति । ६।४। २४ ॥

हन्तानां शीनशितमङ्गानामुपधाया नश्य लोपः स्यात्किति किति च । उगिद्वागिति तुम् । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । तुमो लकारस्य क्तिन्मथस्य कुरिति कुत्वेन ङकारः । प्राङ् । अनुस्वारपरसवर्णौ । प्राञ्चौ । प्राञ्चम् । प्राञ्चौ ॥

415. In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded by न्,—this न् not being added to the root owing to its having an indicative इ (VII. 1. 58)—the न् is elided when an affix having an indicative क् or ङ् follows.

By Sûtra VII. 1. 70. S. 361, the stem अच् gets the augment तुम् in the strong cases.

Then by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54, the last consonant is dropped. By VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. which says that 'a stem formed with the affix क्विर substitutes at the end of a word, a guttural for the final Consonant' we get the N. S. as प्राङ् thus:— $\text{प्राञ्} + \text{सु} = \text{प्राच्}$ (VI. 4. 24 S. 415) + $\text{सु} = \text{प्रा} + \text{न्}$ (VII. 1. 70. S. 361). + $\text{च्} + \text{सु} = \text{प्रान्च्} + \text{O}$ (सु is elided by VI. 1. 63 S. 252). = प्रान्च् - प्रान् (च् being elided by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54) = प्राङ् (न् turned to ङ् by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377).

The N. Dual &c. are formed by changing the न् into anuswâra, and then the anuswâra into ञ् by VIII. 4. 58. S. 124.

Thus प्राञ्चौ , प्राञ्चः ; Acc. प्राञ्चम् , प्राञ्चौ .

In forming the Acc. Pl. &c. the following rules apply.

४१६। अचः। ६। ४। १३८॥

लुप्तनकारस्याञ्चतेर्भस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥

416. the अ of अच् (when अञ्च् loses its nasal,) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138 : S 417

४१७। चौ। ६। ३। १३८॥

लुप्ताकारनकारिऽञ्चतौ परे पूर्वस्थाणो दीर्घः स्यात् । प्राचः । प्राचा । प्राग्भ्यामित्यादि । प्रत्यङ् । प्रत्यञ्चौ । प्रत्यञ्चः । प्रत्यञ्चम् । प्रत्यञ्चौ । अच इति लोपस्य विषयेऽन्तरङ्गोऽपि यण् न प्रवर्तते । अकृतव्यूहा इति परिभाषया । प्रतीचः । प्रतीचा । अमुमञ्चतीति विशेषः । अदस् अञ्च् इति स्थिते ॥

417. The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अञ्च, when it assumes the form च, having lost its nasal and the vowel अ ॥

Thus Acc : Pl : is प्राचः ; Instr : Sing or Dual are प्राचा , प्राग्भ्याम् &c.

Now we take up the declension of प्रत्यञ्च् ॥ In strong cases, it is declined as प्रत्यङ् , प्रत्यञ्चौ , प्रत्यञ्चः ॥ प्रत्यञ्चम् , प्रत्यञ्चौ , In weak cases, अ is elided by VI. 4. 138 S 416. and though this lopa is a bahiranga process, while the यण् or semivowel Sandhi is an antaranga process, yet this lopa is not considered asiddha for the purposes of this sandhi. This proceeds on the maxim अकृतव्यूहाः &c. See under Sâtra I. 3. 11 S. 46. Thus Acc : Pl : is प्रतीचः ; Instr : Sing is प्रतीचा ॥ &c. $\text{प्रति} + \text{अञ्च्} + \text{शस्} = \text{प्रति} + \text{अच्} + \text{अस्}$ ॥ Here two sâtras simultaneously appear for application, viz. इकोयणचि and अचः ॥ Now इकोयणचि is antaranga, because the efficient cause अ of अच् is *inside* that of शस्; and the efficient cause शस् by which अ of अच् would be elided is outside; therefore यण् âdeśa should take place first, thus $\text{प्रति} + \text{अच्} + \text{शस्} = \text{प्रत्य्} + \text{अच्} + \text{शस्}$ ॥ After this अ should be elided : as $\text{प्रत्य्} + \text{च्} + \text{शस्}$ ॥ This however gives us no form, and so relying on the maxim अकृतव्यूहाः

&c. the अन्तरङ्ग यण substitution is set aside. Now, we take up the declension of अञ्च् as compounded with the pronoun अद्स् meaning अमुस् अञ्चति ॥ Thus we have अद्स् + अञ्च् + क्ति ॥ Here applies the following sūtra.

४१८ । विष्वग्देवयोश्च ढेरद्यञ्तौ वप्रत्यये । ६ । ३ । ६२ ॥

अनयोः सर्वनामश्च ढेरद्यादेशः स्याद्वप्रत्ययान्तेऽञ्तौ परे । अद्दि अञ्च् इति स्थिते यण ॥

418. In the room of the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विष्वक् and देव, is substituted अद्दि, when अञ्च has no visible affix following it.

Thus अद्स् + अञ्च् = अदद्दि + अञ्च् = अदद्य + अञ्च. At this stage, applies the following sūtra.

४१९ अदसोऽसेर्दादु दो मः । ८ । २ । ८० ॥

अदसोऽसान्तस्य दात्परस्य उदूतो स्तो दस्य च मः । उ इति ह्रस्वदीर्घयोः समाहारद्वन्द्वः । आन्त-
रन्त्याद्दस्वव्यञ्जनयोर्ह्रस्वो दीर्घस्य दीर्घः । अमुमुयङ् । अमुमुयञ्चौ । अमुमुयञ्चः । अमुमुयञ्चम् ।
अमुमुयञ्चौ । अमुमुईचः । अमुमुईचा । अमुमुयभ्यामित्यादि । सुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् यण । अन्यथा धेऽन्त्य-
सदेशस्थेति परिभाषामाश्रित्य परस्यैव सुत्वं वदतां मते अदमुयङ् । अः सेः सकारस्य स्थाने यस्य सः
असिरिति व्याख्यानात् । त्यदाद्यत्वविषय एव सुत्वं नान्यत्रेति पक्षे अदद्यङ् । उक्तं च ॥

अदसोऽद्रेःपृथङ् सुत्वं कोचिद्विच्छन्ति लत्ववत् ॥ केचिदन्यसदेशस्य नेत्यकेऽसेर्हि दृश्यत इति ॥

विष्वग्देवयोः किम् । अथाची । अञ्चतौ किम् । विष्वग्युक् । वप्रत्यये किम् । विष्व-
गञ्चनम् । वप्रत्ययग्रहणं ज्ञापयति, अन्यत्र धातुग्रहणे तदादिविधिरिति । तेनाऽयस्कारः । अतः
कृकमीति सः । उदङ् । उदञ्चः । शसादावचि ॥

419. When the pronoun अद्स् does not end in स् then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after द्, and म् for त् ॥

The short उ in the sūtra is a samāhāra dvanda compound including both the short उ and long ऊ. By the rule of antartama I. i. 50 S. 39, the short vowel and the consonant following it will be replaced by the short उ; and the long vowel with the consonant following it will be replaced by the long ऊ. Thus अदद्स् + अञ्च् = अमुमुय् + अञ्च् i. e. the first द् and अ are changed to म् and उ. and the second द् and र् are also changed to म् and उ; so the declension is,

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.
Sing.	अमुमुयङ्	अमुमुयञ्चम्	अमुमुईचा
Dual.	अमुमुयञ्चौ	अमुमुयञ्चौ	अमुमुयभ्याम् &c.
Pl.	अमुमुयञ्चः	अमुमुईचः	&c.

The हु being considered as asiddha, there is no sandhi in अमुमुईचः or

in असुमुच्चा, for the Sandhi rule इकोयणचि is contained in the Sixth Book of Pāṇini, while this सु substitute is ordained in the Tripadi portion of Ashtadhyāyī. Hence the Sūtra VIII. 2. 1. S. 12 applies.

Some, by applying the following maxim, get the form अद्भुयङ् ॥

Paribhāṣhā :—“When a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final.” The second class apply this maxim and make सु change only for द्र which stands in proximity to the final.

There is a third form, अद्भुङ् which is obtained by explaining the अस्ते: in the Sūtra as अः सैर्यस्य सोयमसिः, यत्र सकारस्य अकारः क्रियते ॥ “The word असि: in the sūtra is a Bahuvrihi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स” ॥ The sūtra is thus confined to the form अद् derived by changing the सु into अ by VII. 2. 102. and not to any other अद् ॥

Thus there are three views with regard to the application of the present sūtra :—

(1) the द् of अद्, and द्र of अद्भि are both changed to सु by the present sūtra ; (2), the first द् is not changed, but only द्र ; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) असुमुयङ् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), असुमुयंचौ, असुमुयंचः ॥ (2) Secondly, अद्भुयङ्, अद्भुयंचौ, अद्भुयंचः ॥ (3) Lastly अद्भुयङ्, अद्भुयंचौ, अद्भुयंचः ॥ The above verse summarises this :

Verse :—Some ordain that सु should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double ल (in चलीकल्प्यते see sūtra VIII. 2. 18 and VII. 4. 90 S. 2644) others would have सु only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i. e. for द्र); while a third class would have no where, because they explain अस्ते: of the sūtra by confining it to: VII. 2. 102.”

Note :—Thus विष्वगंचति=विष्वयङ्. This form is thus evolved. अंच+क्विन्=अंच+0=अंच+नुम् (VII. 1. 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant ऊच्, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the क्विन् affix (VIII. 2. 62), e. i. न् is changed to ङ् and we have अङ् which with विष्वद्भि: gives the above form. देवयङ्, तयङ्, ययङ् ॥ अद्भि and सद्भि (VI. 3. 95) have acute on the final irregularly (ni pātana) in order to prevent the kṛit-accent. and when इ is changed into ए the following vowel becomes svarita (VII. 2. 4).

Note :—Why do we say of विष्वग् and देव? Observe अश्वाची=अश्वगंचति, the feminine डीप् being added by IV. 1. 6 *Vārt*. The अ of अंच् is elided by VI. 4. 138. and the final of अश्व is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why ‘when अंच् follows’? Observe विश्वगुक् ॥ Why do we say ‘when the affix व् follows’? Observe विष्वगंचनं ॥ The व् is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sūtra is अप्रत्यय (अंचतावप्रत्यये) ॥ It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word वप्रत्यये or अप्रत्यये indicates ‘by implication that in

other places where simply a verb is mentioned, it means a word-form beginning with that verb which ends with some affix. For had *अप्रत्यये* not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when *anch* followed, but when *anchana* ending in *लुङ्* also followed. The maxim *धातुमहणं तदादि विधिरिष्यते* is illustrated in *अयस्कृत्* and *अयस्कारः*; for VIII. 3. 43. teaches that *visarga* is changed into *स्* when *कृ* follows. There the *कृ* denotes not only the root *कृ* but a word derived from *कृ*, therefore which begins with *कृ*, such as *कारः* and *कृतः* ॥ Therefore the rule applies to forms like *अयस्कृत्* which is followed merely by the verb *कृ*; as well as to forms like *अयस्कृतः* ॥

Now we take up the declension of *उद्*. It is declined in the Nominative as *उद्* (S), *उद्चौ* (Dual) *उद्वः* (Pl).

Before the weak cases the following rule applies :—

४२० । उद् ईत् । ६ । ४ । १३९ ॥

उच्छ्वात्परस्य लुप्तनकारस्याचतेर्भस्याकारस्य ईस्थान् । उदीचः । उदीचा । उद्गम्यामित्यादि ।

420. Long *ई* is substituted for the *अ* of that (*अञ्च*) where the nasal is elided after the word *उत्*, when the stem is *Bha*.

As *उदीचः*, *उदीचा*, *उद्गम्याम्* ॥

Now we take up the declension of *सम्यच्* ॥ In its declension the following rule applies :—

४२१ । समः समि । ६ । ३ । ६३ ॥

वप्रत्ययान्तेऽञ्चतौ परे । सम्यङ् । सम्यञ्चौ । सम्यंचः । समीचः । समीचा ॥

421. *समि* is substituted for *सम्*, before this *अञ्च* when no visible affix follows.

Thus *सम्यक्*, *सम्यङ्*, *सम्यञ्चौ*, *सम्यंचः* ॥

Ac : Pl : *समीचः*; Instr : Sing *समीचा* ॥

Now we take up the declension of *सङ् + अञ्च्* ॥ In its declension the following rule applies :—

४२२ । सहस्य सन्धिः । ६ । ३ । ६२ ॥

वप्रत्ययान्ते वतौ परे । सध्र्यङ् ॥

422. *सन्धि* is the substitute of *सह*, before *अञ्च्* followed by no visible affix.

Thus *सध्र्यङ्*, *सध्र्यञ्चौ*, *सध्र्यंचः*; and *सध्रीचः*, *सध्रीचा* ॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

Now, we take up the declension of *तिर्यञ्च्* ॥ In its declension, the following rule applies :—

४२३ । तिरसस्तिर्यलोपे । ६ । ३ । ६४ ॥

अलुप्तकारेऽञ्चतौ वप्रत्ययान्तं परे तिरसस्तिर्यादेशः स्यात् । तिर्यङ् । तिर्यञ्चौ । तिर्यचः । तिर्यचम् । तिर्यचौ । तिरश्चः । तिरश्चा । तिर्यग्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

423. तिरि is substituted for तिरस् before this अञ्च when no visible affix follows, provided that the अ of अञ्च is not elided.

Thus तिर्यङ्, तिर्यचौ, तिर्यचः ॥ Why do we say 'when there is no elision'? Observe तिरश्चा, तिरश्चे ॥ Here अ is elided by VI. 4. 138. The word अलोपे in the sūtra is ambiguous. It may mean either (1) "where अ is elided" or (2) "Where there is no elision". The latter meaning should be taken however.

Now, we take up the declension of प्र+अञ्च when अञ्च means 'to honor'. There are two roots (अञ्चु), both belong, to the Bhvādi class, one meaning 'to honor' and the other 'to move'. The declension of 'अञ्चु' meaning 'to move' has already been exhibited above. But when it means 'to honor' its declension is governed by the following rule :—

४२४ । नाञ्चः पूजायाम् । ६ । ४ । ३० ॥

पूजार्थस्याञ्चनेरुपधाया नस्य लोपो न स्यात् । अलुप्तनकारत्वान्न नुम् । प्राङ् । प्राञ्चौ । प्राञ्चः । नलोपाभावादकारलोपो न । प्राञ्चः । प्राञ्चा । प्राङ्भ्याम् । प्राङ्क्षु । प्राङ्क्षु । एवं पूजार्थे प्रत्यङ्ङादयः । कुञ्च कौटिल्यात्पीभावयोः । अस्य कृत्विगादिना नलोपाभावोऽपि निपात्यते । कुङ् । कुञ्चौ । कुञ्चः । कुङ्भ्यामित्यादि ॥ चोः कुः ॥ पयोमुक् । पयोमुग् । पयौमुचौ । पयोमुचः । ब्रथेति बत्त्वम् । स्क्रोशिति सलोपः । जभ्त्वचरत्वे । सुवृद् । सुवृङ् । सुवृथौ । सुवृथः । सुवृक्षु । सुवृक्षु ॥ वर्तमाने पृषन्महद्बृहज्जगच्छतुवञ्च * ॥ एते निपात्यन्ते शतृवक्षेपां कार्यं स्यात् । उगित्त्वान्नुम् । सान्तमहतं हति दीर्यः । मह्यति पूज्यते इति महान् । महान्तौ । महान्तः । हे महन् । महतः । महता । महद्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

424. The nasal of अञ्च is not elided when the meaning is 'to honor'.

And as the nasal is not elided by VI. 4. 24. S. 415 there is no नुम् augment. Thus.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	प्राङ्	प्राञ्चौ	प्राञ्चः

As न् is not elided, so there is no elision of अ also by VI. 4. 138. S. 416. Thus the weak forms are Ac : Pl : प्राञ्चः ॥ Inst : Sing and dual are प्राञ्चा, प्राङ्भ्याम् ॥ Loc. Plural is प्राङ्क्षु or प्राङ्क्षु ॥

Similar is the declension of प्रत्यञ्च when 'अञ्च' means 'to honor'. Thus Acc : Plu : is प्रत्यञ्चः and not प्रतीचः ॥ Similarly the Acc : Plural of अदृञ्च is अमुमुञ्चः and not अमुमुचः ॥

Similarly the Acc : plural of उदञ्च is उदञ्चः and not उदीचः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of कृच्. This word, as already mentioned in sūtra III. 2. 59 S. 373 is irregularly formed by adding the affix क्तिच् to the root कृच् meaning " to curve or make crooked " or " to be or become small ". Thus it is declined :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	कृङ्	कृचौ	कृचः
Instr :	Dual is कृङ्भ्याम् &c.		

—O—

Now, we take up the declension of पयोषुच्. In Nom : Sing. the च् is changed to the guttural, by Sūtra VIII. 2. 30 S. 378. It is declined as follows :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	पयोमुक् or पयोषुग्	पयोषुचौ	पयोषुचः &c.

—O—

Now, we take up the declension of सुवृश्च्. It is thus formed :—सु + वृश्च् + क्तिच् in the sense of सुवृश्च्चाति meaning 'that which cuts well' The र् being vocalised by VI. 1. 16 S. 2412., it becomes सु + वृश्च् + O. By VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. the च् is changed to ष्. By VIII. 2. 29. S. 380, the initial श् is elided.* Thus we get सु + वृष्. The ष् is changed to ज् and finally to इ by VIII. 2. 39 S. 84. and VIII. 4. 56 S. 206. Thus its declension is as follows :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom :	सुवृद् or सुवृङ्	सुवृश्चौ	सुवृश्चः

The Loc. Pl. is सुवृद्भ्यः or सुवृद्भ्यः.

* Note:—This would be true in the view that the original root was वृश्च् with a dental स् which becomes श् by इच्छुनाश्च् VIII. 4. 40 S. 111. This श् substitution is asidhha for VIII. 2, 29.

—O—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in त्.

Now, we take up the declension of महत्. This word is formed by the Unādi affix भति (Unādi sūtra II. 84) which means that the words पृषत्, बहत्, महत् and जगत् are irregularly formed with the affix भति with the force of the present tense and are operated upon as if they were followed by शत् affix. Since महत् is to be treated as if it was formed by the शत् affix, therefore, the rule VII. 1. 70 S. 361 would cause the insertion of लुप् and the sutra VI. 4. 10. S. 317 would cause the lengthening of अ. Thus,

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	महान्	महान्तौ	महान्तः
Voc.	हे महन्	"	"
Acc.	महान्तम्	"	महतः
Instr.	महता	महद्भ्याम्	महद्भिः
	&c.	&c.	

—:O:—

Now we take up the declension of धीमन्. It is formed with the affix मतुप्.

In its declension, the following rule applies :—

४२५ । अत्वसन्तस्य चाध्यातोः । ६ । ४ । १४ ॥

अत्वन्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्याद्धानुभिन्नासन्तस्य चासंबुद्धा सौ परे । परं नित्यं च तुमं बाधित्वा वचनसामर्थ्यादाहौ दीर्घः ततो नुम् । धीमान् । धीमन्तौ । धीमन्तः । हे धीमन् । दासाहौ महद्भुत् । धातोर्पथ-
स्वन्तस्य दीर्घः । गोमन्तमिच्छति गोमानिवाचरतीति वा क्यजन्तावाचारक्रियन्ताद्वा कर्तरि क्तिप् । षगिह-
चामिति सूत्रेऽज्जग्रहणं नियमार्थम् । धातोश्चेदुगित्कार्यं तद्वाञ्छतेरेवेति । तेन सन् ध्वत् इत्याहौ न । अधा-
तोःरिति तु अधातुभूतपूर्वस्यापि नुमर्थम् । गोमान् । गोमन्तौ । गोमन्तः । इत्यादि । आतेड्वेतुः । भवान् ।
भवन्तौ । भवन्तः । शत्रवन्तस्य त्वस्वन्तत्वाभावात्त दीर्घः । भवतीति भवन् ॥

425. In the Nominative Singular (with the excep-
tion of the Vocative Singular) the penultimate vowel is
lengthened in a stem ending in अतु, and अस् when the conso-
nant (अस्) does not belong to a root.

The नुम् (न्) is added to the above by VII. 1. 70, after the elongation
has taken place, for if added *before* elongation, the vowel no longer being
penultimate, will not be lengthened at all. This is because of the force of this
sûtra, 'which though precedent in the order of enunciation in Pânini's
Ashtâdhyâyi, and therefore ought to have been superseded by the subse-
quent and *nitya* sutra (VII. 1. 70 S. 361) ordaining नुम्, yet is not so. Thus
its declension is

	Singular	dual	Plural
Nominative	धीमान्	धीमन्तौ	धीमन्तः
Vocative	हे धीमन्		

Before the weak case terminations, it is declined like महन्.

Note :—अस् :—as सुपथाः, सुयशाः, सुभ्रोताः ॥ Why do we say 'not belonging
to a dhâtu' ? Observe पिण्डयः where स् belongs to the root अस् (पिण्डं असते), so also
चर्मवः चर्म वस्ते) ॥ The अस् having no significance as an affix &c. is also included
here, on the strength of the maxim "whenever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they
are taught in Grammar denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with these, there

they represent these combination of letters, both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning". (अनिनस्मन् महानि अर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति) ॥ The word अन्त in the sūtra indicates whatever ends in अतु whether when first enunciated (उपदेश), such as डवतु, क्तवतु &c. or which assumes the form अतु in grammatical inflection, such as मतुप्, which in upadesa ends in अतुप्, but becomes अतु in प्रयोग or application. In Vocative singular we have हे गोमन्, हे सुपयः this rule not applying there.

Even in the case of *Denominative* roots, the lengthening will take place. The prohibition of अधातोः in this sūtra applies to *original* roots and not to derivative roots from nouns. Thus गोमन्तमिच्छति = गोमन्त्यति "He wishes to have cows." The affix क्यच् is added to गोमन् in forming the derivative root by III. 1. 8. or III. 1. 10. with the force of "wishing" or "behaving." The root is गोमन्त्य. It is a derivative root, and so it does not fall within the prohibition of this sūtra. Now गोमन्त्य + क्विप् = गोमन् (अ is dropped by VI. 4. 48, and इ by VI. 4. 50). "One wishing to have cows." Here गोमन् ends with अन् (which was part of the original affix मतुप् added to गो) and here we will have lengthening as well as लुम् ॥

The लुम् will be added for the following reason :—

In the sūtra उगिच्चा VII. 1. 70. S. 361 the root अञ्चु is taken for the sake of *niyama* or restriction, that is, the operations dependent upon ugit, when applied to roots, will apply to the root अञ्चु only, and not to any other root having an ugit. Thus in अन्त and अन्त there is no ugit operation. Therefore, we could have easily inferred that no other root except अञ्चु would take लुम् under that sūtra. The specific mention of अधातोः in that sūtra would have become redundant. But the fact, that Pāṇini has mentioned अधातोः in that sūtra, indicates that by धातोः is meant the *original* root and not a derivative root.

Thus we have गोमान् "One who wishes to be possessed of cows."

Now we take up the declension of भवन्तु not derived from भू, but from भा meaning 'to shine'. (see Uṇādi sūtra I. 63) with the affix डवतु ॥ Thus भा + डवतु = भवन्तु (the आ is elided by VI. 4. 143 and I. 4. 18 because the affix has an indicative ड). It is declined as

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	भवान्	भवन्तौ	भवन्तः &c.

But when it is derived from the root भू with the affix शन्तु, as it does not then end with the affix अतु, the penultimate is not lengthened. Thus in this case, the Nominative Singular is भवान्.

Now, we take up the declension of ददन्तु formed from the root दा with the affix शन्तु ॥ The root is reduplicated. The reduplication is technically

called अभ्यस्त as defined below, and because it is अभ्यस्त, it does not get the augment लुम्, for the sūtra after next prohibits it.

४२६ । उभे अभ्यस्तम् । ६ । १ । ५ ॥

षाष्ठद्वित्वप्रकरणे ये द्वे विहिते ते उभे सङ्घटिते अभ्यस्तसंज्ञे स्तः ॥

426. Where reduplication is treated in the Sixth Book of Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī, the two which are directed, both are collectively called Abhyasta,

४२७ । नाभ्यस्ताच्छतुः । ७ । १ । ७८ ॥

अभ्यस्तात्परस्य शतुर्लुम् न स्यात् । ददत् । ददद् । ददतौ । ददतः ॥

427. The Participial-affix शतृ (अत्-अन्त्), does not take the augment लुम् after a reduplicate stem.

Thus ददत्, ददतौ, ददतः ॥

Note :—This is an exception to VII. 1. 70, and applies of course to sarvanāmasthāna or strong cases. The लुम् is to be read into this sūtra from VII. 1. 70 ; for the negation of this sūtra cannot apply to ई taught in the preceding sūtra, for ई is never ordained after śatri : therefore, though several other operations intervene, yet लुम् is to be read here.

Now, we take up the declension of जक्षत्, formed with the affix शतृ added to the root जक्ष. Its declension is governed by the following Sūtra :—

४२८ । जक्षित्यादयः षट् । ६ । १ । ६ ॥

षड् धातवोऽन्ये जक्षितिश्व सप्तम एतेऽभ्यस्तसंज्ञाः स्युः । जक्षत् । जक्षद् । जक्षतौ । जक्षतः । एवं जायत् । हरिद्रत् । शासत् । चक्रासत् । दीधीवेव्योर्ङिस्त्वेऽपि छान्दसत्त्वाद्व्यव्ययेन परस्मैपदम् । दीध्यत् । वेव्यत् । शुप् । शुब । शुपौ । शुपः । शुब्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

428. So also the six roots, with jakshi itself as the seventh, are called abhyasta.

Note :—The word abhyasta is understood here. The verb jakshi and the six verbs that follow it in the Dhātupāṭha, in all seven verbs, get this designation. These are जक्ष, जागृ, हरिद्रा, चक्रास्, शास्, दीधी and वेवी ॥ (Pāṇini has overlooked वेवी and mentions only the first six.) By getting the designation of Abhyasta, the participles derived from these verbs are declined like ददत् ॥

Thus जक्षत् or जक्षद् (N. S) जक्षतौ (N. Dual) ; जक्षतः (N. Plural). Similar is the declension of जायत्, हरिद्रत्, शासत्, चक्रासत् ॥ दीधी and वेवी though exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as दीधीङ् and वेवीङ् with an indicative ङ् and therefore, they ought to be आत्मनेपदी by I. 3. 12. S. 2158, yet they are परस्मैपदी because of the Vaidic irregularities. These form their Nominative Singulars as दीध्यत् and वेव्यत्

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending त्

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **प्**. Now we take up the declension of **गुप्** which is formed from the **गुरादि** root **गुप्** with the affix **क्लिप्**. The **घाम्** of the **गुरादि** class is optionally elided by III. 1. 31. S. 2305. It is declined as

Nom : **गुप्** or **गुब्**, **गुपौ**, **गुपः**; Instr : Dual **गुभ्याम्** &c.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **श्**.

—o—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **ञ**.

Now, we take up the declension of **तद्** formed according to the following Sūtra:—

४२६ । त्वादिषु दशोऽनालोचने कञ्च । ३ । २ । ६० ॥

त्वादिषूपपदेष्वज्ञानार्थाद् दशोर्धातोः कञ् स्याच्चात् क्तिन् ॥

429. The affix **कञ्** as well as **क्तिन्** comes after the verb **दृश्** 'to see' when it is in combination with **त्यद्** &c. which precede it, and when it does not signify perception.

Note :—The force of 'च' is that the **क्तिन्** also comes under similar circumstances. **त्यद्** &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27., Thus **त्वादृश्** ॥

४३० । आ सर्वनाम्नः । ६ । ३ । ६१ ॥

सर्वनाम्न आकारोऽन्तर्देशः स्याद्दृग्दृशवतुषु । कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्ब्रश्चेति षः । तस्य जश्त्वेन डः । तस्य कुत्वेन गः । तस्मिन् चत्वेन पक्ष कः । तादृक् । तादृग् । तादृशौ । तादृशः । षत्वापवादत्वात्कुत्वेन खकार इति कैयटः । हरदत्तादिमते तु चत्वाभावपक्षे ख एव श्रूयते न तु गः । जश्त्वं प्रति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् । दिगादिभ्यो यदिति निर्देशान्नासिद्धत्वमिति वा बोध्यम् । ब्रश्चेति षत्वम् । जश्त्वचत्वे । विद् । विड् । विशौ । विशः । विशम् ॥

430. **आ** is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (1. 1. 27) before these words **दृक्**, **दृश्** and the affix **अवतु** ॥

Thus **तद्**+**दृश्**+**क्तिन्**=**ता** (by the present sūtra)+**दृश्**+**क्तिन्**=**ता**+**दृक्** (the **श्** is changed to **क्** by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377). This **क्** is not perceived (**भासिद्ध**) for the purposes of **पृ** change by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. Thus we have **तादृश्**=**तादृ** (VII. 2. 39. S. 84.)=**तादृग्** (VIII. 2. 62. S. 377).=**तादृक्**(optionally by VIII. 4. 56 S. 206).

Thus Nom. forms are **तादृक्** or **तादृग्**, **तादृशौ**, **तादृशः**:—According to the opinion of Kaiyat and Haradatta &c. the form would be **तादृख्** but never **तादृग्**, in the alternative when it is not **तादृक्**. Because they apply the **कुत्व** rule as an *apavāda* to **षत्व** rule and by **कुत्व** they get **ख** in the place of **श्** (See Padamanjari p. 953): and **ख्** will never become **ग** by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84; because **ख** obtained by **क्तिन्** प्रत्यस्य **कुः** VIII. 2. 62. is asiddha or not perceived by the **जश्त्व** rule

VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. Or we may say that ख is not asiddha for Pāpini himself has changed ख into ग in the word विश (See IV. 4. 54. S. 1429).

Now, we take up the declension of विश्. This is formed by the affix क्विप् added to the root विश् 'to enter.' The श is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. which is changed to ङ् by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. and optionally to ङ् by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206.

Thus it is declined as

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	विद् or विङ्	विशौ	विशः
Acc.	विशम्	&c.	&c.

—:o:—

Now, we take up the declension of नश्. In its declension, the following rule applies.

४३१ । नशेर्वा । ङ । २ । ६३ ॥

नशेः कवर्गोऽन्तश्चिञो वा स्यात्पदान्ते । नक् । नग् । नद् । नङ् । नशौ । नशः । नभ्याम् । नङ्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

431. The final of नश् at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural.

Note :—Here the root नश् has taken क्विप् in denoting 'condition or state'; by considering it as belonging to संप्रदाहि class.

Thus there are four forms in the Nominative Singular namely :—नक् or नग् or नद् or नङ् ॥

Nominative Dual and Plural are नशौ, नशः .

Instr : Dual is नभ्याम् and नङ्भ्याम् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of घृतस्पृश्. Its declension is governed by the following rule :—

४३२ । स्पृशोऽनुदके क्तिन् । ३ । २ । ५८ ॥

अनुदके सुष्ठुपपदे स्पृशेः क्तिन् स्यात् । घृतस्पृक् । घृतस्पृग् । घृतस्पृशौ । घृतस्पृशः । क्तिन् प्रत्ययो अस्मादिति बहुव्रीह्याभ्ययणात् क्तिष्यपि कृत्वम् । स्पृक् । षडङ्गकाः प्राग्वत् । त्रिधूषा प्रागल्भ्ये । अस्मादृत्विगादिना क्तिन् । द्वित्वमन्तोदात्तत्वं च निपात्यते । कुत्वात्पूर्वं जहत्वेन ङः शः । धृष्णोतीति दधृक् दधृग् । दधृषौ दधृषः । दधृभ्यामित्यादि । रत्नानि सुष्णातीति रत्नमुद् । रत्नमुङ् । रत्नमुषौ । रत्नमुषः । षड्भ्या लुक् । षद् । षङ् । षङ्भिः । षङ्भ्यः २ । षदचतुर्थश्चेति तुद् । अनामिति पथुङ्सात्र हुत्वनिषेधः । यरोऽनुनासिक इति विकल्पं बाधित्वा प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यमिति वचनान्नित्यमनुनासिकः । षण्णाम् । षद्वत्सु । षद्वत्सु । तदन्तविधिः । परमषद् । परमषण्णाम् । गौणत्वं तु प्रियषषः । प्रियषषाम् । रुत्वं प्राति षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्सञ्ज षोरिति ह्रस्वम् ॥

432. The affix **किन्** comes after the verb **स्पृश्** 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than **उदक** 'water'.

Thus **घृतं स्पृशति** = **घृतस्पृश्**, Nominative Singular **घृतस्पृक्** he who touches clarified butter.' **स्पृश् + किन् + सु = स्पृश् + वि + o** (VI. 1. 68) = **स्पृक् + O** (VI. 1. 67, and VIII. 2. 62).

Nominative Dual and Plural are **घृतस्पृशौ**, **घृतस्पृशः** respectively.

—————:o:—————

In the sūtra **किन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः**, VIII. 2. 62, S. 377 if we take the compound **किन्प्रत्यय** as a Bahuvrihi, meaning a root to which the affix **किन्** can be added, then the gutturalization will take place, even when the affix **किप्** is added. Thus the root **स्पृश्** takes the affix **किन्** when in compound with another word. But when it is used alone it takes the affix **किप्**. This **किप्** will also produce the guttural change, because **स्पृश्** is a root which is *liable* to take the affix **किन्**. Thus **स्पृक्** &c. Here the **श्** is changed to **ष्** then to **ङ्**, then to **श्** and then optionally to **क्** as shown above.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in **श्**.

—————:o:—————

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **ष्**.

Now, we take up the declension of **दधृष्**. It is formed from the root **त्रिषृष्** 'to be impudent'. Thus **धृष् + किन् = दधृक्** ॥ Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. (III. 2. 59. S. 373). The **ष्** of **दधृष्** must be changed to **ङ्** before gutturalisation. Then this **ङ्** should be gutturalised to **श्** and then **श्** is optionally changed to **क्**. Thus **दधृक्** or **दधृग्**, **दधृशौ**, **दधृषः** ॥ &c.

Now, we take up the declension of **रत्नमुष्** meaning 'one who steals gems'. It is regularly declined as

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	रत्नमुट् or रत्नमङ्	रत्नमुशौ	रत्नमुषः

Now, we take up the declension of **बष्**. It is always plural. By Sūtra VII. 1. 22. S. 261, the Nom. and Acc. Pl. terminations are elided after it. Thus Nom. Acc. Pl. are **बट्** or **बङ्** ॥ Instr. Pl. **बङ्मिः** ॥ Dat. and Abl. Pl. **बङ्भ्यः** ॥ In forming the Genitive Pl. the augment **नुट्** is added by VII. 1. 55. S. 338. to the case-termination **बाम्**. Thus **बष् + नाम् = बट् + नाम्**. By the exception made in the Sūtra VIII. 4. 42. S. 114 the **न्** of **नाम्** is changed to **ष्**. Thus **बट् + नाम् = बट् + णाम्** ॥ The optional substitution of a nasal in the place of **ङ्** required by VIII. 4. 45 S. 116 is superseded

by the Vārtika under the same sūtra, which requires the nasal substitution compulsorily in the Secular literature. Thus बद् + णाम् = बद्ण्याम्. The Loc. Pl. is बद्सु or बद्सु.

The declension of बद् is the same when it is the final member of a compound. Thus परमबद् (N. Pl.) परमबद्ण्याम् (G. Pl.) But when it is the secondary member of a compound, the Nom. and G. Pl. are प्रियबद् and प्रियबद्ण्याम् respectively.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ब्.

—————:O:—————

Declension of Masculines ending in स्.

We take up the declension of पिपठिस् (meaning 'wishing to read'). It is derived from the root पिपठिस् with the affix क्तिप्. The ञ् of स् is elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308. The स् was changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 39. S. 153. But this is not perceived by the Sūtra requiring the substitution of स् into र् for it is precedent in the order of enumeration in Paṇini's Ashtādhyāyī. (VIII. 2. 66. S. 162). Thus पिपठिष् + सु = पिपठिष् + O (by VI. 1. 68. S. 252). Now पिपठिष् gets the name of a pada though the affix सु is elided after it (I. 1. 6 2. S. 262). Therefore the ष् which is really स् becomes र्. Thus पिपठिष् becomes पिपठिर्. At this stage applies the following Sūtra.

४३३ । वोरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः । ८ । २ । ७६ ॥

रेफवान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घः स्यात्पदान्ते । पिपठीः । पिपठिबौ । पिपठिषः । पिपठी-
भ्याम् । वा शरीति वा विसर्जनीयः ॥

433. A penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, when the final or व of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus पिपठिर् becomes पिपठीः .

The Nominative Dual and Plural are पिपठिबौ and पिपठिषः .

The Inst : Dual is पिपठीभ्याम्.

In forming the Locative Plural the sūtra VIII. 3. 36 S. 151 as well as the following comes into operation.

४३४ । नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्व्यवायेऽपि । ८ । ३ । ५८ ॥

एतैः प्रत्येकं व्यवधानेऽपि इणकुभ्यां परस्य सस्य र्भूधन्यादेशः स्यात् । दुत्वेन पूर्वस्य षत्वम् । पिपठीषु पिप-
ठीषु । प्रत्येकमिति व्याख्यानादनेकव्यवधाने षत्वं न । निस्व । निस्ते । नुम्वग्रहणं नुम्वस्थानिका नुम्वारोपलक्ष-
णार्थं व्याख्यानात् । तेनेह न । सुहिंसु । पुंसु । अत एव न शर्महणेन गतार्थता । रास्त्वस्येति सलोपे विसर्गः ।
चिक्रीः । चिक्रीर्षौ । चिक्रीर्षः । रोः सुपीति नियमात्र विसर्गः । चिक्रीर्षु । दमडोर्षु । डित्वसामर्थ्याद्विलोपः ।
षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्बुट् विसर्गौ । होः । होषौ । होषः । पदत्र इति वा होषन् । होष्णः । होष्णा । होषः । होषा ।
विश प्रवेशने । सन्नन्तात् क्तिप् । षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्संयोगान्तलोपः । ब्रञ्चेति षः । जभ्स्वचत्वे । विविद् ।
विविद् । विविक्षौ । विविक्षः । स्कोरिति कलोपः । तद् । तड् । तक्षौ । तक्षः । गोरद् । गोरड् । गोरक्षौ ।

गोरक्षः । तक्षिगक्षिभ्यां प्यन्ताभ्यां क्तिप् ति तु स्कारिति न प्रवर्तते । शिलोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् । पूर्ववासिद्धीये न स्थानिवदिति तु इह नास्ति । तस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपलक्षणत्वमिति निषेधात् । तस्मात्संयोगान्तलोप एव । तक् । तग् । गोरक् । गोरग् । स्कारिति कर्त्तव्यं प्रति कृत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् संयोगान्तलोपः । पिपक् । पिपग् । एवं विवक् । दिधक् । पिस गतौ । सुट् पसतीति सुपीः । सुपिसौ । सुपिसः । सुपिसा । सुपीभ्याम् । सुपीःपु । सुपीषु । एवं सुट् । तुज खण्डने । विद्वात् । विद्वांसौ । विद्वांसः । इ विद्वात् । विद्वांसम् । विद्वांसौ ॥

434. The substitution of ष् for स् takes place then also, when any one of these singly, namely, the augment न् (नुम्), the visarjanīya or a sibilant occurs between the said इण् and कु letters or the स्.

Thus पिपडिस् + सुप् = पिपडीस् (the इ of डि is lengthened by the last sūtra, because the base before this affix gets the designation of pada by I. 4. 17. S. 230) + घु = पिपडीष् (the स् being changed to ष् by the present sūtra) + घु = पिपडीषु or पिपडीः घु ॥

The षत्वं takes place, when नुम् &c. intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here निस्स, 'th u kissest', निस्स्व 'kiss thou', from the root निस् 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, नुम् and स (III. 4. 91).

From the explanation in Mahābhāṣhya in explaining हयवरद् we learn that the नुम् of this sūtra must be the anusvāra which replaces नुम् and not any other anusvāra. Therefore not in सुहिंसु or पुंसु. Here there is no ष change. Though anusvāra is included in the pratyāhara ण् by the Vārtika शर्षु जडभावषत्वे "the visarjanīyā, anusvāra jihvāmuliya and upadhmāniya should be included in the शर् pratyāhara for the sake of जश् vidhi and षत्वं vidhi"; yet the separate mention of नुम् in this sūtra indicates that that anusvāra is to be taken which results from नुम्.

Now, we take up the declension of चिकीर्स्: This is formed from the Desiderative root चिकीर्स् meaning 'wishing to make' with the affix क्तिर्. This is thus formed:—कृ + सन् ॥ Here the augment ईद् is not added because of the sūtra VII. 2. 10. S. 2246 or VII. 2. 12. S. 2610; the affix सन् is क्तिर् by I. 2. 9. S. 2612 and therefore there is no guṇa by I. 1. 5. S. 2217. Then there is lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 16. S. 2614. Then the कृ is changed to इर् by VII. 1. 100. S. 299. Then the root is reduplicated by VI. 1. 9. S. 2395.

Thus we get किर् किर् ॥ The first र is elided by VII. 4. 60. S. 2179 and first क changed to च् by VII. 4. 62. S. 2245. Thus we have चिकिर् ॥ Now, चिकिर् + स = चिकिस् ॥ Then the अ of स is elided by VI. 4. 48 S. 2308. Thus चिकीर्स् To this is added the N. S. case termination घु ॥ चिकिस् + घु ॥ The affix घु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.

Then we have चिकिर्स् ॥ Now the final स् is elided by VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus we have चिकिर् ॥ The इ of कि is lengthened by VIII. 2. 76 S. 433. Thus we have चिकीः ॥

The lengthening in चिकीर्षो &c. is by अङ्गान् VI. 4. 16. S. 2614 by which the इ is lengthened before सन् affix. We did not apply this sūtra, in Nominative S. because सन् was already dropped.

Thus the Nominative forms are चिकीर्षः, चिकीर्षो, चिकीर्षः ॥ The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76,77. S. 433. and 354.

The Loc : Plural is चिकीर्षु ॥ Here र् is not changed to visarga, because it is not the र् of रु but it is a portion of the word itself (see sūtra VIII. 3. 16. S. 339.)

Now, we take up the declension of होस् : This is formed by the Uṇādi affix डोस् added to the root दम् (Uṇādi II. 69). The अम् of दम् is elided because the affix after it has an indicatory ड् see VI. 4. 143 S. 316, though the base is not भ. Thus होस् ॥ Then स् is changed to ष्. But this change is asiddha for the purposes of रु and visarga change. Thus N. S. is होः ॥ N. Dual and Plural are होषौ, होषः respectively. In the weak cases it has two forms, thus, होष्णः or होषः (Ac. Plural); होष्णा or होषा (Inst : singular), for in these cases होष् is replaced by होषन् by VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

Note:—the अम् portion of दम् is elided by VI. 4. 143. S. 316. and though the base before it is not भ strictly speaking Sūtra VI. 4. 143. could not apply here, for that sūtra is confined to भ bases only. But as the ड of the affix डोस् must produce some effect, it produces the elision of दि portion of दम् by the analogy of VI. 4. 143.

Now, we take up the declension of विविश् : It is formed from the root विश् with the Desiderative affix सन् ॥ Thus विश् + सन् ॥ The augment इद् is not added because of the prohibition contained in VII. 2. 10. S. 2246. The सन् affix is कित् by I. 2. 12. S. 2368 and therefore there is no guṇa. Thus विश् + सन् = विश् विश् + सन् = विविश् + स ॥ To this we add the affix कित् by which the अ ० स is elided by VI. 4. 48. मतोलोफ् and we get the form विविश्स् ॥ Then by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. स् is elided and we get विविश् ॥ This श् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 which again is changed to ड and then optionally to इ. In other cases ष is changed to क् by VIII. 2. 41. S. 295 ; and स changed to ष VIII. 3. 57 S. 211. Thus N. forms are विविद् or विविड्, विविक्षौ, विविक्षः ॥

Now to we take up the declension of तक्ष् formed from the root तक्ष् or तक्षु 'to fashion., The क् is elided by VIII. 2. 29. S. 380. Thus the N. S. is तद् or तड् formed under the same rules as विविद् or विविड् .

Nominative Dual and Plural are तक्षौ, तक्षः .

Similar is the declension of गोरक्ष् meaning 'one who protects cows' Its N. forms are गोरद् or गोरड् , गोरक्षौ गोरक्षः ॥

But if these words be derived from the Causative roots (ण्यन्त) तक्षि and रक्षि with the affix क्तिप्, then VIII. 2. 29. S. 380 will not apply and so there will be no elision of क्. This is because the णि which was elided by णि रनिदि (VI. 4. 51. S. 2313) will be स्थानिवत् ॥ But will not the following *Vārtika* पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयेन स्थानिवत्; prevent the स्थानिवद्भावः? "There is no stānīvadbhāva in the last three chapters of Ashtādhyāyī."

To this we reply 'No'. Because of the following exception. *Vārtika*. The above *Vārtika* is inapplicable in the following three cases (a) the rule ordaining the elision of the first or initial letter of a conjunct consonant VIII. 2. 29. S. 380. (b) the rule relating to ल change (c) the rule relating to ण् change. S. 235.

Therefore, we shall have संयोगान्तलोपः i.e. the elision of the final स् and not of the *initial* क्. Thus the N. S. will be तक् or तग्; गोरक् or गोरग्.

Now we take up the declension of विपश् meaning 'desirous of cooking'. It is formed from the root पच् with the Desiderative affix सन्. Thus we get पच् + पच् + स = पपच्स = पपक्ष् ॥ The ष of the initial प is changed to इ by VII. 4. 79. S. 2317. Thus we have विपक्ष् ॥

Its N. S. is विपक् or विपग् ॥ The क् of विपक्ष is not elided, but the final स् is elided, for the reasons already given above.

Similar is the declension of विवक्ष् meaning 'desirous of speech' from the root वच् 'to speak' and of दिधक्ष् meaning 'desirous of burning', from the root ब्ध् to burn. The Nominative Singular being विवक् and दिधक् respectively. Now, we take up the declension, of सुपिस् : It is derived from the root पिस्, 'to walk'; hence सुपिस् means 'one who walks well'. It is declined as follows. :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	सुपीः	सुपिसौ	सुपिसः
Instr.	सुपिसा	सुपीभ्याम्	
Loc.			सुपीषु or सुपीषुः ॥

Similar is the declension of सुतृस् 'well-cutting'. Its Nominative Sing. is सुतृः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of विद्स् meaning 'a learned man'. In the strong case terminations, it is declined as :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	विद्वान्	विद्वांसौ	विद्वांसः
Voc.	हे विद्वान्		
Acc.	विद्वांसम्	विद्वांसौ	

In the weak-case terminations, the declension of this word is governed by the following rule :—

४३५ । वसोः संप्रसारणम् । ६ । ४ । १३१ ॥

वसन्तस्य भस्य संप्रसारणं स्यात् । पूर्वरूपत्वं षत्वम् । विदुषः । विदुषा । वसुक्षत्वाति वत्वम् । विद्वद्भ्यामित्यादि । सेद्विवात् । सेद्विवांसौ । सेद्विवांसः । सेद्विवांसम् । अन्तर्ज्ञोऽपीडागमः संप्रसारणविषये न प्रवर्तते । अकृतव्यूहा इति परिभाषया । सेदुषः । सेदुषा । सेद्विद्वद्भ्यामित्यादि । सान्तमहत इत्यत्र सान्तसंयोगोऽपि प्रातिपदिकस्यैव गृह्यते न तु धातोः महच्छब्दसाहचर्यात् । सुदु हिनस्तीति सुहिन् । सुहिंसौ । सुहिंसः । सुहिन्भ्याम् । सुहिन्सु । ध्वत् । ध्वद् । ध्वसौ । ध्वसः । ध्वद्भ्याम् । एवं सत् ॥

435. The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वस्) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem.

Thus विद्वस् + शस् = विद् उ अस् + शस् ॥ उ and अ become उ by the पूर्वरूप rule (VI. 1. 108 S 330) = विदुस् + अस् ॥ Then स् of विदुस् is changed to ष् ॥ Thus विदुष् + अस् = विदुषस् = विदुषः (Ac : Pl :). The Ins. Sing : विदुषा is also similarly formed.

Before भ्याम्, the स् of विद्वस् is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 72. S. 334. Thus विद्वद्भ्याम् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of सेद्विस् ॥ It is formed by adding the affix कसु to the root सद् by III. 2. 108 S. 3097. The root is reduplicated by VI. 1. 8. S. 2177. Thus :—सद् + सद् + कसु = स + सद् + कसु ॥ The first इ being elided by ह्रस्वादि शेषः ॥ VII. 4. 60. S. 2179. Then the first स is elided and the अ of the second स is changed into ए by अत एकहल्मध्ये VI. 4. 120. S. 2260. Thus we get सेद् + कसु = सेद् + वस् ॥ To this we apply the augment इद् by VII. 2. 67. S 3096. Thus सेद् + इद् + वस् = सेद्विस् ॥ In strong cases there will be नुस् augment by VII. 1. 70. S. 361. and lengthening by VI. 4. 10 S. 317. Thus :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	सेद्विवात्	सेद्विवांसौ	सेद्विवांसः
Acc.	सेद्विवांसम्	"	

In the weak-case terminations or Bha bases, there is not the इद् augment of VII. 2. 67, S. 3096, though it was antaranga, because it would be useless to add इद् when we are going to vocalise the व् into उ for then the efficient cause व् of वस् would be absent. This proceeds on the maxim अकृतव्यूहा &c. See under Sûtra I. 3. 11. S. 46. Because इ is added to वस् only when it has the form of वस्. But when व is going to be changed to उ and the affix ultimately becomes उस् then there would be no वस् for the application of the sûtra VII. 2. 67. So we have the Acc : Pl : सेदुषः ॥ The Instr : Sing is सेदुषा ॥ The Instr : Dual is सेद्विद्भ्याम् &c.

In the sûtra VI. 4. 10 S. 317, the words ending in conjunct consonant न्स् must be prâtipadikas, that is, the crude nouns and not a verbal base ending in न्स् ॥ This we infer because of the prâtipadika महत् being in

the company of सान्त, which means that words *sui generis* with महत् should be taken.

Therefore the word सुहिन्स् where the न्स् is a portion of the verb हिनस्ति and where, the noun सुहिन्स् means 'one who strikes well', the rule above given will not apply. Thus सुहिन्स् is declined as follows :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural
Nominative	सुहिन्	सुहिंसौ	सुहिंसः

In the Instru : Dual where सुहिन्स् gets the designation of pada, the स् is elided and we get सुहिन्भ्याम् ॥

The Loc : Plural is सुहिन्सु or सुहिन्सु ॥

Now, we take up the declension of ध्वस् formed from the root ध्वन्स् with the affix क्तिप्. The न् of the root ध्वन्स् is elided by VI. 4. 24. S. 415. Thus it is declined as

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	ध्वत् or ध्वद्	ध्वसौ	ध्वसः ॥
Instr :		ध्वद्भ्याम् ॥	

Similar is the declension of सस् from the root सन्स्.

Now we take up the declension of पुंस् : In its declension, the following rule applies :—

४३६ । पुंसोऽसुङ् । ७ । १ । ८६ ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने विवक्षितऽसुङ् स्यात् । उकार उच्चारणार्थः । बहुपुंसी इत्यत्र उगितश्चेति डीबर्थे कृतेन पूजो डुमसुन्निति प्रत्ययस्यगित्वेनैव नुमसिद्धः । पुमान् । हे पुमान् । पुमांसौ । पुमांसः । पुंसः । पुंभ्याम् । पुंभिः । पुंसु । ऋदुशनेत्यनङ् । उशना । उशनसौ । उशनसः । अस्य संबुद्धौ वाऽनङ् नलोपश्च वा वाच्यः * ॥ हे उशनन् । हे उशन । हे उशनः । उशनोभ्यामित्यादि । अनेहा । अनेहसौ । अनेहसः । हे अनेहः । अनेहोभ्यामित्यादि । वेधाः । वेधसौ । वेधसः । हे वेधः । वेधोभ्यामित्यादि । अथातोऽरित्युक्तेर्न दीर्घः । सुष्टु वस्ते सुवः । सुवसौ । सुवसः । पिण्डं असते पिण्डमः । पिण्डगलः । ग्रसु गलसु अदने ॥

436. अङ् (अस्) is substituted for the final of पुंस when the sarvanāmasthāna affixes are to be added.

The ङ in असुङ् is for the sake of pronunciation and not to indicate that नुम् should be added under VII. 1. 70 S. 361 because the नुम् will be added in strong cases by the very fact that the word पुंस is formed from पा (to protect) + डुम्बुन् (Un. IV. 178) and as the affix डुम्बुन् is an उगित् affix, it will produce its effect under VII. 1. 70 by causing नुम्. *pari passu* as it does in causing डीप् to be added to in the feminine, in forming बहुपुंसी, by the sūtra उगितश्च (IV. 1. 6 S. 455). Thus it is declined as follows :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	पुमान्	पुमांसौ	पुमांसः
Voc.	हे पुमान्		
Acc.			पुंसः
Inst.	पुंसा	पुंभ्याम्	पुभिः
Loc.			पुंसु

Kāśikā :—The word पुंस् is derived from पा (to protect) + डम्भुन् (Uṇ IV. 178), the ण् being changed to anusvāra. So when स of पुंस् is replaced by अस् we get the form पुमस्, the ड of अमुड् indicates that न् should be added in the strong cases after अ (VII. 1. 70), so we have पुमान्, पुमांसौ, पुमांसः ॥

This substitution must take place in its incipient stage before the affixes are added, (उपदेशित्वावः) : otherwise the accent will be wrong. The compounds have acute on the final, (VI. 1. 223), therefore, परमपुस् has acute on पु, and in the Nominative Singular परमपुमान् the acute will remain on पु, but it is intended that it should be on मा, thus परमपुमान् ॥ The simple word पुमान्, of course, has accent on पु .

Now, we take up the declension of उशानस् ॥ By VII. 1. 94.S. 276, अनङ् is substituted for the final of उशानस् in the Nom. Sing : Thus Nom. forms are उशाना, उशानसौ, उशानसः ॥ In forming the Voc : Sing : the following Vārtika will apply :—

Vārt :—अनङ् is substituted for the final of उशानस् in the Voc. S. also, as हे उशानन्, the final न् not being elided (See VIII. 2. 8). Otherwise we have हे उशान ! Thus it has three forms in the Vocative Singular : as हे उशानस्, हे उशानन्, and हे उशान !

The Instr : Dual is उशानोभ्याम् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of अनेहस् meaning ' time '.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	अनेहा	अनेहसौ	अनेहसः
Voc.	हे अनेहः		
Instr.		अनेहोभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of वेधस् meaning ' the Creator '.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	वेधाः	वेधसौ	वेधसः
Voc.	हे वेधः		
Instr.		वेधोभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of सुवस् meaning ' one who wears well '. Here वस् belongs to a root and so in the Nom : S. its vowel is not lengthened because of the prohibition of अधातोः in VI. 4. 14. S. 425.

Hence its Nom : forms are सुवः, सुवसौ, सुवसः ॥

Now we take up the declension of पिण्डग्रस् and पिण्डग्लस् ॥ The verbs ग्रस् and ग्लस् mean 'to swallow' the Nominative singular forms of these are पिण्डग्रः and पिण्डग्लः meaning 'a lump eater'.

Now, we take up the declension of अदस्. In its declension the following rules apply :—

४३७। अदस औ सुलोपश्च । ७। २। १०७ ॥

अदस आकारोऽन्तर्दिशः स्यात्सौ परे सुलोपश्च । तदोः सः साविति इत्य सः । असौ ॥ औत्वप्रति-
षेधः साकृच्छस्य वा वक्तव्यः सादुत्वं च * ॥ प्रतिषेधसन्निधोगशिष्टमुत्वं तदभावे न प्रवर्तते । असकौ ।
असुकः । त्यदाद्यत्वं पररूपत्वम् । वृद्धिः । अदसोऽसेरिति मत्वोत्वे । अमू । जसः स्त्री । भादयुगः ॥

437. For the स् of अदस् there is substituted औ, whereby the Nominative affix सु is elided.

As अदस्+सु=अद+औ+O (VII. 2. 107)=अस+औ (VII. 2. 106 S. 381)=असौ ॥

Vart.—When the augment अकच् is added, the औ substitution is optional, and in that alternative उ is added after स्, as असुकः or असकौ ॥

The form असुकः is thus evolved :—अदकस्+सु, now औ substitution of the present sūtra is prohibited ; therefore, the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102 takes place, and the द is changed to स् by VII. 2. 106, and the अ of अकच् after स् is changed to उ.

In forming अमू we observe the following process :—

अदस्+औ=अद+औ (VII. 2. 102. S. 265. and VI. 1. 97. S. 191)=अदौ ॥
Here द is replaced by न and औ by अ ; one might object that by the maxim (19) भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणे न *i. e.* "A letter which is taught in a rule does not denote the letters homogeneous with it" औ ought to have been changed to short उ, but we answer that the maxim (20) भाव्यमानोऽप्युकारः सवर्णान्ग्रहणाति *i. e.* The letter उ denotes, even when it is taught in a rule, also the letters homogeneous with it," makes an exception in the case of उ only.

The rule पुर्वत्रासिद्धं (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12) should be applied before the operations required by vibhakti take place, and then the उ and न of VIII. 2. 80. should be substituted : because with regard to व्यहारीनामः (VII. 2. 102 S. 265) which is a rule of the 7th Adhyāya, the sūtra अदसो से (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419) which is a rule of Tripādi becomes asiddha. Therefore if the vibhakti operation ordained by VII. 2. 102 S. 265 were not to take place first, then the base would remain अदस् ending with स्, and the rule VIII. 2. 80. S. 419. requiring उ for अ, and स् for द् would find no scope at all.

But if in the sūtra पुवत्रासिद्धम्, the operations of Tripādi themselves were intended to become asiddha, then we could never get the forms अम्, अमुम् &c. For if we apply VIII. 2. 80 S. 419. before the अ of स् of अद्स् obtained by VII. 2. 102 S. 265. plus the अ of the द् of अद्स् become अ by VI. 1. 97 S. 191; in other words, if we apply VIII. 2. 80 S. 419 to the following nascent state of अद्+अ, then we shall have this incongruity: अम् उ+अ. Here म् is asiddha for the purposes of VI. 1. 97. S. 191, and अ of अम् plus उ would become व, which is not desired.

In forming the N. Dual, the rule VII. 2. 102. S. 265 will cause the replacement of स् of अद्स् by अ and this अ will coalesce with the final अ of द् and become अ by VI. 1. 97 and thus the base will be अद्. Thus अद्+औ=अद्दौ. The द् will be replaced by म् and औ by long ऊ and we get अम् (VI. 1. 102. S. 164).

The N. Pl. is अनी. It is thus evolved :—

अद्स्+नी (VII. 1. 17 S. 214)=अद्+ई=अदे (VI. 1. 87. S. 69). Then applies the following Sūtra :—

४३८। एत ईद्वहुदचने। ८। २। ८१ ॥

अदसो दात्परत्यैत ईत्स्यादस्य च नो बह्वर्थोक्तौ। अनी। पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति विभक्तिकार्यं प्राक् पश्चादुत्पत्तये। अमुम्। अम्। अमून्। सुत्वे कृते विसंज्ञायां नाभावः ॥

438. For the ए coming after the द् of अद्स् there is substituted ई, and द् is changed to म्, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus Nom. Pl. is अनी.

In forming the Acc. Sing, we have अद्स्+अम्. Now the sūtra त्वादीनामः (VII. 2. 102 S. 265) has superior force to sūtra अदसोऽसे (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419) and it applies first. Thus we get अद्+अम्=अदम् because vibhakti operations are applied first. Then applies the sūtra अदसोऽसे (VIII. 2. 80.) and we get अमुम्.

When अदम् is changed to अमु it gets the designation of चि (I. 4. 7 S. 232.) So in the Inst. Sing. the substitute ना offers itself from VII. 3. 120. S. 244.

Thus अमु+ना. Here however the question might occur that the formation of हु being enunciated in VIII. 2. 80. S. 419 in the Tripādi, whether VII. 3. 120. S. 244 does not regard the हु as asiddha.

Hence the following Sūtra :—

४३६। न मु ने। ८। २। ३ ॥

नाभाव कर्तव्ये कृते च सुभावो नासिद्धः स्यात् । असुना । असूभ्याम् ३ । अमीभिः । असुब्जे । अमीभ्यः २ । असुब्भात् । असुब्ज्य । असुयोः । अमीषाम् । असुब्मिन् । असुयोः । अमीषु ॥

439. The sūtra VIII. 2. 80, teaching the substitution of मु for the दस् of the Pronoun अदस्, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending ना .

Note :—The existence of मु is not considered uneffected when there is to be added ना ॥ On the contrary it is considered as siddha or existing. Thus सु being considered as siddha, असु gets the designation of चि by I. 4. 7. and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII. 3. 120. असुना ॥ Had the सु been considered as noneffected, then the stem would not have been called *ghi*, and there would have been no ना added. But when ना had been added, then the सु being asiddha, असु is considered to be as अद ending in अ, and this अ would require lengthening by सुपि च VII. 3. 102 : but it is not done on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनित्तं तद्विघातस्य “that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination”. There being no long आ the उ of असु remains short. Or this sūtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sūtras (1) सु is siddha when ना is to be added, (2) सु is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when ना is added, are to take place. Or the sense of the sūtra is ने परतो यत् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् कर्तव्ये सुभावो नासिद्धः “the मु is not non-effected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when ना followed”. From this, it would follow by implication that सु must be considered valid for the purposes of नाभाव itself. So सु being always siddha, ना is added : and there is no lengthening.

Thus the declension of अदस् in the Instr: and the succeeding cases is as follows :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Instr.	असुना	असूभ्याम्	अमीभिः
Dat.	असुब्जे	”	अमीभ्यः
Abl.	असुब्भात्	”	”
Gen.	असुब्ज्य	असुयोः	अमीषाम्
Loc.	असुब्मिन्	”	अमीषु

Here end the declensions of Masculines ending in consonants.

अथ हलन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XII

DECLENSION OF FEMININES.

Now we take up the declension of Feminines ending in ह such as उपानह् ॥ The following rule applies to it.

४४० । नहो धः । < । २ । ३४ ॥

नहो हस्य धः स्याज्जलि पदान्ते च । उपानत् । उपानद् । उपानहौ । उपानहः । उपानद्भ्याम् । उपानस्तु । उत्पूर्वात् णिह प्रीतावित्यस्माद्विगादिना क्तिन् । निपातनात्तलोपपत्वे । क्तिन्नन्तत्वात्कुत्वेन हस्य धः । जडत्वचत्वे । उष्णिक् । उष्णिग् । उष्णिहौ । उष्णिहः । उष्णिग्भ्याम् । उष्णिक्षु । द्यौः । दिवौ । दिवः । द्युषु । गीः । गिरौ । गिरः । एवं पूः । चतुरश्रतस्रदिशः । चतस्रः २ । चतसृणाम् । किमः कादिशे टाप् । का । के । काः । सर्वावत् ॥

440. The ह of नह is changed to ध before a *jhal* letter or at the end of a word.

Note :—As नडां, नद्धुम्, नद्धव्यम्, उपानत्, परीयत् ॥ The त् of the affixes त् &c, is changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40 ; and for the preceding ध is substituted ह by VIII. 4. 53 उपानत् is formed by VIII. 2. 39, read with VIII. 4. 56. परीयत् is formed by क्विप् as it belongs to सम्पदादि class, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 116, and ण-change by VIII. 4. 14. It would have shortened the processes of transformation, had only ह been ordained in the sūtra, instead of ध ; but the ordaining of ध is for the purposes of VIII. 2. 40, by which there should be ध ; for the participial त् &c, in नद्धम्, and that there should not be the change of this Nishṭhā त् into न by VIII. 2. 42. Thus नध् + त् = नध् + ध (VIII. 2. 40) = नद्धम् (VIII. 4. 53). But had the substitute been ह, we should have नह् + त् = नहन् by VIII. 2. 42.

Thus उपानह् becomes उपानत् or उपानद् ॥

The Nom. S. affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 67. and VI. 1. 68, and ध् is changed to त् or द् by VIII. 2. 39. The Nom. D. is उपानहौ and the Plural उपानहः ॥ The Instrumental Dual उपानद्भ्याम् and the Loc Plural उपानस्तु.

Now we take up the declension of the word उष्णिह्. This word is formed with the upasarga उत् and the affix क्विप् by III. 2. 59. added to the root स्निह् 'to love'. The word उष्णिह् is the name of a Vaidic metre. The त् of उत् is elided by निपातन the स् and न् are changed to ष् and ण. (VIII. 3. 59. and VIII. 4. 40). The ह is changed to ध because it is a word formed with the affix क्विप् by sūtra VIII. 2. 62. The ध becomes ग्, then क् by VIII. 2. 39. Thus we have Nom. S. उष्णिक् or उष्णिग् Nom. D. उष्णिहौ, Nom. Pl. उष्णिहः. Ins. D. उष्णिग्भ्याम् Loc. Pl. उष्णिक्षु.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **व्** such as **दिव्**. Here the same rules will apply as in the case of the Masculine word **दिव्**. See Sûtra VII. 1. 84. S. 336 &c. Nom. S. **द्यौः** Nom. D. **दिवौ**. Nom. Pl. **दिवः**; Loc. Pl. **दिवु**.

—————:O:—————

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **र्** such as **गिर्**. It is declined as the masculine word. Thus Nom. S. **गीः**, D. **गिरौ**, Pl. **गिरः**. Similar is the declension of **पुर**. The word **चतुर्** is changed to **चतसृ**. It is always declined in the Plural. Thus Nom. and Acc. Pl. **चतस्रः**, Gen. Pl. **चतसृणाम्** ॥

—————:O:—————

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **म्** such as **किम्**. **क** is substituted for **किम्** by VII. 2. 103. Then we add the feminine affix **दाप्**. Thus Nom. S. is **का** Nom. D. **के** Nom. Pl. **काः**. The declension of the rest is like the feminine form of **सर्व** (**सर्वा**).

—————O—————

Now, we take up the declension of **इदम्**. Its declension is governed by the following rule:—

४४१ । यः सौ । ७ । २ । ११० ॥

इदमो ह्यस्य यः स्यात्सौ ॥ इदमो मः ॥ इयम् । त्यदाद्यत्वं दाप् । इति मः । इमे । इमाः । इमाम् । इमे । इमाः । अनया ॥ हलि लोपः ॥ आभ्याम् ३ । आभिः । अस्यै । अस्याः । अनयोः २ । आसाम् । अस्याम् आसु । अन्वादेशे तु । एनाम् । एने । एनाः । एनया । एनयोः २ । ऋत्विगादिना वृजेः क्तिन् अमागमश्च निपातितः । सक् सग् । सजौ । सजः । सग्भ्याम् । सक्षु । त्यदाद्यत्वं दाप् । स्या । त्ये । त्याः । एवं तद् यद् एतद् । वाक् । वाग् । वाचौ । वाचः । वाग्भ्याम् । बाक्षु । अप्शब्दे नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः । अप्तुन्निति दीर्घः । आपः । अपः ॥

441. **य्** is substituted for the **इ** of **इदम्** in the Nominative Singular in the feminine.

The final **म्** of **इदम्** remains unchanged by VII. 2. 108. S. 343. Thus Nominative S. **इयम्** ॥ Then the feminine affix **दाप्** is added by the sûtra VII. 2. 102. S. 265. **इ** is changed to **य्** by VII. 2. 109. S. 345. The Nominative Dual is **इमे** Nominative Plural **इमाः** ॥ Accusative S. is **इनाम्** ॥ Inst. S. is **अनया** ॥ **इद्** is changed to **अन्** by VII. 2. 112. By the rule VII. 2. 113. S. 347 there is elision of **इद्** so that we have in the Inst. Dat. and Abl. Dual **आभ्याम्**; Inst. Plural is **आभिः** We have Dat S. **अस्यै** by VII. 3. 114; Gen. S. **अस्याः** and Dual **अनयोः** by VII 3. 105 and Plural **आसाम्** by VII. 1. 52 and VII. 2. 113; Loc. S. **अस्याम्**, D. **अनयोः**, and Plural **आसु** ॥ But in re-employment (अन्वादेशे) we have **एनाम्** in the Acc. S. **एने** in the Dual and **एनाः** in Plural. In Inst. S. **एनया**, and **एनयोः** in the Dual of both Genitive and Locative.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **ञ्** such as **सञ्** :

The word **सञ्** is formed by the sūtra III. 2. 59. with the augment **अम्** irregularly. Thus we have **सक्** or **सप्** in the Nominative S., **सजौ** in the Dual and **सजः** in the Plural ; **सञ्भ्याम्** in the Inst. Dual, **सञ्भु** in the Loc. Plural.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **द्** such as **त्यद्** : By the rule VII. 2. 102 and with the feminine affix **दाप्** we have **स्या** in the Nominative S. **स्ये** in the Nom. D. and **स्याः** in the Nominative Plural. **तद्**, **यद्** and **एतद्** are similarly declined.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **च्** e. g. **वाच्** : We have **वाक्** or **वाग्** in the Nominative S. **वाचौ** in D. and **वाचः** in the Nominative Plural. In the Instru D. we have **वाञ्भ्याम्** and in the Loc. Plural **वाञ्भु** ॥

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **प्** such as **अप्** : **अप्** is always used in the Plural. By VI. 4. 11. S. 277. the vowel **अ** is lengthened. Thus we have in the Nominative Plural **आपः** ; in the Acc. Plural **अपः** ॥

In forming the Inst. Plural the following rule applies :—

४४२ । अपो मि । ७ । ४ । ४८ ॥

अपस्तकारः स्याद्भासौ प्रत्यये परे । अङ्गिः । अद्भ्यः २ । अपाम् । अप्सु । दिक् । दिग । दिशौ । दिशः । दिग्भ्याम् । दिक्षु । त्यदादिष्विति दशोः क्तिन्विधानादन्यत्रापिकृत्वम् । दृक् । दृग् । दृशौ । दृशः । त्विद् । त्विङ् । त्विषौ । त्विषः । त्विङ्भ्याम् । त्विद्भ्यु । त्विद्भ्यु । सह जुषते इति सज्जुः । सज्जुषौ । सज्जुषः । सज्जुर्भ्याम् । सज्जुषु । सज्जुःषु । षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्भुत्वम् । आशीः । आशिषौ । आशिषः । आशीर्भ्याम् । असौ । त्यदाद्यत्वं । दाप् । औङ् । शी । उत्त्वमत्वे । अमू । अमूः । अमूम् । अमू अमूः । अमूम् । अमू । अमुया । अमूभ्याम् । अमूभिः । अमूभ्यै । अमूभ्याम् २ । अमूभ्यः । अमुष्याः २ । अमुयोः । अमुयोः । अमुष्याम् । अमुष्याम् । अमुषु ॥

442. **क्** is substituted for the final of the stem **अप्** before a case-ending beginning with **भ्** ॥

Thus we have **अङ्गिः** and in the Dat. and Abl. Plural **अद्भ्यः** ; in the Gen. and Loc. Plural **अपाम्** and **अप्सु** respectively.

Now we come to the declension of words ending in **श्** such as **दिश्** ॥ Thus in the Nominative S. we have **दिक्** or **दिग्** by III. 2. 59. S. 373 and VIII. 2. 62 S. 377 ; in the Nominative Dual **दिशौ** and Plural **दिशः** ; in the Inst. Dual **दिग्भ्याम्** and Loc. Plural **दिक्षु** ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word **दृश्** ॥ By the rule III. 2. 60, S. 429 **दृश्** takes the affix **क्तिन्** when in combination with the pronoun **त्यद्** &c. But we infer from this that the root **दृश्** will take the affix **क्तिन्** even when it is not in combination also. Thus in the Nominative S. we have **दृक्** or **दृग्** , Nominative D. **दृशौ** , Plural **दृशः** ॥

So also त्विष् : Its Nominative S. is त्विह् or त्विङ् by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. in the Nominative D. त्विषौ ॥ Nominative Plural त्विषः ॥ Inst. D. त्विङ्भ्याम् and the Loc. Plural त्विह्स्तु or त्विङ्स्तु with the optional augment ष by VIII. 3. 29. S. 131.

The word सञ्जुष्, "a friend". By the rule VIII. 3. 36. S. 151. इ is substituted for its final and by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. there is the elision of जु; then by applying the rules VIII. 2. 76. S. 433. and VIII. 3. 15. S. 76. we have सज्ः in the Nominative S. The Nominative D. सज्जुषौ and Plural सज्जुषः; similarly in the Inst. D. सज्जुङ्भ्याम् and. Loc. Plural सज्जुङ्स्तु or सज्जुः षु, the change of स to ष् caused by VIII. 4. 41. S. 113 being not perceived by VIII. 2. 66. S. 162. causing रु ॥

In the same way the word आशिस् for आशिष् is declined. Thus we have the Nominative S., D. and Plural आशीः आशिषौ and आशिषः respectively; In Inst. D. we have आशीर्भ्याम् and Plural आशीर्भिः ॥

Now we take up the declension of the pronoun अहम् ॥

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	असौ (VII. 2. 102. S. 265)	अम् (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419)	अम् :
Acc.	अमम्	अम्	अम् :
Inst.	अमुया	अमुभ्याम्	अमुभिः
Dat.	अमुयै (VII. 3. 114. S. 291)	"	अमुभ्यः
Abl.	अमुभ्याः	"	"
Gen.	"	अमुयोः	अमूयाम् (VII. 1. 52)
Loc.	अमुभ्याम्	"	अमूषु

Here end the declensions of Feminines ending in Consonants.

अथ हलन्तनपुंसकलिङ्गप्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIII.

DECLENSION OF NEUTERS ENDING IN CONSONANTS.

स्वमोरलुक् । इत्वम् । स्वनडुत् । स्वनडुद् । स्वनडुही । चतुरनडुहारित्याम् । स्वनडुङ्गिहि । पुनस्तद्वत् ।
 शेषं पुंवत् ॥ दिव उत् ॥ अहर्विमलद्यु । अन्तरवर्तिनां विभक्तिमाश्रित्य पूर्वपदस्येवोत्तरखण्डस्यापि
 पदसंज्ञायां प्राप्तायाम् ॥ उत्तरपदत्वे चापवादिवधौ प्रतिषेधः * । इति प्रत्ययलक्षणं न । विमलदिवि ।
 विमलदिवि । अपशदिविधौ किम् । इधिसेचौ । इह षत्वनिषेधे कर्तव्ये पदत्वमस्येव । कुत्वे तु न । वाः ।
 वारी । अझलन्तत्वात् नुम् । वारि । चत्वारि । न लुभतेति कादेशो न । किम् । के । कानि । इवम् । इमे ।
 इमानि ॥ अन्वादेशे नपुंसके एनङ्गत्वव्यः * ॥ एनत् । एने । एनानि । एनेन । एनेयोः २ । ब्रह्म ।
 ब्रह्मणी । ब्रह्माणि । हे ब्रह्मन् । हे ब्रह्म । रोऽस्युपि ॥ अहर्भाति । विभाषा द्विवचोः । अङ्गी । अहनी ।
 अहानि

We take up the declension of the word स्वनडुह् . By the rule VII. 1. 23 S. 319 we have the elision of the case endings डु and अम् . In the case of स्वनडुह्, by the application of the rule VIII. 2. 72. S. 334. इ is substituted for ह . Thus we get स्वनडुत् or स्वनडुद् in the Nominative Sing. स्वनडुही in the Nominative Dual by the rule VII. 1. 19. S. 310. In the Nominative Plural, by the rule VII. 1. 98, S. 331. we have the augment आम् ॥ Thus we get स्वनडुङ्गिहि The Accusative forms will be the same as the Nominative. The rest is declined like the Masculine.

Now we take up the declension of the words ending in इ such as विमलदिव् ॥ By the rule VI. 1. 131, S. 337, उ is substituted for the final : thus we get विमलद्यु in the Nominative Singular which means " a clear day ".

In forming the Dual, there arises this consideration :—the word विमलदिव् is a compound of two words विमल and दिव् ॥ When the compounds are formed, the case-affixes are elided, as राज्ञः पुरुषः = राजपुरुषः . But though the case-affix is elided, the first member retains the designation of Pada, and so the न् of राजन् is elided and the form is rāja-purusha and not rājan-purusha. Similarly in वागीशः the क् is changed to श् ॥ Now if this elided case-affix (antar vartini vibhakti) is efficient in the case of the first member of a compound, analogically should not the *Second* member of the compound get the designation of *Pada*, for the affix is elided after the second member *also*, just as the *first* member gets ? This doubt is removed by the following *vārtika*.

Vārtika :—The rule of "Pratyaya-lope pratyaya lakṣaṇam" does not hold good in the case of the second member of a compound, for the purposes of applying any rule other than that relating to the initial letter of a

Pada". Therefore, there is no pratyaya-lakṣhaṇa : and so the word द्वि in विमलद्वि does not get the designation of *pada* and so it gets the designation Bha ; and consequently we can apply to it the sūtra VII. 1. 19 S. 310, which applies to *Bha* bases only. विमल द्वि being a *Bha* base and not a *Pada*, the औ is changed to ई ; and we get the Nominative Dual विमलद्वी and not विमलद्वौ ॥ The Nominative Plural is विमलद्विनि.

Why do we say in the above vārtika अपदादिविधौ " when any rule not relating to the beginning of a Pada is to be applied"? Observe दधिसेचौ = दध्नः सेचौ a Genitive Tatpuruṣa, compounded from दध्नः + सेचौ = दधि सेच् Here the second term सेच् does get the designation of Pada for the purposes of the application of the rule which prevents the *initial* स् being changed to ष ॥ Had it not been a Pada then स would have been changed to ष after इ by VIII. 3. 58. S. 434. But though सेच् is treated as a पद for the purposes of the application of the preventive rule relating to the *initial* letter, yet it is not to be treated as पद for the purposes of the application of the rule to the *final* letter च् which would become guttural क् if it were a Pada.

Note :—सेच् is derived from the root सिच् ' to sprinkle,' with the affix विच् (III. 2. 75. S. 2980). The above is the illustration of Genitive Tatpuruṣa compound.

Obj:—But if we form the upapada compound with the root सिच् and the upapada दधि in the Accusative, as दधिम सिचतः, then since the compounding is ordained to take place *before* the addition of vibhaktis, the word सेच् has no pada designation, and so स does not *begin* a pada, and it should be changed to ष Thus in upapada-samāsa, the ष change is inevitable.

Ans:—To this Kaiyata replies "अनाभिधानात् सोपपदाद् विज्भावः, दधिसेचौ इति प्रयोगाभावात्" ॥ Or we may say that the word अपदादि means पदादि: the beginning of a subsequent (whether pada or not) preceded by a pada.

Now, we take up the declension of वार. Its N. S. and Dual are वारः and वारी respectively. In forming the N. Pl. there will be no लुप् ordained by VII. 1. 72: S. 314. because the base does not end in ऋल् letters. Therefore the N. Pl. is वारि.

The Nominative and Acc. Pl. of चतुर् is चत्वारि ॥ The rest is like the. masculine.

Now we take up the declension of क्म. Thus किम् + सु = किम् + ओ by VII. 1. 23. S. 319. Now the affix is elided by using the word लुक् and so it leaves no trace behind, by I. 1. 63. S. 263, and therefore किम् is not changed to क् as would otherwise be required by Sūtra VII. 2. 103. S. 342. Thus it is declined as :—

	Sing.	Dual	Pl.
Nom.	किम्.	के	कानि

Now we take up the declension of इदम्. Its Nom: forms are इदम्, इमे, इमानि ॥

Vārtika:—In the Neuter, where there is Anvādeśa or re-employment it should be stated that एनत् replaces इदम्.

Thus एनत्, एने, एनानि ; Ins. S. एनेन Gen. D. एनयोः &c.

Now, we take up the declension of ब्रह्मन्. It is declined as.

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nomi.	ब्रह्म	ब्रह्मणी	ब्रह्माणि
Voc.	हे ब्रह्मन् or हे ब्रह्म.		

Now we take up the declension of अहन्. By VIII. 2. 69. S. 172. र् is substituted for the final न् of अहन् and thus अहंभाति in the Nominative Sg. Had there been रु, then the र् would have been changed to उ by हशिच VI. 1. 114 S. 166. The form would have been अहोभाति in the Nom: Sing. In the N. D. by VI. 4. 136. S. 237, the अ of अन् portion of अहन् is optionally elided and thus we get अह्नी or अहनी. N. Pl. is अहानि ॥

Before भ्याम् &c, where अहन् gets the designation of pada, the following rule applies.

४४३ । अहन् । ८ । २ । ६८ ॥

अहन्नित्यस्य रुः स्यात्पदान्ते । अहोभ्याम् । अहोभिः । इह अहः अहोभ्यामित्यादौ रत्वस्त्वयोरसिद्धत्वान्नलोपे प्राप्ते, अहन्नित्यावर्त्य नलोपाभावं निपात्य द्वितीयेन रुर्विधेयः । तदन्तस्यापि रुस्वरत्वे । दीर्घाण्यहानि यस्मिन् स दीर्घाहा निदाघः । इह हल्ङ्यादिलोपे प्रत्ययनक्षयोनाऽसुपीति निषेधाद्ब्रह्माभावे रुः । तस्यासिद्धत्वान्नान्तलक्षण उपधादीर्घः । संबुद्धौ तु हे दीर्घाहो निदाघ । र्घिर्हिनौ । दीर्घाहानः ! दीर्घाह्ना । र्घिर्घाहोभ्याम् ।

रुण्डि । रुण्डिनी । रुण्डीनि । सग्वि । सग्विणी । सग्वीणि । वाग्मि । वाग्मिनी । वाग्मीनि बहुवचनहाणि । बहुपूषाणि । बह्वर्थमाणि ।

असृजः पदान्ते कुत्वम् । सृजेः क्तिनो बिधानात् । विश्व सृडादौ तु न । सृजिदशोरिति सूत्रे रज्जुसङ्ख्यामिति भाष्यप्रयोगात् । यद्वा त्रश्चादिसूत्र सृजियज्योः पदान्ते षत्वं कुत्वापवादः । स्रग्भृत्विक्शब्दयोस्तु निपातनादेव कुत्वम् । असृक्शब्दस्तु अस्थितैरीणादिके ऋजप्रत्यये बोध्यः । असृक् । असृग् । असृजी । असृजिज् । पइन्न इति वा असन् । असानि । असृजा । अस्त्रा । असृग्भ्याम् । असृग्भ्यामित्यादि ।

ऊर्क । ऊर्ग । ऊर्जि । ऊर्जिज् । नरजानां संयोगः ॥ बहूर्जि तुमुप्रतिषेधः । * ॥ अन्त्यात्पूर्वो वा तुम् ॥ बहूर्जि बहूर्ज्जि वा कुलानि ।

त्यत् । त्यद् । त्ये । त्यानि । तत् । तद् । ते । तानि । यत् । यद् । ये । यानि । एतत् । एतद् । एते । एतानि । अन्वादेशे तु । एनत् ।

बेभिद्यते क्तिप् । बेभित् । बेभिद् । बेभिदी । शावल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वादभलन्तत्वात् तुम् । अजन्त लक्षणस्तु तुम् न । स्वविधौ स्थानिवत्त्वाभावात् । बेभिदि ब्राह्मणकुलानि । चच्छिदि ॥

गवाकशब्दस्य रूपाणि क्तिञ्चार्चानतिभेदतः । असंध्यवङ्पूर्वरूपैर्नवाधिकशतं मतम् ॥ १ ॥

स्वसुप्सु नव षड् भावैः षट्केऽप्युत्थीणि जडशसोः । चत्वारि शेषे दशकेरूपाणीति विभावय ॥ २ ॥

तथाहि । गामंचतीति त्रिषेऽऋत्विगादिना क्तिन् । गतो नलोपः । अवङ् स्फोटायनस्येत्यवङ् । गवाक् । गवाग् । सर्वत्र विभाषेति प्रकृतिभावे । गोभक् । गोभग् । पूर्वरूपे । गोक् । गोग् । पूजायां नस्य कुत्वेन डः । गवाङ् । गोभङ् । गोङ् । अग्न्यापि एतान्येव नव । ओङ्, शी । भस्वाच्च इत्यहोपः । गोची । पूजायां तु गवाञ्ची । गोभञ्ची । गोमञ्ची जडशसोः शिः । शिः सर्वनामस्थानत्वानुसुम् । गवाञ्चि । गोभञ्चि । गोमञ्चि । गतिपूजनयोस्त्रीण्येव । गोचा । गवाञ्चा । गोभञ्चा । गोमञ्चा । गवाग्भ्याम् । गोभग्भ्याम् । गोमग्भ्याम् । गवाङ्भ्याम् । गोभङ्भ्याम् । गोमङ्भ्याम् । इत्यादि ॥ सुपितु ङान्तानां पक्षे ङोः कुगिति कुक् । गवाङ्क्षु । गोभङ्क्षु । गोमङ्क्षु । गवाङ्क्षु । गोभङ्क्षु । गोमङ्क्षु । गवाङ्क्षु । गोभङ्क्षु । गोमङ्क्षु । न चेह चयो द्वितीया । इति पक्षे ककारस्य खकारेण षण्णामाधिक्यं शङ्क्यम् । चत्वर्यसिद्धत्वात् । कुक्पक्षे तु तस्यासिद्धत्वाज्जडत्वाभावे पक्षे द्वितीयादिशात्रीणि रूपाणि वर्धन्त एव ॥

ऊह्यमेषां द्विर्वचनानुनासिकविकल्पनात् । रूपाण्यश्वादिभूतानि । ५२७ भवन्तीति मनीषिभिः ॥ १ ॥

तिर्यक् । तिरश्ची । तिर्यञ्चि । पूजायां तु । तिर्यङ् । तिर्यङ्ची । तिर्यञ्चि । यकृत् । यकृती । यकृन्ति । पङ्क्तिरिति वा यकन् । यकानि । यक्ताः । यकृता । यकृती । यकृन्ति । शकानि । शक्ता । शकृता । दवत् । दवती ॥

443. रु is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ The sūtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न्, in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As दीर्घाहो, निराधः, हे दीर्घाहोऽत्रेति ॥ See Vārtika under VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to र in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

Vārt :—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रयन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्रि, अहोरयन्तरं साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2, 69. Others say, that this र change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with र ; as अहोरम्यम्, अहो रत्नानि ॥

The र and रु changes in अहर् (N. S.) and अहोभ्याम् (Ins. D.) ordained by VIII. 2. 69 S. 172. and VIII. 2. 68 S. 443. are asidhha i. e. not perceived by the preceding Sūtra VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. which requires the elision of न्. Therefore, arises the following difficulty that the र (which is really न्) would be elided. But this difficulty is removed by holding that the word अहन् in VIII. 2, 68. S. 443. is in N. S. without the elision of न्, and it is to be repeated as अहन् अहन् । The one indicates the exact form, showing that the न् is not elided ; and by the second word, the रु is ordained for this final न् ॥

The words ending in अहन् will also change the final न् into रु and र by VIII. 2. 68 and 69 S. 443. and 172. Thus we have the Bahuvrihi compound दीर्घाहन् meaning 'the season in which the days are long' as दीर्घाहो निराधः ॥ This word is a Masculine and it is necessary to enter into a digression to show its

various declensions. The word दीर्घाहा is thus evolved :—दीर्घाहन् + सु = दीर्घाहन् + ओ (there is lopa elision of सु by VI. 1. 68 S. 252). Therefore this lopa will produce the effect of a pratyaya by I. 1. 62 S. 262 and would cause the ह substitution for न् to the exclusion of र, because the र would not come, as in the sūtra VIII. 2. 69. S. 172. असुपि is used. But this ह being asiddha i. e. not perceived by VI. 4. 8. S. 250, there is lengthening of the penultimate अ ॥ Thus we have दीर्घाहाः in the N. S.

In the Voc : we have हे दीर्घाहो निदाघ ॥

Note:—The word दीर्घाहन् is a Bahuvrīhi (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI. 1. 68), and the न् changed to र् by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to ड (VI. 1. 114). In हे अहन्! the न् is not elided by the option of the following Vartika under VIII. 2. 8. वा नपुंसकानाम् which means that in the Neuters न् is optionally not elided.

It is thus declined :—

	Singular.	Dual	Plural.
Nom. & Acc :	दीर्घाहाः	दीर्घाहानौ	दीर्घाहानः
Instr.	दीर्घाहा	दीर्घाहोभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of दाण्डन् &c. Nominative and Accusative of

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
दाण्डन्	दाण्ड	दाण्डनी	दाण्डीनि
सग्विन्	सग्वि	सग्विणी	सग्वीणि
वाग्मिन्	वाग्मि	वाग्मिनी	वाग्मीनि
बहुवृत्रहन्	बहुवृत्रह	बहुवृत्रहनी or बहुवृत्रहणी	बहुवृत्रहाणि
बहुपूषन्	बहुपूष	बहुपूषणी or बहुपूषणी	बहुपूषाणि
बह्वर्थमन्	बह्वर्थम	बह्वर्थमणी or बह्वर्थमणी	बह्वर्थमाणि

Now we take up the declension of असृज् which is a negative compound of अ + सृज्. The ज् will be changed to guttural, when final in a pada, because the affix क्तिन् has been ordained after the root सृज् । क्तिन् प्रत्ययस्यक्तुः, but not so in other compounds than negative, as विश्वसृज् &c. The N. S. of विश्वसृज् is विश्वसृट्, because Patanjali in his Mahābhāṣya, in commenting on sūtra VI. 1. 58 S. 2405 employs the form रज्जुसृडभ्याम् or because the षत्व taught in VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. for the final ज् of सृज् and यज् would debar the gutturalisation. While the gutturalisation in सक् and कृत्विक् is an irregularity, because these words are so read in the sūtra III. 2. 59. S. 373. Or to remove all these objections we say that असृज् is not a negative compound of अ + सृज् but is a Uṇādi formed word derived from the root असृ "to throw" with the affix कृज्, then the

form will be असृक् in the N. S. without any difficulty. Thus the declension of असृज् will be.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	असृक् or असृज्	असृजी	असृजिज् ॥
Acc	"	"	

But in the weak-case terminations there will be two forms, *viz*, one with असृक् (VI. 1. 63. S. 228) and the other with असृज् ॥ Thus Acc : Pl : असृजि or असृजि ॥ Instr : Sing : Dual असृजा or अस्त्रा ; असृज्याम् or असृज्याम् &c.

Now we take up the declension of ऊर्ज् ॥

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom. & Acc :	ऊर्ज् or ऊर्ज	ऊर्जी	ऊर्जिज् ॥

In the last, the conjunct consonant is नृ and ज् ॥

Vartik :—There is prohibition of the augment नृस् in the case of बहुर्ज्.

Vartik :—Or, the नृस् may be added before the final consonant, i. e. inserted between र् and ज् ॥ Thus बहुर्जि or बहुर्जि कुलानि ॥

Note :—According to Mahâbhâsya the Nom. Pl. is ऊर्जि without any nasal. (See sūtra VII. 1. 72). His reason is that the word अचः in नृपुंसकस्य भलचः should be construed in the Ablative, the sūtra meaning “ the augment नृस् should be added to a Neuter stem which ends in झल् consonant, provided that such झल् is preceded by a vowel ”. In ऊर्ज, the letter that follows the vowel, i. e. र is not a jhal, nor does the Neuter stem end in r. But the jhal ज् which is final, is not preceded by a vowel but by र् ॥ So there will be no nasal here.

Now, we take up the declension of व्यद् &c. Nominative and Accusative.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
व्यद्	व्यत् or व्यद्	व्ये	व्यानि ॥
तद्	तत् or तद्	ते	तानि ॥
यद्	यत् or यद्	ये	यानि ॥
एतद्	एतत् or एतद्	एते	एतानि ॥

But in anvâdesha or remployment, the Nom : Sing. of एतद् is declined as एतत् ॥

The word बेभिद् is formed by adding the affix क्तिप् to the verbal root बेभिच् (a Frequentative root) The अ and य are dropped (अतो लोपः) ॥

Its N. and Ac : S. and Dual are बेभित् or बेभिद् ; बेभिदी ॥ In the Plural, i. e. before the affix शि, the augment नृस् required by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 is not added, because the lopa elided अ of बेभिदच् is considered as sthânavat

and so the base does not end in a स्वरः consonant * Nor will it take रुम् on account of its ending in a vowel, because there is no sthânavat-bhâva, with regard to the rule applying to its own self.

Thus the Plural is वेभिर्हि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

Similarly the plural of चेच्छिद् is चेच्छिदि ॥

The root अञ्च has two meanings ; (a) to go ; (b) to worship (See भ्रादि 203). When the compound is formed from it with the upa-pada गो, we get गो+अञ्च+क्तिन् ॥ Thus गां अञ्चति meaning ' he drives the cow '. The nasal will be elided by VI. 4. 24 S. 415. But when the meaning is ' he honors or worships the cow ' the nasal will not be elided because of the prohibition of VI. 4. 30. S. 424.

Thus we get two forms (1) गदाञ्च (2) गवाञ्च ॥ Then the Sandhi of गो+अञ्च itself gives rise to three forms, namely (1) where there is no Sandhi by VI. 1. 122. S. 87. (2) where अवङ् is substituted for ओ of गो by VI. 1. 123. S. 88. ; (3) where ओ+अ of गो and अञ्च become ओ by VI. 1. 122. S. 87. Thus (1) गोअञ्च (2) गवाञ्च (3) गोऽञ्च ॥

Verse :—In the Neuter, the word गवाञ्च meaning (a) he who honors cows or (b) he who drives cows, has 109 forms, according as the bases are namely (1) गोअञ्च ; (2) गवाञ्च (3) गोऽञ्च (4) गोअञ्च (5) गवाञ्च (6) गोऽञ्च ॥ The case terminations सु (N. S), अक् (Ac.S) लुप् (L. Pl.) give rise to nine forms each, the भा (i. e. Instr. ; Dative and Ablative Dual and Pl) to six forms each; the जस् and शस् (i. e. Nom. : and Acc. : Pl) to three forms each, the remaining ten case-terminations four forms each.

Thus when we analyse गवाञ्च or गवाञ्च as गाम् अञ्चति, we add the affix क्तिन् by III. 2. 59 S. 373. Then the nasal is elided, when the sense is ' to move '. Then there is the अवङ् substitution by VII. 1. 123. S. 88. In this case we have N. S. as गवाक् or गवाग् ; or when we apply the option of VI. 1. 122 S. 87, we have गोअक् or गोअग् ; when we apply the rule of पररूप, we have गोऽक् or गोऽग् ॥

When the sense is ' to honor ', we have the कुत्व or gutturalisation of the nasal in to ङ् as N. S. गवाङ् or गोअङ् or गोऽङ् ॥ In the Acc. : S. we shall also get these nine forms.

In the Nom. : and Acc. : dual, the termination is शी, before which the base gets the designation of bha (भ) and the अ of अञ्च is elided by VI. 4. 138 S. 416 and thus we get the form गोची ॥ But when the sense of the verb is ' to honor ', we get the forms गवांची, or गोअची or गोऽची ॥

* The अ of वेभिर्हि was elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308. The Vārtika कौल्यं न स्थानिवत् see sūtra VI. 4. 85 S. 2.3 is not applied here ; as that Vārtika is not of universal application.

The N. and Ac : Pl. affix is शि which being a Sarvanāmasthâna, we have the augment तुम् and thus we have गवांचि or गोभंचि or गौचि whether the verb means ' to go ' or ' to honor '.

The Instr : Sing of गवाच् is only गोचा, for the same reason as N. and Ac : Dual is गोची ; of गवांच् is गवांचा or गौचा or गोभंचा ॥

The Instr., Dat and Abl : dual of गवाच् is गवाभ्याम् or गोभ्याम् or गोभ्याम्, of गवांच् is गवाङ्भ्याम् or गोभङ्भ्याम् or गोङ्भ्याम् &c.

In the Loc. Pl. ; when the base is गवांच्, we add the augment क् by VIII. 3. 28. Thus गवाङ्क्षु or गोभङ्क्षु or गोङ्क्षु or गवाङ्घु or गोभङ्घु or गोङ्घु ॥

But when the base is गवाच्, we get L. Pl : as गवाक्षु or गोभक्षु or गोक्षु ॥

By applying the vârtika चयोः द्वितीयाः, क may be changed to ख and we may get six other forms, but that Vartika is not applicable, since the चत्वं rule is asiddha.

Now we take up the declension of तिरच् ॥

Its Nom : forms are तिर्यक्, तिरश्ची, तिर्येचि ॥

But when अञ्च means ' to honor ' and thus the nasal is not elided, the Nom : forms are तिर्यङ्, तिर्येची, तिर्येचि ॥

Now we take up the declension of यक्त् ॥ Its Nom : and Acc : forms are यक्त्, यक्ती, यक्न्ति ॥

But before weak case terminations यक्त् is optionally substituted for यक्त् as ordained by VI. 1. 63. S. 228. Thus Ac : Pl : is either यक्न्ति or यक्नानि ॥ The Instr : Sing : is यक्ता or यक्ता ॥

Now, we take up the declension of शक्त् ॥ Its Nom : and Acc : forms are शक्त्, शक्ती, शक्न्ति ॥ According to VI. 1. 63. S. 228, शक्त् is optionally substituted for शक्त् before the weak case terminations. So the Acc : Pl : is optionally शक्नानि ॥ Similarly, the Instr : Sig. is either शक्ता or शक्ता ॥

Now, we take up the declension of इदत् ॥ Its Nom : Sing : and dual are इदत्, इदती ॥

The formation of the N. Pl : is governed by the following rule.

४४४ । वा नपुंसकस्य । ७ । १ । ७६ ॥

अभ्यस्तात्परा यः शता तदन्तस्य क्लीबस्य तुम् वा स्यात्सर्वानामस्थाने परे । इदन्ति । इदति । तुदत् ॥

444. The Participial-affix शक्त् optionally takes the augment तुम् after a reduplicate stem, in Neuter nouns when

a sarvanāmasthâna I. 1. 42. S. 31 } follows.

Thus Nominative Plural वदन्ति or वदति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of वदतु ॥ Its N. S. is वदतु ॥

In the formation of its N. Dual and Plural the following rule applies :—

४४५ । आच्छीनद्योर्नुम् । ७ । १ । ८० ॥

अवयान्ताङ्गात्परो य शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य तुम् वा स्याच्छीनद्योः परतः । वदन्ती । वदती वदन्ति । भात् । भान्ती । भाती ॥ भान्ति । पचत् ॥

445. When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in अ or आ, it may optionally take the augment नुम् before the neutral case-ending शी VII. 1. 19. S. 319. and before the feminine affix ई (that is Nadi I. 4. 3. S. 266).

Thus N. D. वदन्ति or वदती ; N. P. वदन्ति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of भात् ' shining '. Its Nominative forms are भात्, भान्ती or भाती, भान्ति ॥

Now we take up the declension of पचत् ॥ (' cooking '). Its N. S. is पचत् ॥ Its N. D. Pl. are governed by the following rule :—

४४६ । शपश्यनोर्नित्यम् । ७ । १ । ८१ ॥

शपश्यनोरात्परो यः शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्य नित्यं नुम् स्याच्छीनद्योः परतः । पचन्ती । पचन्ति । वीव्यत् । वीव्यन्ती । वीव्यन्ति । स्वप् । स्वब् । स्वपी । नित्यात्परादपि नुम् प्राक् अप्तृन्निति द्विर्घः । प्रतिपदोक्तत्वात् । नुम् । स्वाप्ति । निरवकाशत्वं प्रतिपदोक्तत्वमिति पक्षे तु प्रकृते ताद्विरहान्नुमेव । स्वाप्ति । स्वपा ॥ अपोभि ॥ स्वद्भ्याम् । स्वद्भिः । अर्त्तिपिबतीत्यादिना धनेरुम् । रुत्वम् । धनुः । धनुषी । सान्तेति द्विर्घः । नुम् । विसर्जनायेति षत्वम् । धनुषि । धनुषा । धनुर्भ्याम् । एव चक्षुर्हविरादयः । पिपठिषधेः क्तिप् । वीरिति द्विर्घः । पिपठीः । पिपठिषी । अल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वाल्हलन्तलक्षणा नुम् न । स्वाविधौ स्थानिवत्त्वाभावादजन्तलक्षणोऽपि नुम् न । पिपठिषी । पिपठीर्भ्यामित्यादि । पयः । पयसी । पयांसि । पयसा । पयोर्भ्यामित्यादि । सुपुम् । सुपुसी । सुपुमांसि अदः । विभक्तिकार्यम् । उत्त्वमन्व । अमू । अमूनि । शेषं पुंवत् ॥

446. When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in the vikaranas शप् and श्यन्, it invariably takes the augment नुम् before the neutral case-ending शी (ई), and the feminine ending ई (Nadi).

Thus N. D. पचन्ती, N. Pl. पचन्ति ॥ The word नित्य stops the anuvṛtti of वा (VII. 1. 79 S. 444).

Similarly, the Nominative forms of वीव्यत् are वीव्यत्, वीव्यन्ती, वीव्यन्ति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of स्वप् meaning ' a tank containing good water,

Note :—In forming the compound सु + अच्, sūtra V. 4. 74. S. 940 required the addition of अ to the final as in the case of द्वि + अच् = द्वीप् ; but here the अ is not added on account of the prohibition contained in V. 4. 69. S. 954. Nor is the अ changed to long ई required by VI. 3. 97. S. 941 because the word अच् in that sūtra means that अच् which has taken the समासान्त affix अ ॥ Thus we get the base स्वप्]

Its N. S. and Dual are स्वप् or स्वप् and स्वपी respectively. In the N. Plural the अ of स्वप् will be first lengthened by VI. 4. 11 S. 277. and then नुम् is to be added. This is because the word अच् is specifically mentioned in the sūtra VI. 4. 11. S. 277. Otherwise by the general rule, the augment नुम् taught by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 is nitya and subsequent in order of Ashtādhyāyī to the sūtra VI. 4. 11. and should have been added first. Thus the Nominative Plural is स्वामि ॥

But if the view be taken that the *pratipadokta* rule supersedes a nitya and a subsequent rule, then only, when it has no scope otherwise ; then we should not have the lengthening ordained by VI. 4. 11. S. 277, for that lengthening finds its scope in cases like आप स्तिष्ठन्ति ; while in स्वप् + शि, the नुम् taught subsequently will supersede the lengthening rule which is precedent. Thus we have the Nominative Plural स्वामि ॥

Note :—This is the more valid form according to the opinion of Manorama.

The Instr: Sing is स्वपा ॥ The Instr: Dual is स्वद्भ्याम् ; the प् being changed to by VII. 4. 48. S. 442. The Instr: Plural is स्वाद्भिः ॥

Now we take up the declension of धनुस् ॥ This word is formed by adding the Uṇādi affix डन् to the root धन् (Uṇādi II. 117). The स् is changed to र् (VIII. 2. 66. S. 162) and then changed to Visarga ; thus Nominative Sing is धनुः ; Nominative Dual धनुषी ॥

In the Nominative Plural the ड of धनुस् is lengthened by VI. 4. 10. S. 317. The स् is changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 58. S. 434. Thus Nominative Plural is धनुषि ॥ The Instr: S. and Dual are धनुषा, धनुभ्याम् respectively. Similar is the declension of चक्षुस् and हविस् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of विपठिस् ॥ It is derived from the Desiderative root विपठिष् with the affix क्तिप् before which the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308 and in the N. S. the penultimate vowel is lengthened by VIII. 2. 76. S. 433. Thus N. S. विपठीः ; N. Dual विपठिषी ॥

In the Plural, i. e. before the affix शि, the augment नुम् required by VII. 1. 72. S. 314. is not added, because the lopa elided अ is considered as sthānivat and so the base does not end in a झल् consonant.

Nor will it take नुम् by considering it as ending in a vowel, for the elided अ can not be considered as sthānivat in applying the rule to its own self. (compare sūtra 443). Thus N. Pl. is विपठिषि ॥ The

rest of the declensions, such as पिपटीभ्याम् &c. are similar to those of the Masculine.

Now, we take up the declension of पयस् &c.

Nom : and Acc :

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural. Instr : S. Dual.
पयस्	पयः	पयसी	पयांसि ॥ पयसा, पयोभ्यां
सुपुंस	सुपुम्	सुपुंसी	सुपुमांसि ॥
अद्स्	अद्ः		

In the Dual and Pl : all the operations required in the case affixes should be made first and then the उ and म substitution mentioned under VII. 2. 107. S. 437. and VIII. 2. 81. S. 438. should take place. Thus N. and Acc : D. and Pl. are अम् and अमूनि ॥

Note :—The N. D. of अद्स् is thus formed :—

अद्स् + शी = अद् + ई (The स् is elided by VII. 2. 102 S. 265) = अदे ॥ This is the form obtained by applying all the rules of विभक्ति ॥ The vibhakti kârya being done, we now apply VIII. 2. 80. S. 491 : The द् is thus changed to म and the ए to ऊ ॥ Thus we get the form अम् ॥

Similarly by applying all the vibhakti rules to अद्स्, we get the N. Pl : अदानि, to which applying VIII. 2. 80. S. 491, we get अमूनि ॥

The rest of the declensions are like those of the Masculines.

Here end the declensions of Neuters ending in consonants .

अथाठ्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIV.

THE INDECLINABLES.

४४७ । स्वरादिनिपातमव्ययम् । १ । १ । ३७ ॥

स्वरादयो निपाताश्चाव्ययसंज्ञाः स्युः । स्वर, अन्तर, प्रातर, पुनर्, सनुतर, उच्चैस्, नीचैस्, शनैस्, कथक्, क्ते, युगपत्, आरात्, पृथक्, ह्यस्, श्वस्, दिवा, रात्रौ, सायम्, चिरम्, मनाक्, ईषत्, जोषम्, तूष्णीम्, बहिस्, अवस्, समया, निकषा, स्वयम्, वृथा, नक्तम्, नञ्, हेतौ, इद्धा, अद्धा, सामि, वत्, ब्राह्मणवत्, क्षत्रियवत्, सना, सनत्, सनात्, उपधा, तिरस्, अन्तरा, अन्तरेण, उद्योक्, कम्, शम्, सहसा, विना, नाना, स्वस्ति, स्वधा, अलम्, वषट् औषट् वौषट्, अन्यत्, अस्ति, उपांशु, क्षमा, विहायसा, दोषा, शृषा, मिथ्या, मुधा, पुरा, मिथा, मिथस्, प्रायस्, सुहुस्, प्रबाहुकम्, प्रवाहिका, आर्यहलम्, अभीक्ष्णम्, साक्रम्, सार्धम्, नमस्, हिरक्, धिक्, अथ अम्, आम्, प्रताम्, प्रशान्, प्रतान्, मा, माङ् । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ च, वा, ह, अह, एव, एवम्, नूनम्, शश्वत्, युगपत्, भूयस्, कूपत्, सूपत्, कुवित्, नेत्, चेत्, चण्, कच्चित्, किंचित्, यत्र, नह, हन्त, माकिः, माकिम् नकिः, आकिम् माङ्, नञ्, यावत्, तावत्, त्वै, द्वै, न्वै, रै, औषट्, वौषट्, स्वाहा, स्वधा, तुम्, तथाहि, खलु, किल, अथो, अथ, सुहु, स्म, आदह, उपसर्गविभक्तिस्वर-प्रतिरूपकाश्च । अवदत्तम्, अहंयुः, अस्तिक्षीरा, अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ, पशु, शुक्रम्, यथा-कथाच, पाट्, प्याट्, अङ्ग, हे, हे मां, अये, द्य, विषु, एकपदे, युत्, आतः । चादिरप्याकृतिगणः ॥

447 'The words svar 'heaven,' &c., and the particles (I 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

This defines avyaya or indeclinables. Their list is given below :—

स्वर 'heaven,' अन्तर 'midst.' प्रातर 'in the morning,' पुनर् 'again,' सनुतर 'in concealment,' उच्चैस् 'high, aloft' नीचैस् 'low, down,' शनैस् 'slowly,' कथक् 'rightly, separately. aside, singly, particularly, truly,' क्ते 'except, without,' युगपत् 'at the sametime, at once,' आरात् 'near, far from, directly'. पृथक् 'separately, apart,' ह्यस् 'yesterday,' श्वस् 'to-morrow,' दिवा 'by day,' रात्रौ 'by night or in the night,' सायम् 'at eve,' चिरम् 'long, long since, a long time,' मनाक् 'a little,' ईषत् 'slightly, a little जोषम् 'gladly,' तूष्णीम् 'silently,' बहिस् 'outside,' अवस् 'below, without, outside. समया 'near,' निकषा 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयम् 'of one's self,' वृथा 'in vain,' नक्तम् 'at night, by night,' नञ् negative particle, not, 'हेतौ 'for, this reason, by reason of,' इद्धा 'truly, really' अद्धा 'evidently, truly,' सामि 'half,' वत् 'enclitic like, as Brâhmaṇavat, Kshatriyavat warrior like, सनत् सनात् 'perpetually,' उपधा 'division,' तिरस् 'crookedly, awry, over,' अन्तरा अन्तरेण 'except, without' उद्योक्, 'long,' कम् expletive particle, 'शम् ease,' सहसा 'suddenly, hastily,' विना 'without,' नाना 'variously.' स्वस्ति 'greeting, peace,' स्वधा 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' अलम् 'enough,' वषट् 'exclamation,' औषट्, वौषट् (interjection) 'oblation of

butter, 'अन्यत्' 'again, moreover, otherwise'. अस्ति 'being present,' पांडित्य 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' क्षमा 'patience, pardon,' विहायसा 'aloft in the air,' दोषा 'at night or in the evening,' वृषा, मिथ्या 'falsely,' बुधा 'in vain,' पुरा 'formerly,' मियो or मयस् 'mutually, together,' प्रायस् 'frequently, almost,' पुनस् 'again, repeatedly' प्रवाहकुम् or प्रवाहिका 'at the same time,' आर्यहलम् 'violently' अभीक्ष्णम् 'repeatedly,' साकम् or सार्धम् 'with' नमस्, 'reverence,' हिक् 'without,' धिक् 'fie!' अय 'thus,' अम् "quickly" आम् "indeed" प्रताम् 'with fatigue,' प्रसान् 'alike,' प्रतान् 'widely,' ना, नाङ् 'do not'.

So also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तसिह (V. 3. 7 S 1953) and ending with पाशप् (V. 3. 47 S 1993), by the affixes beginning with शस् (V. 4. 42 S 2109) and ending with समासांतः (V. 4. 68 S 676), by the affixes कृत्वञ्, सुत्वञ् भाव् and यात् by the affixes having the sense of the affix च्वि, or by the affixes अम् or आम्, तसि or वति, न or नाञ् are also indeclinables.

This class is known as 'avayava' from its form, so that where words are found treated as indeclinables, they may be put as under this class.

The following are निपात or particles च 'and,' वा "or," ह an expletive, अह vocative particle एव 'only,' एवम् 'thus,' नूतम् 'certainly' दधत् 'continually,' शुभपत् 'at once' भूयस् 'repeatedly,' कृपत् 'excellently,' सुपत् 'excellently' कुवित् 'abundantly,' नेत् or नेत् "if," चण् 'if.' कश्चित् "what if" यत्र 'where' नह 'no,' हन्त ah! 'माकिम्, माकिः, नकिः or नकिम् "do not," नाङ् 'do not' नञ् 'not' यावत् 'as much as,' तावत् 'so much,' खै, ह्यै, or न्यै perhaps, रै disrespectful interjection, औषद्, वैषद् or स्वाहा "oblation to the gods" वाषद् "oblation to the Gods" तुम् "thouing," तथाहि "thus". खलु certainly, किल 'indeed,' अय now, सुष्ठु 'excellent' स (gives the idea of past when attached to the present forms of verbs), आह 'fie!'

To the list of Indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality, the appearance of an उपसर्ग, (I. 4. 59 S. 22,) of a word with one of the terminations of case or person, and of the vowels. In the example अवदत्तम् "given away," the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word would be अवत्तम् by VII. 4. 47. S. 3078 In the example अहंशुः 'egoistic' the ahan 'is not identical with अहम् or 'I' terminating in a case affix, because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the Nominative case could not be the first member in such a compound.

In the example अस्तिभीषा, a cow or the like in which there is milk, the अस्ति must be regarded as different from the word अस्ति or "is" which ends with the affix of 3rd person Sing. अ, आ, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ, (these express various emotions पशु 'well,' शुकम् 'quickly,' यथाकथाच "any how" पाद्, प्याद्, अङ्ग, है, हे, भोः (vocative particles) अये 'ah!' अ in the sense of injury, opposition and to fill up the metre of a verse, विदु "on all sides," एकपरे 'at the same moment' श्रुत् 'blame' आतः 'hence'.

This list also from च &c. is to be regarded as one each of which is to be recognised by its own form as before.

४४८ । तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः । १ । १ । ३८ ॥

यस्मात्सर्वो विभक्तिर्नोपपद्यते स तद्धितान्तोऽव्ययं स्यात् । परिगणनं कर्तव्यम् । तसिलादयः प्राक् पाशपः । शस्यभृतयः प्राक् समासान्तेभ्यः । अम् । आम् । कृत्वोर्याः । तसिवती । नानायाविति । तेनेह न । पचतिकल्पम् । पचतिरूपम् ॥

448. And the words ending in taddhīta or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76. S 530) which are not declined in all the cases are also Indeclinables.

An enumeration of these affixes should be made. They are the affixes beginning with तसिन् (V. 3. 7. S 1953) and ending with पाशप् (V. 3. 47. S 1993); by the affixes beginning with शप् (V. 4. 42. S. 2109) and ending with समासान्तः (V. 4. 68 S 676) by the affixes अम्, आम्, where meaning कृत्वस्तुच्; by the affixes तसि and वति and न or नाच् ॥

Hence पचतिकल्पम् and पचतिरूपम् are not indeclinables.

Note :—Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मनु we have मानवः, asarva-vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb यतः is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations.

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Taddhita affixes are indeclinables. As ततः 'thence,' तत्र 'there'. Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तद् 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also यतः, यत्र, तत्र, यदा, सर्वदा, कदा, &c.

४४९ । कृन्मेजन्तः । १ । १ । ३९ ॥

कृद्यो मान्त एजन्तश्च तदन्तमव्ययं स्यात् । स्मार्स्मारम् । जीवसे । पिबथ्ये ॥

449. The words formed by those krit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93 S 374) which end with स् or in ए, ओ, ऐ, and औ are also Indeclinables.

Note :—All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds:—1. Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots: Primary affixes. 2. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns: Secondary affixes. The former are called krit, the latter, taddhita.

Text :—Words formed by krit affixes which end in न or ए, आ, ऐ, or औ (connoted by the pratyahara एच्) are avyayas. Thus the affix तुम्

(technically तुङ्) and अस् (technically ञङ्, III. 3. 10 S 3175) are affixes which end in स् ॥ The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus स्मरस् स्मरस् 'having repeatedly remembered' जीवसे to live, पिवथैः 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in ए, &c.

४५० । कृत्वातोसुनकसुनः । १ । १ । ४० ॥

एतदन्तमव्ययं स्यात् । कृत्वा । उदेतोः । विसृपः ॥

450. The words, ending with ktvâ (III. 4. 18. S. 3316) tosun (III. 4. 16. S. 3443) and kasun (III. 4. 9. S. 3436) are Indeclinables.

As कृत्वा 'having done' उदेतोः 'having risen,' विसृपः 'having spread'.

४५१ । अव्ययिमावश्च । १ । १ । ४१ ॥

अविहरि ॥

451. (The compound called) Avyayibhâva (II. 1. 5. S. 651.) is also Indeclinable.

Thus अविहरि 'upon Hari or Vishṇu'.

*Note :—*The Avyayibhâva or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable, and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary terminations of the nominative or accusative neuter.

The word च in the sūtra shows that here ends the definition of avyaya. The avyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sūtras.

What is the object gained by making the avyayibhâva compounds avayayas ? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables viz., we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (लुक्) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, i. e., sūtra II. 4. 82. S 452 thus, in the following example, the words upâgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word salabhâh, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपग्नि प्रत्यग्नि शलभाः पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an avyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (मुख स्वर), i. e., sūtras VI. 2. 167. & 168. S 3901 and 3902, Thus, उपग्नि मुखः, here, sūtra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avyaya, sūtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent : (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga : into स्, this change being technically called उपचारः thus उपपयः कारः, उपपयः कामः, as compared with अव्यस्कारः Here, the compound उपपयः being treated as avyaya, sūtra VIII. 3. 46, S 160. applies and prevents the change of : into स् ॥

४५२ । अव्ययादाप्सुपः । २ । ४ । ८२ ॥

अव्ययाद्विहितस्यापः सुपश्च लुक् स्यात् । तत्र शालायाम् । विहितविशेषणान्नेह । अस्त्युच्चैसौ ।
अव्ययसंज्ञायां यद्यपि तदन्तविधिरस्ति तथापि न गौणे । आद्यग्रहणं व्यर्थमलिङ्गत्वात् ॥

सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वासु च विभक्तिषु । वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यत्र व्येति तदव्ययम् ॥

इति श्रुतिर्लिङ्गकारकसंख्याऽभावपरा ।

वटि भागुरिरल्लोपमवाच्योरुपसर्गयोः । आपं चैव हलन्तानां यथा वाचा निशा दिशा ॥

वगाहः । अवगाहः । पिधानम् । अपिधानम् ॥

452. There is luk-elision of आप् (the feminine termination) and सुप् (the case-affixes) ordained after an Avyaya or Indeclinable.

Thus, तत्र शालायाम् 'in that hall'. Here the Indeclinable तत्र 'there,' does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to तस्याम् 'in that'.

By using the word "ordained" in the sūtra we mean that the case-affixes must come after the Avyaya as such, and not after a pratipadika compound, in which an Avyaya may be a secondary member. Thus in the compound अति + उच्चैस् though the word उच्चैः separately is an Avyaya, yet as the whole compound is a noun, the case-affixes will not be dropped after it. Thus Nominative Dual अस्त्युच्चैसौ ॥ Though tadanta vidhi applies to avyayas also, and so a compound word ending with an avyaya will also be an avyaya, yet when such an avyaya is a secondary member only and the whole compound refers to a third person, then the tadanta vidhi will not apply.

The word आप् (Feminine affix) has been read uselessly in the sūtra, because an Avyaya has no gender.

Verse :—"What changes not, remaining alike in the three genders, and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an indeclinable or avyaya".

Thus according to Sruti, avyayas have neither genders, cases nor numbers.

"The grammarian Bhaguri wishes that there shall be elision of अ of अव and आपि and that आप् shall be the termination of all feminine words which would otherwise end in consonants, e.g. वाचा (instead of वाच्), निशा (instead of निश्), दिशा (instead of दिश्)".

This is of course optional, for it rests on the authority of a single grammarian. So either अवगाहः or वगाहः ॥ पिधानम् or अपिधानम् ॥

Here end the Indeclinables.

अथ स्त्रीप्रत्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XV.

FORMATION OF FEMININES.

४५३ । स्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । ३ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । समर्थानामिति यावत् ॥

453. When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes taught hereinafter must be employed.

Note:—This is an adhikāra sūtra pure and simple. The phrase ‘when feminine nature is to be indicated,’ must be read in all the following aphorisms upto IV. 1. 81 inclusive. The anuvṛitti of the word ‘prātipadika’ should be read into this sūtra, from the sūtra, IV. 1. 1. S 182, not so, however the anuvṛitti of the words ‘ङीःभाप्’; for we are now going to form words by the application of ङी and भाप् affixes.

४५४ । अजाद्यतष्टाप् । ४ । १ । ४ ॥

अजाङीनामकारान्तस्य च वाच्यं यत् स्त्रीत्वं तत्र द्योते दाप् स्यात् । अजाद्युक्तिर्द्वयोः ङीपञ्च बाधनाय । अजा । अतः, खट्वा । अजादिभिः स्त्रीत्वस्य विशेषणान्नेह । पञ्चाजी । ‘द्विवोः’ (४०९) इति ङीप् । अत्र हि समासार्थसमाहारनिष्ठं स्त्रीत्वम् । अजा । एडका । अम्बा । अदका । मुषिका । एषु जातिलक्षणो ङीष् प्राप्तः । बाला । वस्ता । होडा । मन्दा । विलाता । एषु वयसि प्रथम इति ङीप् प्राप्तः ॥ * संभस्त्राजिनक्षपिण्डेभ्यः फलात् * संफला । भस्त्रफला । ङभापोरिति ह्रस्वः ॥ * सत्स्वकाण्डप्रान्तशतैकेभ्यः पुष्पात् * ॥ सत्पुष्पा । प्राक्पुष्पा । प्राक्पुष्पा । * शुभ्रा चामहस्पृशा जातिः * ॥ पुंयोगे तु द्यूरी । अमहस्पृशा किम् । महाद्यूरी । कुड्या । दण्डिहा । देवविशा । ज्येष्ठा । कनिष्ठा । मध्यमेति पुंयोगेऽपि । कोकिला । जातावापि । * मूलान्नमः * । अमूला कृन्नेभ्यो ङीप् ॥ कर्षी । इण्डिनी ॥

454. The affix दाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the crude-forms ‘aja’ &c, and the crude-forms ending in short अ ।

This debars ङीष् and ङीप् ।

The words अज &c. are given below. Thus अज a ‘he goat,’ अजा ‘a she goat.’ The words ending in short अ are such as, खट्वा whose feminine will be खट्वा ।

Note:—The word खट्वा is formed by adding the Unādi affix कृन् to the root खट् meaning ‘to desire.’ (Unādi I, 151).

The feminines in grammar do not follow the natural physiological division of sexes, and even names of things which have no sex may have genders, e. g. तद,

तदी, तदम् ॥ Similarly beings whose sexes may be feminines may have names whose Genders will be masculines, such as इराम् ॥

The words भज &c. must denote, by themselves a feminine object in order to get the affix टाप्, therefore not in पञ्चाजी meaning "a collection of five goats." Here the feminine nature does not refer to the goats, but to the compound noun formed of पञ्च and भज । Therefore this feminine पञ्चाजी is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 21. S. 479).

Following are the words belonging to the अजादि class :

- | | | | | | |
|--------|------|---------|-------|-----------|---------|
| 1. भज | भजा | 2. एडक | एडका | (3. कोकिल | कोकिला) |
| 4. चटक | चटका | 5. अश्व | अश्वा | 6. मृषिक | मृषिका |

Note:—The above words denote 'jāti' or kind and though they end in short अ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sūtra, the affix 'nīsh' (IV. 2, 63 S 518) in the feminine.

- | | | | | | |
|----------|-------|----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| 7. बाल | बाला | 8. होड | होडा | (9. पाक | पाका) |
| 10. वस्स | वस्सा | 11. मन्द | मन्दा | 12. विलात | विलाता |

Note:—The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in the short अ in the masculine, but for the present sūtra, they would have taken the affix 'ङीप्' (IV. 1. 20. S. 478.) in the feminine.

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|-----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|
| 13. पूर्वापहरण, | पूर्वापहरणा; | 14. अपरापहरण, | अपरापहरणा; |
|-----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|

Note:—These two words are formed by the affix ल्युट्, and being दिन्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. I. 15 S 470) but for this Sūtra.

Vārtika:—The words सम्, भस्त्र, अजिन्, शण and पिण्ड when followed by फल form the feminines with टाप् ।

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|--------------|-----------|---------------|------------|
| 15. संफल | संफला | 16. भस्त्रफल, | भस्त्रफला; |
| 17. अजिनफल, | अजिनफला; | 18. शणफल, | शणफला; |
| 19. पिण्डफल, | पिण्डफला; | (20. त्रिफल, | त्रिफला;) |

In भस्त्रफला, the long आ of भस्त्र is changed to short अ by the sūtra VI. 3. S. 1001.

Note:—The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix nīsh (IV. 1. 64 S 519) but for their enumeration in the 'ajādi' class; 'त्रिफला' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as त्रिफला; when a Bahuvrihi Compound, its feminine is त्रिफली ॥

Vārtika:—The word पुष्प preceded by सत्, अच्, काण्ड, प्रान्त and शत takes the affix टाप् ॥

- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 21. सत्पुष्प, | सत्पुष्पा; | 22. प्राक्पुष्प, | प्राक्पुष्पा; So also प्रत्यक्पुष्पा |
| 23. काण्डपुष्प, | काण्डपुष्पा; | 24. प्रान्तपुष्प, | प्रान्तपुष्पा; |
| 25. शतपुष्प, | शतपुष्पा; | 26. एकपुष्प, | एकपुष्पा; |

The above words ending in पुष्प would have taken nīsh by IV. 1, 64 S 519.

Vārtik :—शूद्र forms its feminine शूद्रा when not preceded by महत् and when it denotes a caste.

27. शूद्र शूद्रा

Note :—But the feminine of शूद्र is शूद्री when the meaning is 'the wife of a sūdra'; so also when the word शूद्र is compounded with the word महत् as, महाशूद्री 'a woman of 'महाशूद्र' class.'

Note :—The term 'महाशूद्र' is applied to the caste of Abhiras: and this compound word would have taken the affix 'टाप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhi given in I. 1. 72, S 26, but for the vārtika, viz 'शूद्रा चामहत पूर्वा जातिः' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhi cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim :—"That which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself." Therefore, the word 'sūdra' which cannot be anything but a prātipadika, does not denote 'mahā-sūdra.' This objection is futile: the very fact of this vārtika indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta-vidhi is valid and does apply. Thus we have the forms like अतिधीवरी अतिपीवरी and अतिभवती &

28. कृच् कृचां 29. उष्णिह उष्णिहा 30. देवविश् देवविशा

Note :—The above words end in consonants and would not have taken टाप् but for their being included in the 'भजादि' class.

31. ज्येष्ठ ज्येष्ठा 32. कनिष्ठ कनिष्ठा 33. मध्यम मध्यमा

Note :—The above words denoting matrimonial relation would have taken the affix 'निष्' by IV. 1. 64. S 519.

The word कोकिला takes टाप् even when denoting a class.

Vārtik :—When मूल is preceded by the negative particle न, it forms its feminine by डाप् ॥

34. अमूल अमूला The word 'mūla' preceded by the negative particle नां, would have otherwise taken 'निष्' by IV. 1. 64. S 519.

४५४ A । ऋन्नेऽयोडीप् । ४ । १ । ५ ॥ (See S. 306.)

454 A. The affix डीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in ऋ or in न् ।

Note :—Of the affix डीप्, the letter ड् is taken in order to make a common term with डीष् and डीन्; and the प् is taken to distinguish them from those affixes; the real affix is ई ॥ Thus, कर्त्तु—f. कर्त्री; हर्त्तु—f. हर्त्री; दण्डितु—f. दण्डिनी;

४५५ । उगितश्च । ४ । १ । ६ ॥

उगिदन्तास्यातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् स्यात् । पचन्ती । भवन्ती । शिष्यन्ती । शप्यन्तीति तुम् । उगिदचामिति सू । ऽऽग्रहणेन धातोश्चोदुगिष्कार्यं तर्ह्यञ्चतेरेवेति नियम्यते । तेनेह न । उखास्यत् । क्षिप् । अनिदितामिति नलोपः । पण्चवत् । अञ्चतेस्तु स्यादेव । प्राची । प्रतीची ॥

455. And after what has an indicatory 'uk' the affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine.

Note:—The उक् is a pratyāhāra meaning उ, क् and ल् ॥ Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way it may be, that word-form is called उगित् ॥ That which ends with such a word is meant here. The prātipadika pure and simple not formed by an affix may be उगित्, thus the pronoun भवतु among the sarvanāmas: an affix may be उगित् as the affixes क्तवतु and शतृ and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be उगित्; similarly a letter may be उगित्, as त् meaning त् in VI. 4. 127 S 364.; ("त् is the substitute of the final of an inflective base ending in अर्धन् &c")

Thus, भवतु 'honored sir,—f. भवती 'madam'. Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have अतिभवतु—अतिभवती 'most exalted lady.' Similarly पचतु (formed by adding शतृ III. 2. 124 S 3100), forms the feminine पचन्ती, the डुम् comes by VII. 1 82. S. 446. So also शीघ्रतु and शीघ्रन्ती ॥

Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk.' Thus the roots षुच् 'to fall down' ध्वच् 'to fall down' have indicatory उ; and we get from these roots the prātipadikas like उखासतु and 'पर्णध्वत्, (III. 2. 76 S 2983). The उखासतु ब्राह्मणी, 'पर्णध्वत् ब्राह्मणी ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding डीप् ॥

The prātipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix डीप् ॥ As, प्राची, प्रतीची, '

४५६ । वनो र च । ४ । १ । ७ ॥

वन्नन्तात्तदन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् स्यात् । रश्चान्तादेशः । वन्निति ड्वनिपृक्कनिपृक्कनिपृक् सामान्यग्रहणम् । प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तद्विस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् । तेन प्रातिपदिकविशेषणान्तदन्ता-न्तमपि लभ्यते । सुत्वानमात्रिकान्ता अतिसुत्वरी । अतिधीवरी । शर्वरी । * धनो न हश् इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ ह्रस्वन्ताद्भातोर्विहितो यो वन् तदन्तात्तदन्तान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् डीप् रश्च नेत्यर्थः । 'ओण् अपनयने' वनिप् । विड्वनोरित्यात्वम् । अवावा ब्राह्मणी । राजयुध्वा ॥ * बहुव्रीहौ वा * ॥ बहुधीवरी । बहुधीवा । पक्षे डाप् वक्ष्यते ॥

456. The affix 'डीप्' is added, in forming the feminine of the crude forms that end in the syllable वन्, and also of a compound that ends in a word so formed, and र् is the substitute of the final of such syllable.

Thus धीवन् (Uṇādi IV. 115) f. धीवरी 'a female artisan'; शीवन् f. शीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman.', शर्वन् f. शर्वरी 'night' (शृ + वनिप् III 2. 75 S 2980, lit. that which destroys light.)

अतिधीवरी (a woman who has surpassed a male artisan)

Words ending in वन् are formed by the affixes ड्वनिप्, (III. 2. 103 S. 3091) व्वनिप् and वनिप् (III. 2. 74 S. 3418). These words end in न् and consequently would have taken डीप् even by IV. 1. 5 S. 306; the necessity of the present sūtra arose in order to teach the change of न् into र् in case of words ending in वन् ॥

Paribhāṣā :—"An affix denotes when ever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself." Therefore by applying this rule and taking the affix वन् as qualifying the prātipadika, we apply the affix डीप् to the prātipadika ending in वन् ॥ Thus अतिसुखरी meaning a woman who has surpassed the drinker of soma-juice, अतिधीवरी and शर्वरी ॥

Vārtika :—After a crude form that ends in वन् as well as after a compound which ends with such a word, the affix डीप् is not added in forming the feminine nor is the न् changed to र्, provided that the affix वन् has been specifically ordained to come after a root that ends in soft consonants and nasals.

To the root ओण् meaning 'to remove' we add the affix वनिप् ॥ Thus ओण् + वन् = ओ आ (the long आ being substituted for ण् by VI. 4. 41. S. 2982.) + वन् = अवावन् ॥ This word is both Masculine and Feminine. Thus the Feminine is अवावा ब्राह्मणी ॥ The Masculine is अवावाब्राह्मणः So also राजयुधा meaning राजानं योधितवती "she who has incited the king to fight." It is formed with the affix वनिप् under III. 2. 95. S. 3005.

Vārtika :—It is optionally so in the Bahuvrīhi compound. Thus बहुधीवरी or बहुधीवा नगरी "a city that contains many artisans."

In the third alternative, the affix डाप् will be added, as will be mentioned further on in IV. 1. 13. S. 461. Thus there will be three forms in the Dual, as बहुधीवयौ, or बहुधीवानौ or बहुधीवे as the base is बहुधीवरी, or बहुधीवन् or बहुधीवा ॥

४५७। पादोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४।१।८ ॥

पाच्छब्दः कृतसमासान्तस्तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् डीव्वा स्यात् । द्विपदी । द्विपात् ॥

457. The affix 'डीप्' is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pāda' when it assumes the samāsānta form पात् as well as after a compound word ending in पात् ॥

The word पाद् becomes पाट् when final in certain Bahuvrīhi compounds (V. 4. 140 S. 179). Thus द्विपात् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई (डीप्) ॥ In the latter alternative, the

form will be द्विपदि, the word पाद् being replaced by पद् by VI. 4. 130. S. 414 (as read with I. 4. 18 S. 231). Similarly त्रिपात् or त्रिपदी ; चतुष्पाद् or चतुष्पदी ॥

४५८ । दावृचि । ४ । १ । २ ॥

कचि वाच्यायां पादन्ताद्वाप् स्यात् । द्विपदा कृक् । एकपदा ॥ न षट्स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः ॥ पञ्च चतस्रः । पञ्चैत्यत्र नलोपे कृतेऽपि ष्यान्ता षडिति षट्संज्ञां प्रति नलोपः सुप्स्वरिति नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वाच्च षट्स्वस्त्रादिभ्य इति न दाप् ॥

458. The affix दाप् is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pād', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-veda.

This debars डीप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा कृक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarter verses'; similarly एकपदा or त्रिपदा कृक्, or चतुष्पदा कृक् ॥

४५८ । A. न षट् स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥

458 A. The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1, 24 S. 369), and 'स्वस्त्र' &c.

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves. Thus, पञ्चब्राह्मणः 'the five Brāhmaṇī ladies' चतस्रः ॥ So also सप्त, नव, दश &c are feminine as well as masculine.

Note :—In पञ्च, though the न् of पञ्चन् is elided, yet the elided न् is asiddha for the purposes of संज्ञा and the word पञ्च though not ending in न् will get the designation षट् by I. 1. 24 S. 369, because the elided न् is asiddha by VIII. 2. S 353 and so there is no दाप् after पञ्च by the present Sūtra.

संज्ञाविधिः—As पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः, दश ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ The elision of न् being asiddha, the words पञ्च and दश are still called shash, though they no longer end in न् (ष्यान्ता षट् I. 1. 24). Being called षष्, they do not take दाप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 10 S. 308).

According to the Vārtikakāra, there is no necessity of using the word संज्ञा in the sūtra VII. 2. 2. S. 2330 संज्ञा ग्रहणानर्थक्यं च (तन्निमित्तत्वालोपस्य), because the elision of न् is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as षट्) ॥ Thus without its having the name of षट् there would be no elision of जस् and शस्, without such elision there is no pada sanjña of these words, and unless these words get Pada designation, there can be no elision of न् by VIII. 2. 7. S. 36 The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sūtra. The पञ्चन् and दशन् ending in न् would require डीप् in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when जस् and न् are elided, the words end in ज and require दाप् for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sūtra the word still retains its designation of षट् ॥

Q. How can this be the purpose of this sūtra? There are two views as regards definitions (संज्ञा), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all, prior to any operations; and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् 'Sanjñā, and Paribhāṣās remain where they are taught.' The other view is that the sanjñā sūtra is to be read with every particular operative sūtra, and the sanjñā given to the word afresh, with every new operation. In other words, the sanjñā sūtra becomes identified with a vidhi sūtra, every time that a vidhi is to be applied. This is embodied in the maxim कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् "Sanjñās and Paribhāṣas are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin certain operations" In the first view, the षट् sanjñā will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding जस् and शस् and for prohibiting दाप् ॥ Hence this sūtra is not necessary in that view. But in the other view, the sūtra is necessary. For if the view be taken that a sanjñā is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that षट् sanjñā which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding जस् and शस्, will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word संज्ञा is taken in this sūtra, to prevent the application of the second view.

४५६ । मनः । ४ । १ । ११ ॥

मन्मन्तात् ङीप् । सीमा । सीमानौ ॥

459. The affix ङीप् is not employed after a Nominal stem ending in the syllable मन् ॥

Thus सीमन् is both masculine and feminine, declined as सीमा, सीमानौ &c.

४६० । अनौ बहुव्रीहेः । ४ । १ । १२ ॥

अन्नन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेर्न ङीप् । बहुयञ्वा । बहुयञ्वानौ ॥

460. The affix ङीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrīhi compounds, in which the penultimate is not elided. Of the Bahuvrīhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not; as it will be taught in IV. 1. 28. S. 462 Thus बहुयञ्वन् is both gender and is declined as masculine, as N. s. बहुयञ्वा, N. d. बहुयञ्वानौ &c. The penultimate अ of वन् is not elided because of the prohibition of न संयोगात् &c. (VI. 4. 137 S. 355).

४६१ । डाबुभाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १३ ॥

सूत्र द्वयोपात्त भ्यां डाब् वा स्यात् ॥ सीमा । सीमे । सीमानौ । दामा । दामे । दामानौ । नपुंसिदाम इत्यमरः । बहुयञ्वा ॥ बहुयञ्वे । बहुयञ्वानौ ॥

461. The affix डाप् comes optionally after both these, viz. the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrīhi

compound ending in **अन्**, as mentioned in the preceding two Sûtras.

Of the affix **डाप्**, the letter **ड्** indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the **दि** (I. 1. 64 S. 79) of the base. Thus **हामन् + डाप् = हाम् + आ = हामा ॥** This being an optional rule we have I. s **हामा** d. **हामे** or **हामानौ** pl. **हामाः** or **हामानः**; similarly with **सीमा**, as, **सीमा**, **सीमे** or **सीमानौ**, **सीमाः** or **सीमानः ॥**

So also in Bahuvrîhi compounds ending in **अन् ॥** As :—

बहुराजा,	बहुराजे or बहुराजानौ,	बहुराजाः or बहुराजानः ॥
बहुतक्षा,	बहुतक्षे or बहुतक्षाणौ,	बहुतक्षाः or बहुतक्षाणः ॥
बहुयज्वा	बहुयज्वे or बहुयज्वानौ	

Why do we say “optionally”? So that the option may apply to sūtra IV. 1. 7 S. 456 also; i. e. when a prâtipadika ending in **अन्**, which can be regarded as ending in **अन्**, is a Bahuvrîhi compound, then the change of **न** into **र्** and the application of **ङीप्** are optional : we may apply the affix **डाप्** instead. As :—**बहुधीवा** or **बहुधीवरी**; **बहुपीवा** or **बहुपीवरी ॥**

By IV. 1. 5, S. 306 prâtipadikas ending in **अन्** would have taken the affix **ङीप्**, in as much as they end in **न्**; but the present sūtra prohibits that. Thus **हामन्** ‘a string’ is both neuter and feminine; and is declined as follows :— I. s **हामा**; d. **हामानौ**, pl. **हामानः ॥** Similarly **पामा**, **पामानौ**, **पामानः ॥** The word **हामन्** is never masculine according to Amarkosha.

४६२ । अन उपधातोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २८ ॥

अनन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधातोपिनो वा ङीप् स्यात् । पक्षे डाब् ङीब् निषेधौ । बहुराज्ञी । बहुराज्ञ्यौ । बहुराजे । बहुराजानौ ॥

462. The affix **ङीप्** optionally comes after that Bahuvrîhi compound, which ending in the syllable **अन्** loses its penultimate **अ ॥**

Thus **बहुराजन्** is a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in **अन्**; in applying **ङीप्**, it loses its penultimate by VI. 4. 134 S. 234. (**अलोपोऽनः** there is elision of **अ** of **अन्** when a **bha** affix follows). Thus **बहुराज्ञी** ‘having many king’. In the alternative, when **ङीप्** is not added, we may add the affix **डाप्** by IV. 1. 13. S. 461. Thus **बहुराजा**, **बहुराजे**, **बहुराजाः ॥** Or we may apply the prohibition contained in IV. 1. 12 S. 460 and have **बहुराजा**, **बहुराजानौ**, **बहुराजानः ॥**

Note :—When the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix **ङीप्** at all : in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as **सुपर्वा**, **सुपर्वे**, **सुपर्वाः** or **सुपर्वा**, **सुपर्वाणौ**, **सुपर्वाणः ॥** That is to say we apply IV. 1. 13 and 12 only ; for in the case of **सुपर्वन्** &c. rule VI. 4. 137 S. 355 prevents

the elision of the penultimate न्; संयोगाद्भवन्तात्, there is not elision of the अ of अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in व or म) ॥

In forming the feminines of words ending in अक् the affix दाप् will be added after the change of अ to इ by the following Sūtra.

४६३ । प्रत्ययस्थात्कारात्पूर्वस्यात् इदाप्यसुपः । ७ । ३ । ४४ ॥

प्रत्ययस्थात्कारात्पूर्वस्याऽकारस्थेकारः स्थापि परे स आप् सुपः परो न चेत् । सर्विका । कारिका । अतः किम् । नौका । प्रत्ययस्थारिकम् । शक्नोतीति शका । असुपः किम् । बहुपरिव्राजका नगरी । काटिकम् । नन्दना । पूर्वस्य किम् । परस्य मा भूत् । कटुका । तपरः किम् । राका । आपि किम् । कारकः ॥ नामकतरकयोस्त्वसंज्ञानम् * ॥ मामिका । नरान् कायतीति नरिका ॥ त्यक्त्यश्व * ॥ दाक्षिणात्यिका इहत्याका ॥

463. इ is substituted for the अ which stands before the क् belonging to an affix, when the Feminine-ending आ follows, provided that, it does not come after a case-affix (i. e. when such a word in अक does not stand at the end of a Bahuvrīhi).

That which stands in an affix is called प्रत्ययस्थ, i. e. क् must be the part of the affix. The अक् is changed into इक् in the feminine in आ ॥ As सर्विका, कारिका, &c. Why do we say अतः? The क् must be preceded by short अ, therefore, not here नौका Why do we say belonging to an affix? The क् must belong to the affix, therefore, not in शका from शक् शक्नोति ॥ The स्थ in प्रत्ययस्थ is for the sake of distinctness, there is no affix which is only क् ॥ Why do we say असुपः 'provided that the feminine affix आप् does not come after a case-affix'? Observe बहवः परिव्राजका अस्यां नगर्याम् = बहुपरिव्राजका नगरी ॥ Here आप् comes after the noun बहुपरिव्राजक which ends in a case-affix, and hence the अ of ज is not changed to इ ॥ The case affix is elided by II. 4. 71, S. 650 and it still exerts its influence by I. 1. 62 S. 272 Why do we say after क? The rule applies to क्, therefore, not to नन्दना, रमणा ॥ Why do we say "which stands before"? The इ is substituted for the अ which precedes (पूर्वस्य) क्, and not the अ which follows क्, as कटुका, वटुका ॥ Why do we say short अ? Observe राका? Why do we say when आप् follows? see कारकः ॥ The substitution takes place when आ follows, therefore, not in कारकी ॥ The word आपि qualifies क् ॥ The क् should be followed by आ ॥

Vārt :—नामक and नरक should be enumerated, for the क् of these is not part of the affix : as मामिका, नरिका ॥ Here ममक् is substituted for मम before the affix अण् (IV. 3. 3. S. 1372), to which is then added दाप् ॥ The word मनक् takes long ई in the feminine only when it is a Name or in the Vedas (IV. 1. 30 S. 488) : therefore though नामक ends in अण्, it does not take डीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) but दाप् (IV. 1. 4 S. 454), नरान् कायति = नरक, formed with the affix क (अ III. 2. 3 S. 2915).

Vârt:—The rule applies to the words ending in ल्यक् (IV. 2. 98 and ल्यप्, (IV. 2. 104 S. 1324) in spite of the prohibition in VII. 3. 46. S. 2915 As दाक्षिणात्यिका, इहल्यिका ॥

Note:—The word in the sūtra is कान् the fifth case of क ending in अ ॥ If then this be the condition, that the affix must end in ka क and not in k क्, then the rule will not apply to एतिका ॥ Because here the augment is अक्च (अक् with क्; the final अ in अक्च is for euphony only, and not a portion of the affix, as we find in भिन्धकि, छिन्धकि, रुन्धकि ॥ The word कान् therefore, is construed to mean ending in the consonant क् ॥

४६४ । न यास्योः । ७ । ३ । ४५ ॥

यत्तदारस्येन स्यात् । यका । सका । यकाम् । तकाम् । त्यकनश्च निषेधः * ॥ अधित्यका । उपत्यका । आशिषि बुन्श्च न * ॥ जीवका । भवका ॥ उत्तरपदलोपे न * ॥ देवशक्तिका देवका ॥ क्षिपका ईनां च * ॥ क्षिपका । ध्रुवका । कन्यका । चटका ॥ तारका ज्योतिषि * ॥ अन्यत्र तारिका ॥ वर्णका तान्तवे * ॥ अन्यत्र वर्णिका ॥ वर्तका शकुनौ प्राचाम् * ॥ उरीचां तु वर्तिका ॥ अष्टका पितृदेवत्ये * ॥ अष्टिकान्या ॥ भूतकापुत्रिकावृन्दारकाणां वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ इह वा अ इति च्छेद्ः । कात्पूर्वस्याकारादेशो वेत्यर्थः । तेन पुत्रिकाशब्दे डीन ईवर्णस्य पक्षेऽकारः । अन्यत्रेत्वबाधनार्थमकारस्यैव पक्षेऽकारः । सूतका सूतिकेत्यादि ॥

464. The इ is not substituted for the अ of य and स, with the augment क, when the feminine आ follows.

As यका, सका, यकाम्, तकाम् ॥

Note:—The या and सा simply stand for यद् and तद्, and the prohibition is not confined to the nominative case only, as the forms या and सा may lead one to think. न यत् तद्वाः would have been a better sūtra. The prohibition applies in every case, as यकामधीयते, तकां पचामहे ॥ Or यकायकामधीमहे (i. e. ऋचां गाथां च), and तकां तकास्पचामहे (i. e. ओषधीं शाकिनीं वा) ॥

Vârt:—Prohibition with regard to the affix त्यक् (V. 3. 34 S. 1983) should be stated also :—As अधित्यका, उपत्यका ॥

Vârt:—So also in the affix बुन् used in benediction : as जीवताद् जीवका and भवताद् भवका See III. 1. 150. S. 2912.

Note:—The feminine of पावक &c in the Veda does not take इ for अ ॥ As हिरण्यवर्णः शुचयः पावकाः, यासु अ लोमकाः ऋक्षकाः &c. But पात्रिकाः, अलोमिकाः in secular literature.

Vârt:—So also when the second member is elided in a compound : as देवका, यज्ञका, the second member इत्त is elided, the fuller forms being देवशक्तिका, यज्ञशक्तिका (अनजादौ च विभाषा लोपो वक्तव्यः) See V. 3. 83 Vârt. S. 2035.

Vârt:—क्षिपक &c should be enumerated in this prohibition : as क्षिपका ध्रुवका, ध्रुवका, चटका, कन्यका ॥

Vart :—तारका is formed when it means 'stars', but तारिका 'a maid-servant' from तारयति ॥

Vart :—वर्णका is formed when it means 'a mantle or mask', but वर्णिका 'an expounder': as वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायते 'Bhāgurī is a comentary of Lokāyata'

Vart :—वतका 'a bird' according to the Eastern grammarians, but वर्तिका according to the Northern authorities. Why do we say 'when meaning a bird'? Observe वर्तिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य ॥

Vart :—अष्टका when meaning a पितृदेवत्य ceremony, but अष्टिका खारी ॥ The ceremony related to Pitṛidevata is called Pitṛidaivatya, the affix is यन् ॥ The former is derived from the root अश् with affix तक्न् (अश्नन्ति ब्राह्मणा ओदनमस्यां), the other is derived from the numeral अष्ट by the affix कन् (V. I. 22 S. 1687).

Vart :—Optionally सूतका, पुत्रका and वृन्दारका, the other forms are सूतिका, पुत्रिका, and वृन्दारिका ॥ *

* The word वेति of this vārtika should be analysed as वा अ इति and not वा इति; and it means that अ is optionally substituted for the vowel that precedes क ॥ Therefore in पुत्रिका the short इ which is not the इ of this sūtra, but इ of डीर्घ of पुत्री shortened to इ, this इ is replaced by अ ॥ In other examples अ is replaced by अ ॥

४६५ । उदीचामातः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

यकपूर्वस्य स्त्रीप्रत्ययाकारस्य स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्य कपूर्वस्येद्वा स्यादापि परे केऽण इति ह्रस्वः । आर्यका आर्यिका चटकका चटकिका ॥ आतः किम् ॥ सांकाश्ये भवा सांकाशिका ॥ यकेति किम् । अश्विका ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्ययेति किम् ॥ शुभं यातीति शुभंयाः ॥ अज्ञाता शुभंयाः ॥ शुभंयिका ॥ धास्वन्तथकोस्तु नित्यम् * ॥ सुनयिका ; सुपाकिका ॥

465. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the long आ of the feminine (under VII. 4. 13 S. 834 before the affix क), which is preceded by a य् or a क् ॥

The mention of 'northern grammarians' makes this an optional rule. As आर्यका or आर्यिका, चटकका or चटकिका ॥ Why do we say 'of long आ'? Observe सांकाश्ये भवा = सांकाशिका ॥ The word सांकाश्य is formed from सांकाश by the affix ण्य (सांकाशे निर्दुत्तं) ॥ Then is added the affix हुम् (IV. 2. 121 S. 1345). Here there is no shortening of a long आ, and hence no option is allowed.

Why do we say preceded by य् or क्? Observe अश्वक-अश्विका only (from अश्वा) ॥ Why do we say the आ of the Feminine affix? The word यकपूर्वायाः is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the feminine affix आ is shortened to अ ॥ Therefore not here

सुभयिका from सुभया (सुभं याति) ॥ So also भद्रयिका from भद्रया, where या is part of the root या (see III. 2. 74 S. 3418).

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the य and क् being finals of a root. When the य or क् preceding this अ, is the final of the root, the prohibition contained in the sūtra, does not apply : as सुनयिका, सुपायिका ॥

४६६ भस्त्रैषाज्ज्ञाद्वास्वा नञ्पूर्वाणामपि । ७ । ३ । ४७ ॥

स्वेत्यन्तं लुप्तपृष्ठीकं पदम्, एषामत इद्वा स्यात् ॥ तदन्ताविधिनैव सिद्धे नञ्पूर्वाणामपीति स्पष्टार्थम् ॥ भस्त्राग्रहणमुपसर्जनार्थम् अन्यस्य तूत्तरसूत्रेण सिद्धम् ॥ एषा द्वा एतयोस्तु सपूर्वयोर्देत्वम् । अन्तर्वर्तिनीं विभक्तिमाश्रित्याऽसुप इति प्रतिषेधात् ॥ अनेषका परनेषका अहके परमहके ॥ स्वशब्द-ग्रहणं संज्ञोपसर्जनार्थम् ॥ इह हि आतः स्थाने इत्यनुवृत्तं स्वशब्दस्यातो विशेषणम् नतु द्वैषयोरसंभवात् । वाप्यन्येषामप्यभिचारात् ॥ स्वशब्दस्त्वतुपसर्जनमात्मीयवाची अक्रजर्हः ॥ अर्थान्तरे तु न स्त्री ॥ संज्ञोपसर्जनी-भूतस्तु कप्रत्ययान्तत्वाद्भवत्युदाहरणम् ॥ एवं चाल्मीयायां स्विका ॥ परमस्विकोति नित्यमेवेत्वम् ॥ निर्भस्त्रका निर्भस्त्रिका ॥ एषका एषिका ॥ कृतपत्वनिर्देशान्नेह विकल्पः ॥ एतिके एतिकाः अजका अजका । जका जिका ॥ हके हिके ॥ निःस्वका निःस्विका ॥

466. According to the opinion of Northern gram-
marians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by
shortening the आ (before क by VII. 4. 13 S. 834), of भस्त्रा, एषा,
अजा, ज्ञा, द्वा (VII. 2. 102 S. 265), and स्वा ; even not then, when
the negative particle precedes them.

The word भस्त्रैषाज्ज्ञाद्वास्वा of the Sūtra has no case affix, but we must
interpret it as having the genitive case affix elided after it ; the word
नञ्पूर्वाणामपि is used in the Sūtra merely for the sake of clearness, for even
without these words, the rule would have applied, when the negative particle
preceded ; because as we have already shown, the rule of *tadanta vidhi* ap-
plies here. The word भस्त्रा is mentioned in the Sūtra to indicate that the rule
would apply to it even then when it is an upasarjāṇa. When it is not an
upasarjāṇa, the form would be evolved by the next Sūtra.

Note:—भस्त्रा is a word which has no corresponding masculine form and as such,
by the following rule VII. 3. 48 it would not have taken इ ; its special mention here in-
dicates that it should be the secondary member of the compound here : as अविद्यमाना भस्त्रा
यस्या = अभस्त्रा, the Diminutive of which is अभस्त्रका or अभस्त्रिका ॥ Here first the भस्त्रा
is shortened, as it is a secondary member (upasarjāṇa), then when the Bahuvrīhi is made,
the feminine affix टाप् is added to this भाषितपुंस्क word, then this आ is shortened before क
by VII. 4. 13. This short अ (VII. 4. 13) does not come in the room of the आ which
is ordained to come after a word having no corresponding masculine.

But of the two words एषा and द्वा, the addition of इ would be prohibited,
when they are preceded by another word ; because in a compound the elided
case affix is considered to be present, and therefore the prohibition of अनुपः of

Sûtra VII. 3. 44 S. 463 would have applied to these. Thus अनेषका, परमेषका, अह्नेके, परमह्नेके ।

Note :—The mention of these two words in the Sûtra from this point of view, would be rather redundant, while in the case of the other four words, भस्त्रा, भज्जा ज्ञा, and स्वा, there would be ह्रस्व, by the option allowed by this Sûtra, even when they are the last members in a compound and in spite of the prohibition of अनुपः ॥

By this process of elimination, we come to the conclusion stated above, that the words आतः स्थाने qualify स्व only. For this word alone is ambiguous. For when स्वा is a Sarvanama meaning one's own, i. e., when it is not an upasarjana, then it is capable of taking अकच् by V. 3. 71. S. 2026. Thus स्वा + अकच् = ह्रस्व अक् + आ = स्वका ॥ Here the अ before क is not an अ in the room of a long आ; and so the present sûtra will not apply to this स्वका ॥ All the same the अ of स्व will be changed to इ by VII. 3. 44 ante, and it will be स्विका always. So also परमस्विका.

But when ह्रस्व means agnate, soul, or property, then it is never in the feminine originally. Therefore, it must be either a sainjñā (Name) or an upasarjana (secondary member of a compound) in order to give scope to this sûtra. For then it can become feminine in long आ, which can take the affix क. Thus when स्वा is a Proper Name, the feminine will be स्वा and so with क, it will be स्विका or स्वका by the present sûtra.

So also निर्भस्त्रिका or निर्भस्त्रका, एषका or एषिका, भजका or भजिका, ज्ञका or ज्ञिका, ह्नेके or ह्नेके, निःस्वका or निःस्विका ॥

The word एषा is read in the sûtra with a ए and it shows that the option of this sûtra does not apply when the त is not changed to ए, as एतिके and एतिका; for in the dual and plural there is not ए substitution.

Note :—Of एषा and ह्नि there are no examples with the negative particle. For if the compounding with the नञ् takes place after the addition of the अकच्, or on the contrary, if first अकच् be added and then the नञ् compounding takes place, in both alternatives, the case-affixes must be added in order to substitute अ for the final by VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and it is only when this अ is substituted that the feminine दाप् can come. So that the case-affix is the principal ingredient, and दाप्, comes after सुप्, and therefore by the prohibition of अनुपः in VII. 3. 44, there can arise no occasion for the substitution of इ ॥ Therefore अनेषका and अह्नेके are the invariable forms of these words with the negative particle अनेषका may mean अज्ञाता एषा or एषका or न एषका or अज्ञाता अनेषा ॥

The word स्व is taken in the Sûtra not as a Sarvanāma but in the sense of agnates and property, for the sake of implying that the rule will apply to it when it is a संज्ञा, (i. e. when it means agnates or property and not self) and when it is an upasarjana.

Note :—compare I. 1. 27. S. 213 for the Sarvanāma स्त्र ॥

The anuvṛitti of “आतः स्थाने,” which we read in to this aphorism from the last sūtra, qualifies the long आ of स्त्रा only and not of the sarvanamans ह्रा and एषा ॥ Because the sarvanamans take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71. where other words would have taken कच् or अज्ञात क or कुस्ति क &c.

Thus ह्रा + अकच् = ह्र + अक् + आ (because this अकच् comes always before the हि portion of a word). = ह्रका ॥ Here the अ of ह्र before क is not a *substitute* in the place of long आ of ह्रा, but it is a portion of the affix अकच् ॥ Therefore the words आतः स्थाने can not qualify it.

As regards the other words भस्त्रा, अजा and ज्ञा there is no necessity of qualifying them by आतः स्थाने because they being invariably feminine, will *always* shorten their आ before क ॥

४६७ । अभाषितपुंस्काच्च । ७ । ३ । ४८ ॥

एतस्माद्विहितस्यातः स्थानेऽत इद्वा स्यात् ॥ गङ्गाका गङ्गिका ॥ बहुव्रीहेर्भाषितपुंस्कत्वान्ततो विहितस्य नित्यम् ॥ अज्ञाता अखट्वा अखट्विका ॥ शैबिके कपि तु विकल्प एव ॥

467. According to the opinion of Northern Gram-
marians, इ is not substituted for an अ obtained from the short-
ening of the Feminine आ (VII. 4. 13 S. 834), when to the
feminine in long आ there is no equivalent masculine, even
when the Negative particle precedes.

अभाषित पुंस्क means a noun which is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form. When a short अ is ordained to replace the long आ of such a feminine, there may be optionally इ in place of such a short अ in forming a secondary feminine. Thus गङ्गा is such a word. It has no corresponding masculine form. When we form a derivative noun from such a word, by the affix क before which आ is shortened by VII. 4. 13, such as, गङ्गक, then the feminine of this word may be either गङ्गाका or गङ्गिका ॥ But the addition of इ is not optional, but compulsory, after a Bahuvrīhi compound, though such a compound may have as its member an अभाषित पुंस्क word. The reason of this is, that a Bahuvrīhi compound is always a भाषित पुंस्क i. e. it has always a corresponding masculine form. Therefore, where a short अ is ordained to come in the place of a long आ of a word which though अभाषित पुंस्क singly is a member of a Bahuvrīhi compound, the इ substitution in the place of such अ is compulsory and not optional. Thus the word खट्वा is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form. We can form a Bahuvrīhi compound from it such as अखट्वा meaning ‘a man who has no bedstead’. The feminine of this will be अखट्वा ‘a woman who has no bedstead.’ This need not take the Samāsanta affix कच् as V. 4. 154. S. 891. is optional. Now, this

word अखद्वा may take the affix क by V. 3. 73. S. 2028 when the sense is want of knowledge, such as अज्ञाता खद्वा will be अखद्वा+क ॥ Before this क the long आ will be shortened to अ by VII. 4. 13 S. 834 Here the option of the present sūtra will not apply. Thus we shall have only one form. अखद्दिका by VII. 3. 44. S. 463. meaning 'who is this women without a bedstead?' or 'is it really so that this woman has no bedstead.' But when the samāsānta affix कप् of sūtra V. 4. 154 S. 891 is added then the option of the present sūtra will apply. For when कप् is added, we have the Bahuvrīhi compounds as अखद्वाकः or अखद्दकः (VII. 4. 15 S. 892) 'a man who has no bedstead.' The Feminine of the second form अखद्दकः will be अखद्वाका or अखद्दिका ॥

४६८ । आदाचार्याणाम् । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रविषये आदा स्यात् गङ्गाका ॥ उक्तपुंस्कात्तु शुभ्रिका ॥

468. According to the opinion of other Teachers, आ is substituted for the अ, which arose from the shortening of the feminine आ of a word, which has no corresponding masculine form.

Thus गङ्गाका or गङ्गिका ॥ But if a word has a corresponding masculine form, then there is no option, as शुभ्रिका ॥

४६९ । अनुपसर्जनात् । ४ । १ । १४ ॥

अधिकारोऽयं धून्स्तिरित्यभिव्याप्य ॥ अयमेव स्त्रीप्रत्ययेषु तदन्तविधिं ज्ञापयति ॥

469. The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem, which is not a subordinate term in a compound.

This is an adhikāra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV. 1. 77 : S. 531 and prohibits the application of affixes to 'upasarjanas.' That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound. (I. 2 43 S. 653).

Note :—As a general rule, tadanta-vidhi (I, 1, 72 S. 26) does not apply to compounds; but the present sūtra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds, for the purposes of the application of feminine affixes. For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sūtra; for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it, when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate (upasajana), or principal (pradhāna). But the present sūtra indicates that the tadanta-vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound.

४७० । टिड्ढाणञ्द्वयसज्दघ्नञ्मात्रचतयष्टकृञ्कञ्क्वरपः । ४ । १ । १५ ॥

अनुपसर्जनं यदिवादि तदन्तं यदन्तं प्रातिपदिकं ततः स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् ॥ कुरुचरी ॥ उपसर्जन-
स्वाप्तिह बहुकुरुचरा ॥ नद्द्, नदी ॥ वक्ष्यमाणेत्यत्र दिस्वाद्युगित्वाच्च ङीप् प्राप्तः ॥ यासुदो ङित्वेन
लाभ्यमनुबन्धकार्ये नदिशानामिति ज्ञापनात्र भवति ॥ इनः शानचः शिस्वेन क्वचिदनुबन्धकार्येऽप्यन-
त्विधाविति निषेधज्ञापनाद्वा ॥ सौपर्णेयी । ऐन्द्री । औत्सी । ऊरुद्वयसी । ऊरुद्वती । ऊरुमात्री । पञ्चतथी ।
आक्षिपी । लावणिकी । यादृशी । इत्वरि ॥ *ताच्छीलिके णेऽपि* । चौरी नञ्जनमकिक्ख्युस्तरुणतलुनानाशु-
पसंख्यानम् * ॥ स्वैणी । पौत्सी । शान्तीकी । आढयनाङ्कुरणी । सरुणी । तलुनी ॥

470. The affix ङीप् is added, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory ट्, or if the affix be द् or झण्, or अञ् or द्वयसच्, or दघ्नच्, or मात्रच्, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठक्, or कञ् or क्वरप् ॥

The word अतः 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvritti from IV. 1. 4 S. 454 and qualifies the affixes above-mentioned, wherever necessary. This debars the affix टप् of IV. 1. 4 S. 454. We shall give example of each *seriatim*. (1) Thus, m., कुरुचर f., कुरुचरी m., मद्गचर f., मद्गचरी (चर + ई = चर् + ई; the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311.) The word kuru-chara is formed by ट (III. 2. 16 S. 2930), of which ट् is indicatory.

But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653), then they will not take the affix ङीप् in the feminine. Now in a Bahuvrīhi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II. 2, 35 S. 898); therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take ङीप् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरुचरा ॥ So also the word नद्द् is read with an indicatory द् in the पचादि class of Ganapāṭha under sūtra III. 1. 134 S. 2896, it forms its feminine as नदी, because it has an indicatory द् ॥

The word वक्ष्यमाण is formed with the affix शानच् (III. 3. 14. S. 3107), where the affix is the substitute of लद् ॥ Therefore, this affix has an indicatory द् as well as an indicatory ऋ and, therefore, its feminine ought to be formed by the present sūtra, and so the Feminine ought to be वक्ष्यमाणी ॥ This is, however, not the case, because of the following Paribhāṣā.

Paribhāṣa :—"The substitutes of ल् do not produce the effect which depends on the indicatory letters of ल् ॥" This paribhāṣā is derived from the ज्ञापक of sūtra III. 4. 103 S. 2209 where the यासुद् the substitute of लिङ् is made expressly ङित् ॥ Or, we may infer this from the prohibition अनत्विधौ of sūtra I. 1. 56. S. 49 So though in some places, the substitute अः शानचः may produce the operations required by anubandhas, because they have an indicatory द्, yet it will not be so always.

(2) Of words ending in द् we have, m. सौपर्णेय f, सौपर्णेयी so also f.

वेनतेयी ॥ The ढ stands for the affix ढक्; and it is replaced by एय् (VII. 1. 2. S. 475). Thus सुपर्णा + ढक् (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123) = सुपर्णा + एय् = सौपर्णेय (VII. 2. 118 S. 1076).

Note :—There is no affix which is merely ढ without any indicatory letters; and denoting the feminine; the only affix as said above is ढक् ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here :—"When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is employed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it," and we cannot say that the ढ of this sūtra refers to the anubandha-less ढ of V. 3. 102 S. 2057 which is always Nenter.

(3) So also इन्द्र + अण् = ऐन्द्र ॥ Here अण् may have the force of सास्य इवता (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226) or तस्येवं (IV. 3. 120. S. 1500). Its feminine will be ऐन्द्री ॥

(4) Words formed by अञ् as औत्स f. औत्सी, औदपान, f. औदपानी, (IV. 1. 86 S. 1078).

Note :—Though by IV. 1. 73 S. 527 the affix ङीन् would have come after the words ending in अञ्, the re-employment of this affix, in the present sūtra, is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix ङीष् which would have presented itself by IV. 1. 63 S. 518 that is, even when 'jāti' is indicated, 'nish' is not to be employed here.

(5) The three affixes द्वयसच्, त्रयसच्, and मात्रसच् are added by V. 2. 37 S. 1838 as, ऊरुद्वयसी, ऊरुत्रयसी, ऊरुमात्रा 'reaching to the thigh'. Similarly जातुद्वयसी, जातुत्रयसी, जातुमात्रा ॥

(6) So also with words formed by तयस् (V. 2. 42 S. 1843). As पञ्चतयी 'of which the parts are five,' so also दशतयी ॥

(7) So also with words ending in ढक् (IV. 4. 1. S. 1548) as, आक्षिकी 'a female dicer'. क्षालिकी ॥ The ढ is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170).

(8) Similarly with words ending in ढञ् (V. 1. 18 S. 1680): as, लावणिकी 'elegant'.

Note :—The affixes ढक् and ढञ् are separately enumerated in this sūtra, in order to exclude the affix ढन् &c. For had the word ढ merely been used, then it would have meant all the three affixes ढक्, ढन् and ढञ्, which is not desired.

(9) Similarly with words ending in कञ् (III. 2. 60 S. 429) as, यादसी, तादसी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in क्वरस् (III. 2. 163 S. 3143) as, इत्वरि 'swift', नस्वरि ॥

Vārtika :—The words formed by the addition of the affix ण having the force of "whose habit is this," are operated upon as if they were formed by अण् ॥ Thus चौरी, तापसी are the feminine of चौर and तापस (IV. 4. 62 S. 1612),

Vart :—In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नञ् and लञ् (IV. 1. 87 S. 1079) and ईकक् (IV. 4. 59 S. 1609) and खयुन् (III. 2. 56 S. 2973) and of the words तरुण and तलुन

'a youth'. Thus स्त्रीणी 'a female', पौत्री 'a male', शान्तीकी 'a female spear bearer', आढ्यंकरणी 'enriching, ; तरुणी or तलुनी 'a young woman'.

४७१ । यञश्च । ४ । १ । १६ ॥

यञन्तास्त्रियां ङीप्स्यात् अकारलोपे कृते ॥

471. The affix ङीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्.' (IV. 1. 105 S.1107).

Note:—The separation of this sūtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvritti of यञ् only runs and not of others.

Thus गार्ग्य-ङीप्=गार्ग्य-ङी-ङ् (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) by which अ is elided.

At this stage, applies the following Sūtra:—

४७२ । हलतद्धितस्य । ६ । ४ । १५० ॥

हल उत्तरस्य तद्धितयकारस्योपधाभूतस्य लोपः स्यासीति परे ॥ गार्गी ॥ अनपत्याधिकारस्थान्न ङीप् ॥ द्वीपे भवा द्वेप्या ॥ अधिकारग्रहणान्नेह देवस्यापत्यं देव्या देवाद्यञ्माविति हि यञ् प्राग्दीव्यतीयो न स्वपत्याधिकारपठितः ॥

472. The य् of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ई ॥

Thus गार्ग्य+ई=गार्ग्य + ई=गार्गी.

Vart:—This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise. Therefore ई will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वेप्य of द्वीप-ङी-यञ् (IV. 3. 10 S. 1380). Its feminine will be द्वेप्या 'living on or relating to an island.'

The यञ् must be the patronymic affix taught in the sub-division of patronymics, that is, in the Apatyādhikāra. Therefore, the य् ordained after देव by the *Vārtika* under IV. 1. 85 S. 1077 will not form its feminine by this rule. Thus देव्या the feminine of देव्य, where यञ् is prāgdīvyatiya affix, pure and simple, and not an affix read in the apatyādhikāra.

In the evolution of the feminine form गार्ग्यायणी, the following rules apply.

४७३ । प्राचां षफः तद्धितः । ४ । १ । १७ ॥

यञन्तात्षफोवा रयात् स्त्रियां स च तद्धितः ॥

473. In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix यञ्, and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix.

४७४। षः प्रत्ययस्य । १ । ३ । ६॥

प्रत्ययस्यादिः ष इत्यात् ॥

474. The initial ष् of an affix is indicatory.

४७५। आयनेयीनीयियः फढखछ्वां प्रत्ययादीनां । ७ । १ । २ ॥

प्रत्ययादिभूतानां फादीनां क्रमादायन्नादय आदिषाः स्युः । तद्धितान्तत्वात्प्रातिपदिकत्वम् ।
षिस्त्वसान्ध्यात् ष्फेणोक्तेऽपि स्त्रीत्वे षिद्गौरेति वक्ष्यमाणो ङीष् ॥ गार्ग्यायणी ॥

475. आयन्, for फ् एय् for ढ्, ईन् for ख्, ईय् for छ्, and ईय् for घ्, are substituted, when these consonants stand in the beginning of an affix.

गार्ग्यायण, being a word formed with a Taddhita affix, it will be a prâtipadika, and therefore will take the feminine affixes.

Of this affix ष् the letter ष् is indicatory (I. 3. 6 S. 474), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'fish' (IV. 1. 41. S. 498). The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, *viz.*, by 'shpha' and 'fish.' The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prâtipadika (I. 2 46 S. 179). The affix फ् is replaced by the substitute आयन् (VII. 1. 2). Thus गार्ग्य + ष्फ + ङीष् = गार्ग्यायणी; so also वात्स्यायनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वात्सी ॥

Note :—The word सर्वत्र "every where" of the sūtra IV. 1. 18 S. 476 is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of anuvṛitti, in order to prohibit the application of those rules even which would otherwise debar this. Thus IV. 1. 75 S. 529 says :—'the affix चाप् comes after आवक्ष्य' ॥ Here आवक्ष्य ends in यञ् and by IV. 1. 16, S. 471 the word आवक्ष्य would have taken the affix nip : IV. 1. 75 S. 529 debarred this. But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix 'shpha' will be added Thus आवक्ष्यायनी ॥

४७६। सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः । ४ । १ । १८ ॥

लोहितादिभ्यः कतशब्दान्तेभ्यो यञन्तेभ्यो नित्यं ष्फः स्यात् । लौहियायनी । कात्यायनी ॥

476. The affix 'shpha' is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with 'lohita' and ending with 'kata,' when they take the affix यञ् ॥

Thus लौहियायनी and कात्यायनी ॥

Note :—The words लोहित &c. are a subdivision of Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105).

The present sūtra makes the application of the affix ष्फ, compulsory while it was optional in the IV. 1. 17. S. 473.

४७७ । कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १६ ॥

आभ्यां षक् स्यात् । टाप्डीपोरपवादः । कुर्वादिभ्योऽप्यः । कौरव्यायणी । ढक् च मण्डूकादित्यण् ।
माण्डूकायनी ॥ * आसुरेष्टपसंख्यानम् * ॥ आसुरायणी ॥

477. The affix 'shpha' is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक ।

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix ण्य to the base कुरु (IV. 1. 151 S. 1175); this word, ending in अ, would have formed its feminine by टाप् (IV. 1. 4 S. 454), but for the present sūtra. So also by IV. 1. 119, S. 1122 the word माण्डूक is formed by अण् added to मण्डूक; and the feminine of māṇḍūka would have been formed by णिप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix. Thus कौरव्यायणी, माण्डूकायनी ॥

Vart :—The word आसुरि should be enumerated along with kauravya and māṇḍūkyā. Thus आसुरायणी ॥ The word आसुरि is formed by the affix इम् added to the word असुर; the word 'āsuri' would, therefore, have taken the affix अण् in forming the further derivative (IV. 2. 112 S. 1333).

४७८ । वयसि प्रथमे । ४ । १ । २० ॥

प्रथमवयोवाचिनोऽवन्तात् सियां ङीप् स्यात् । कुमारी ॥ * वयस्यचरम इति वाच्यम् * ॥ वधूदी ।
चिरण्डी । वधूटचिरण्ण्डशब्दौ यौवनवाचिनौ । अतः किम् । शिशुः । कन्याया न । कन्यायाः कनीन चेति
निर्देशात् ॥

478. The affix 'ङीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in अ and denoting early age.

The word वयः means the condition of the body as dependent upon time ; such as, youth, old age &c. Words expressive of early age form their feminine by ई, though ending in अ ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl'. किशोरी 'a young girl', बर्करी 'a she-kid'.

Why do we say ending in अ ? Observe शिशु, which is both masculine and feminine.

Vart :—The sūtra should have been अचरमे वयसि 'words expressive of not old age' ? Thus वधूदी 'a young woman', चिरण्डी 'a young woman'. These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i. e. they denote women who have attained their maturity.

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl' ? This is an exception, and Pāṇini himself uses the word 'kanyā' showing that it is a valid form ; as in sūtra IV. 1. 116. S. 111 9.

४७९ । द्विगोः । ४ । १ । २१ ॥

अवन्ताद्विगोर्ङीप् स्यात् । त्रिलोकी । अजादित्वात्रिफला । ज्यनीका सेना ॥

479. The affix 'डीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound.

Thus त्रिलोकी ॥ But we find त्रिकला 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अज &c' (IV. 1. 4 S. 454). Also इयनीका सेना ॥

४८० । अपरिमाणविस्ताचितकम्बल्येऽयो न तद्धितलुकि । ४ । १ । २२ ॥

अपरिमाणान्ताद्विस्ताद्यन्ताच्च द्विगोर्डीप् न स्यात्तद्धितलुकि सन्नि । पञ्चभिरश्वैः क्रीता पञ्चाश्वी ॥ भार्हीयष्टक् । अध्यर्थेति लुक् । द्वौ विस्तौ पचति द्विविस्ता । द्वाचित्ता । द्विकम्बल्या । परिमाणान्ताच्च द्वाधकी । तद्धितलुकि किम् । समाहारे पञ्चाश्वी ॥

480. The affix डीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure ; or in 'bista', 'âchita', and 'kambalya'.

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses.' Here the Taddhita affix इञ् (V. 1. 37 S., 1702) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. This compound does not end in a word denoting parimāṇa technically so called or a measure. The feminine of this word will not be formed by डीप् but by दाप्, thus, पञ्चाश्वी 'a female purchased for five horses'. So also with the words विस्त & c. As द्विविस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिविस्ता, द्वाचित्ता, द्वाचिता, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c.

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimāṇa or a 'measure'? Observe द्वाधकी, त्र्याधकी "a female purchased for two or three ādhakas". Here ādhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb 11 oz avoirdupois.

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samāhāra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'नीप्' will apply. Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses' so also द्वाश्वी ॥

Note:—This debars 'nip' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sūtra. The words विस्तः 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas' द्वाचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart-loads or 80,000 talahs'; and कम्बल्यः 'a measure', all denote measure ; and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies. The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V. 1. 19, &c.

४८१ । काण्डान्तात्क्षेत्रे । ४ । १ । २३ ॥

क्षेत्रे यः काण्डान्तो द्वियुस्ततो न डीप् । तद्धितलुकि । द्वे काण्डे प्रमाणमस्याः सा द्विकाण्डा

क्षेत्रमन्तिः । प्रमाणे द्वयसजिति विहितस्य मात्रचः प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यमिति लृक् । क्षेत्रे किय । द्विकाण्डी रज्जुः ॥

481. The affix डीप् is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रमन्तिः 'a division of a field of the measure of two kāṇḍas.' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kāṇḍa'; the Taddhita affixes द्वयसच् &c. denoting measure enjoined by V. 2. 37, have been elided by the *vārtika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' "The affixes denoting lineal measure are elided after words which are themselves recognised as standards of measure". The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'dīp' but by दाप्; so also त्रिकाण्डा क्षेत्रमन्तिः ॥

Why do we say when the compound refers to superficial land measure? Observe द्विकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope two kāṇḍas long'.

४८२ । पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २४ ॥

प्रमाणे यः पुरुषस्तस्माद्द्विगोर्डीप् वा स्यात्तद्धितलुकि । द्वौ पुरुषौ प्रमाणमस्याः सा द्विपुरुषी द्विपुरुषा वा परिखा ॥

482. The affix 'डीप्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'purusha', referring to measure.

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी परिखा 'a mote two *purusha* wide' so also त्रिपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषा &c. The present sūtra ordains an option where IV. 1. 22 would have made the prohibition universal.

४८३ । ऊधसोऽनङ् । १ । ४ । १३१ ॥

ऊधोऽन्तस्य बहुव्रीहेरनङादेशः स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । इत्यनङि कृते डाङ्डीन्निषेधेषु प्रसिधु ॥

483. The syllable *anañ* is the substitute of the final of ऊधस् in a Bahuvrīhi.

Note:—As कुण्डामिव ऊधोऽस्याः = कुण्डोऽध्री, षोऽध्री ॥ The feminine is formed by adding डीप् ॥ (IV. 1. 25); and these words are always used in this form for the feminine only; no substitution takes place in the masculine, as महोधाः पर्जन्यः; षोऽधो धैनुकम् ॥ ऊधस + अन् = ऊधन् (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). ऊधन् + डीप् = ऊधन् + ई (अ being elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234) = ऊधी ॥

When अनङ् is substituted, there arises the prohibition of डाप् and डीप्, when the following sūtra comes up.

४८४ । बहुव्रीहेरुधसो डीप् । ४ । १ । २५ ॥

ऊधोऽन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेर्डीप् स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । कुण्डोघ्नी । स्त्रियां किम् । कुण्डोघो धेनुकम् । इहा-
ऽनङपि न । तद्विधौ स्त्रियामित्युपसंख्यानान्त् ॥

484. The affix 'डीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word ūdhas 'an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrīhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डोधस्; then the final of ūdhas is replaced by the substitute अनङ् (V. 4. 131 S. 483); thus we have कुण्डोधन्; which would have been liable to the rules IV. 1. 12, 13, S. 460 & 461 *ante*; the present sūtra enjoins डीप् instead. Thus कुण्डोघ्नी (V. 4. 134 S. 872) 'a woman with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahuvrīhi compound'? Observe प्राप्ता ऊधः = प्राप्तोऽधः (II. 2. 4 S. 715) which is a Tatpurusha compound.

Why do we say in the feminine? The substitution of अन् for the final of ऊधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have कुण्डोघो धेनुकम् ॥ Here there is no अनङ् even, for that is ordained after the feminines only.

४८५ संख्याऽन्ययादेर्डीप् । ४ । १ । २६ ॥

डीपोऽपवादः । द्व्युध्नी । अत्युध्नी । बहुव्रीहेरित्येव । ऊधोऽतिक्रान्ता अत्युधाः ॥

485. The affix डीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in 'ūdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sūtra ordains 'ñip', where by the last sūtra there would have been 'ñish'. Thus द्वी + ऊधस् + अनङ् + डीप् (V. 4. 131 S. 483) = द्व्युध्नी 'having two udders'; so also त्र्युध्नी, 'having three udders' The above are Bahuvrīhi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अत्युध्नी 'many-uddered'; निरुध्नी 'having no udders'. The word "Bahuvrīhi" is to be supplied here from the last. When the compound is not Bahuvrīhi we have अत्युधा = ऊधोऽतिक्रान्ता ॥

४८६ । दामहायनान्ताच्च । ४ । १ । २७ ॥

संख्यादेर्बहुव्रीहेरान्तान्ताद्यायनान्ताच्च डीप् स्यात् । दामान्ते डाप्प्रतिषेधयोः प्राप्तयोर्हायनान्ते दापि प्राप्ते वचनम् । द्विदाम्नी । अद्वयमहणाऽननुवृत्तेरुहामा वडवेत्यत्र डान्निषेधावापि पक्षे स्तः । द्विहायनी बाला ॥ * विचतुर्भ्यां हायनस्य णत्वं वाच्यम् * ॥ वयोवाचकस्यैव हायनस्य डीप् णत्वं चेप्यते * ॥ त्रिहायनी । चतुर्हायनी । वयसोऽन्यत्र त्रिहायना ॥ चतुर्हायना शाला ॥

486. The affix डीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound beginning with a Numeral, and ending

with the words dāman 'a rope', and hāyana 'a year'.

The word दामन् was liable to be operated upon by two rules, viz by, IV. 1. 13 ordaining डाप् and by IV. 1. 11 S. 459 prohibiting totally the affixing of डीप् ; while हायन् would have taken long आ by IV. 1, 4, S. 454 ; the present sūtra ordains णिप to the exclusion of all those As द्विद्वानी 'a (mare) bound by two ropes'. त्रिद्वानी ॥ We do not read the anuvritti of अव्यय from the last sūtra into this. Therefore when an Indeclinable such as उत् precedes दामन्, then the affix डाप् of IV. 1. 13 S. 46 and the prohibition of IV. 1. 11 S. 459 will apply, as उदामा वड्वा ॥ द्विहायनी बाला 'two years (old girl)', त्रिहायणी चतुर्हायणी ॥

Vārt :—The word 'hāyana' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this sūtra. Therefore we have no णिप here :—द्विहायना बाला 'a hall of two years existence.'

Ishṭi :—After त्रि and चतुर the न of हायन is changed into ण ; when हायन denotes 'age', and not otherwise. त्रिहायना and चतुर्हायना when referring to a hall.

४८७ । नित्यं संज्ञाछन्दसोः । ४ । १ । २६ ॥

अत्रन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपिनो डीप् स्यात् संज्ञाछन्दसोः । सुराज्ञी नाम नगरी । अन्यत्र पूर्वेषां विकल्प एव ॥ वेदे तु शतमूर्ध्नी ॥

487. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in the Chhandas, and in forming Names, after that Bahuvrīhi compound which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

This is an exception to IV. 1. 28 S. 462 ; for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix डाप् ॥ Thus सुराज्ञी 'the city called Surājñī' ; अतिराज्ञी 'the city of Atirājñī'. When not a name, the option of IV, 1. 28 S. 462 will hold good. Similarly in the Chhandas we have शतमूर्ध्नी ॥

४८८ केवलमामकभागधेयपापापरसमानार्थकृतसुमङ्गलभेषजाच्च । ४ । १ । ३० ॥

एभ्यो नवभ्यो नित्यं डीप् स्यात्संज्ञाछन्दसोः । अथोतइन्द्रः केवलीर्विशः । मामकी । भागधेयी । पापी । अपरं समानी । आर्यकृती । सुमङ्गली । भेषजी । अन्यत्र केवला इत्यादि । मामकग्रहणं नियमार्थम् । अणन्तत्वादेव सिद्धेः । तेन लोकेऽसंज्ञायां मामिका ॥

488. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the Chhandas :—कवल मामक, भागधेयं, पाप, अपर, समान, आर्यकृत, सुमङ्गल and भेषज ॥

The phrase संज्ञा छन्दसाः of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus केवली in the Chhandas, as opposed to केवला in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name; so also मामकी तनू in the Vedas and मामिका in the secular literature. भागधेयी as मित्रावरुणयोर्भागधेयी in the Vedas and भागधया in Bhāṣhā, तन्वः संन्तु पापी in the Vedas and पापा in Bhāṣhā; अपरी as उताऽपरीभ्योमववा विजिग्ये; (Rig-veda I. 1. 13) otherwise अपरा; समानी व आकूतिः (Rigved.) otherwise समाना; आर्यकृती and आर्यकृता; सुमङ्गली (Rigveda X. 85. 33) सुमङ्गला; शिवारुदस्य भेषजी otherwise भेषजा ॥ सुमङ्गल takes डीप् also by IV. I. 41. S. 498 as belonging to Gaurādi class No. 86. The word मामक is read in the sūtra in order to make a restrictive rule with regard to it; for it would have taken डीप् by IV. I. 15 S. 470 even, because it is a word formed by अण् affix (IV. 3. 3 S. 1372). In the secular literature or otherwise it would be मामिका always (see VII. 3. 44. S. 463)

४८६ । अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक् । ४ । १ । ३२ ॥

एतयोः स्त्रियां नुक् स्यात् ॥ ऋन्नेभ्यो डीप् ॥ गर्भिण्यां जीवद्गर्तृकार्यां च प्रकृतिभागौ निपात्यते । तन्नान्तरस्त्यस्यां गर्भ इति विमहे अन्तःशब्दस्याधिकरणशक्तिप्रधानतयाऽस्तिसामानाधिकरण्याभावाद्गर्भासौ मतुब् निपात्यते । पतिवत्स्त्रीत्यत्र तु वत्त्वं निपात्यते । अन्तर्वत्नी । पतिवन्नी । प्रत्युदाहरणं तु । अन्तरस्त्यस्यां शालायां घटः । पतिमती पृथिवी ॥

489. The augment नुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the feminine affix डीप् follows.

This sūtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment नुक् ॥ When this augment is added, (and it must be added at the end, by sūtra I. 1. 46), the forms become अन्तर्वत्स् and पतिवत्स्; and these words must take णिप् by virtue of IV. 1. 5, S. 306 if not by this sūtra. Thus we have अन्तर्वन्नी and पतिवन्नी ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively. Therefore, we have not the above forms in the following :—प्रथत त्वया पतिमती पृथिवी; here the word पतिमता qualifies the word पृथिवी and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular. Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be अन्तर्वन्नी; in fact there will be no affixing of वत् (मनुप्) ॥ Because मतुप् is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V. 2. 94, S. 1894 while the word अन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of अस्ति "having" as required by V. 2. 94. S. 1894. The word अन्तर् would not therefore take मतुप् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sūtra. The म is changed to व by VIII. 2. 2 S. 1897 in अन्तर्वत् ॥ The change of म to व in पतिवत् is however irregular.

The augment नुक् is optionally added to these words in the Vedas :—
as सान्त्वन्नी or सान्त्वन्ती देवानुपेतु ॥ पतिवन्नी or पतिवन्ती तरुणवत्सा ॥

४९० । पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे । ४ । १ । ३३ ॥

पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्याद्यज्ञेन संबन्धे । वसिष्ठस्य पत्नी । तत्कर्तृकयज्ञस्य फलभोक्त्रीत्यर्थः । सम्पत्थोः सहाधिकारात् ॥

490. The substitute न् replaces the final इ of पति before the feminine affix डीप्, when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'.

Thus वसिष्ठस्य पत्नी, meaning one who participates in the fruits of sacrifices performed by Vasishtha. Because sacrifices must be performed jointly by the husband and wife.

४९१ । विभाषा सपूर्वस्य । ४ । १ । ३४

पतिशब्दशान्तस्य सपूर्वस्य प्रानिपदिकस्य नो वा स्यात् । गृहस्य पतिः गृहपतिः । गृहपत्नी । अनुपसर्जनस्येतीहात्तरायमनुब्रूतमपि न पत्युर्विशेषणं किंतु तदन्तस्य । तेन बहुव्रीहावपि । दृढपत्नी दृढपतिः । वृषलपत्नी । वृषलपतिः । अथ वृषलस्य पत्नीति व्यस्ते कथमिति चेत् । पत्नीव पत्नीत्युपपत्त्यात् । यद्वा । आचारक्रियगतात्कर्तरि क्तिप् । अस्मिंश्च पक्षे पत्नियौ, पत्नियः, इतीयद्वयपक्षे विशेषः सपूर्वस्य किम् । गवां पतिः स्त्री ॥

491. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, न् is optionally the substitute of the final इ of पति, when the latter is preceded by another word.

The word सपूर्वस्य means when the word पति stands at the end of a compound. गृहपतिः or गृहपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprāpta-vibhāṣā. Because it is free from the limitations of "yajña-sanyoga" of the last sūtra. Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe गवांपतिः स्त्री 'this lady is the mistress of cows'. Here the feminine is पति and not पत्नी although preceded by गवां but with which it is not compounded.

The anuvritti of the word अनुपसर्जनस्य (though its anuvritti is necessary for the next sūtra,) does not qualify पति but the compound ending with पति in this sūtra. Therefore the rule will apply to पति even when it is an upasarjana, as being the last member of a Bahuvrihi compound; as दृढपत्नी or दृढपतिः "whose husband is strong". So also वृषलपत्नी or वृषलपतिः ॥

How then do you justify the phrase like वृषलस्य पत्नी "the Patni of a Sūdra", for a Sūdra cannot perform sacrifice, and so he cannot have a पत्नी in the proper sense of the word? Such usage is however allowed by analogy, for the wife of a Sūdra is analogous to the wife of a Brāhmaṇa. Or we may explain it by saying that the word here is formed by adding the affix क्तिप् to पत्नी with the force of पत्नी इव आचरति "she who behaves like a Patni". If पत्नी be taken to have been so

formed, then it will take इयङ् in Plural and Dual by VI. 4. 77 S. 271 as पत्नियो 'two wives of a Sûdra' and पत्नियः "many wives of a Sûdra" and not पत्न्यै and पत्न्यः as is the general case. As a matter of fact, in ancient times Sûdras were allowed to perform sacrifices.

४९२ । नित्यं सपत्न्यादिषु । ४ । १ । ३५ ॥

पूर्वविकल्पापवादः । समानस्य भावोऽपि निपात्यते । समानः पतिर्यस्याः सा सपत्नी । एकपत्नी वीरपत्नी ॥

492. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न्, in the words like "सपत्नी" and the rest.

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix डीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी Here सबाव is replaced by स by this sūtra.

४९३ । पूतकतोरै च । ४ । १ । ३६ ॥

अस्य स्त्रियामै आदेशो डीप् च । इयं त्रिसूत्री पुंयोग एवेत्यते ॥ पूतकतोः स्त्री पूतकतायी । यथा तु कतवः पूताः स्यात्पूतकतुरेवसा ॥

493. In forming the feminine, the letter दे is the substitute of the final of the word पूतकतु, when the affix डीप् is added.

Thus पूतकतायी 'this wife of Pûtakratu'. *Ishti*:—According to Patanjali this and the two succeeding sūtras, are valid then only, when the sense of the feminine words is that of 'wife of so and so' otherwise these sūtras will not apply. see IV. 1. 48 S. 504 Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतकतुः will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (कतवः) are sanctified (पूताः).'

४९४ । वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसिदानामुदात्तः । ४ । १ । ३७ ॥

एषाशुशत ऐ आदेशः स्यात् डीप् च । वृषाकपेः स्त्री वृषाकपायी । हरिविष्णु वृषाकपी इत्यमरः, वृषाकपायी श्रीगौर्द्योति च । भगनायी । कुसितायी । कुसिसायी । कुसिदशब्दो ह्रस्वमध्यो ननु सार्धमध्यः ॥

494. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the letter पे having udâtta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसिद ॥

Thus वृषाकपायी (Rig Veda X. 86. 13) 'the wife of Vṛṣhākapi' or Hara or Vishnu's wife (Amar III 3. 129 and 155) namely Lakshmi or Gaurī अग्नी-यी. (Rig Ved. I. 22. 12) the wife of Agni, कुसितायी the wife of Kusita, कुसिसायी

'the wife of Kusida'. In the above the udātta falls on the syllables कौ, मा, तौ and ई respectively. The last word is कुसिद and not कुतीद as in some texts.

४६५ । मनोरौ वा । ४ । १ । ३८ ॥

मनुशब्दस्यैकारदिशः स्वादुदात्त ऐकारश्च वा । ताभ्यां संनियोगशिष्टो ङीप् च । मनोः स्त्री मनावी । मनुः ॥

495. औ is the substitute of the final of मनु, or the udātta ऐ optionally, and to the remaining base so formed, is added ङीप् in the feminine.

The phrases ऐ and उदात्त are understood. The force of वा is to make the substitution optional. Thus we have three forms, मनावी or मनावी or मनुः, all meaning 'the wife of Manu'.

४६६ । वर्णादनुदात्तात्तौपधात्तो नः । ४ । १ । ३९ ॥

वर्णवाची योऽनुदात्तान्तस्तौपधस्तदनुपसर्जनाभ्यातिपदिकाद्वा ङीप् स्यात्तत्कारस्य नकारादेशश्च । एनी । एता । रोहिणी । रोहिता । वर्णानां तणतिनितान्तानामिति फिदसूत्रेणाद्युदात्तः । ज्येष्ठ्या च शल्लयेति गृह्यसूत्रम् । ग्रीष्मेतानि यस्या इति बहुव्रीहि । अनुदात्तात्किम् । श्वेता । घृतादीनां चेत्यन्तोऽशक्तोऽयम् । अत इत्येव । शितिः स्त्री । * पिशङ्गादुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पिशङ्गी । पिशङ्गा ॥ किंतु * असितपलितयोर्न * असिता । पलिता ॥ * छन्दसि क्लमेक * ॥ असिक्ली । पलिक्ली । अवदातशब्दस्तु न वर्णवाची । विशुद्धवाची तेन अवदाता इत्येव ॥

496. The affix ङीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter त् as its penultimate letter : and the letter न् is substituted in the room of त् ॥

Thus of एत 'variegated'; the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated.' रोहिणी or रोहिता, so ज्येष्ठा or ज्येष्ठी 'black,' हरिता or हरिणी 'green'. All these words have udātta accent, on the first vowel, by the Phīṭ sūtra II. 10 (वर्णानां तणतिनितान्तानाम् 'of words expressive of colour and ending in तण, or ति or त्रि or त्, the udātta accent falls on the first vowel") as they are formed by तत् &c. (Uṇ III. 36). Thus ज्येष्ठ्या च शल्लया (Grihya Sūtra). The word tryenyā is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning "she who has three variegated".

Why do we say "ending in a gravely accented vowel?" Observe श्वेता 'white.' Here though the word expresses 'color,' yet it has acute (instead of grave) accent on the final (by the rule of Phīṭ sūtra I. 21 घृतादीनां च "the words gṛīta &c., have udātta on the final").

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter त् in the masculine. Otherwise this rule will not apply. As शितिः स्त्री 'a black woman.' Here शितिः is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate त्,

has anudatta accent on the final (VI. 1. 197) as it is formed by the affix क्तिन्; but as it does not end in अ, its feminine is not formed with णिप्.

Vart:—The affix णिप् comes also after the word पिशङ्ग; as, पिशङ्गी or पिशङ्गा 'of tawny color.'

Vart:—There is prohibition in the case of the words असित and पलित; as असिता 'black' and पलिता 'grey.'

Vart:—According to some, the substitute क्लृप् replaces the final of these two words असित and पलित in the Vedic literature. As असिक्ली (Rig Veda IX. 73. 29); पलिक्ली R. Veda V. 2. 4. The word अवदातः does not denote 'color,' but "purity" hence its feminine is अवदाता ॥ Amarkosha is wrong when it says "अवदातः means white clear,"

४६७ । अन्यतो डीप् । ४ । १ । ४० ॥

तोपधभिन्नाहर्णवाचिनोऽनुदात्तान्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् स्यात् । कल्माषी । सारङ्गी । लघावन्ते द्वयोश्च बहुचो गुरुरिति मध्योदात्तावेतो । अनुदात्तान्तात्किम् । कृष्णा । कपिला ॥

497. The affix डीप् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudatta accent, and which has no त as penultimate.

The word वा of IV. 1. 38 does not govern this sūtra. The word अन्यतः means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism *i. e.* after words which have *not* त् as penultimate. The difference between णिप् and णिश् affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III. 1. 4) and the latter acute. Thus सारङ्गी, कल्माषी ॥ Both these words have acute on the middle by Phīṭ Sūtra II. 19 (A word whose final syllable is light; or a polysyllabic word whose two syllables are light, gets the acute on the heavy syllable wherever that may be).

Why do we say "ending with a syllable which is gravely accented"? Because when the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this rule does not apply, as, कृष्णा, कपिला ॥

४६८ । पिद्वौरादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ४१ ॥

पिद्वयो गौरादिभ्यश्च डीप् स्यात् । नर्तकी । गौरी । अनडुही । अनड्वाही ॥ पिप्पल्यादयश्च * ॥ आकृतिगणोयम् ॥

498. The affix डीप् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicative ष् and after the words गौर and the rest.

Thus by Sūtra III. 1. 145 S. 2907 the affix ष्वन् is added to a

root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist. The feminine of the words so formed, will take *nīsh*. As, नर्तकी 'an actress.' So also the words नौर &c; as गैरी, अनडुही अनडुही ॥

In the Gaurādi class is to be included the Pippalādi words also (see Gaṇapātha at the end.) This is an Ākritigana, no complete list being given any where.

४६९ । सूर्यतिष्यामस्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः । ६ । ४ । १४९ ॥

अङ्गस्थोपधाया यस्य लोपः स्यात्स चेद्यः सूर्याद्यवयवः ॥ * मत्स्यस्य ङङ्ग्राम् * ॥ * सूर्यागस्ययोऽङ्गे च ङङ्ग्राम् च * ॥ * तिष्यपुष्ययोर्नञ्चाणि यलोप इति वाच्यम् * ॥ मत्सी । मातरि बिच्चति बिच्चोदिव सिद्धे गौरादिषु मातामहीशब्दपाठादनित्यः । बितां ङीष् । इष्ट्वा ॥

499. Of the bha stems सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्य and मत्स्य (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate य् is also elided before the long ई and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूर्येणकादिक् = सौरी (सूर्य + अण् under IV. 3. 112 S. 1492 = सौर्य, then ई of ङीष् = सौरी), as सौरी बलाका ॥

So also तिष्य-तैषमहः, तैषी दानिः ॥ So also अगस्यापत्सं स्त्री = आगस्ती (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117). आगस्तीयः; So also मत्स्य-मत्सी with ङीष् as it belongs to the Gaurādi class (IV. 1. 41 S. 498).

Vart :—The य of मत्स्य is elided before the feminine ई only : therefore not here मत्स्यस्येह मांसं = मांस्यम् ॥

Vart :—Of सूर्य and अगस्य before the affixes क्, and ई (of the feminine) : as सौरीयः, सौरी, आगस्तीयः, आगस्ती ॥ But not here सौर्यं चहं निर्वपेत्, आगस्य formed with the Patronymic अण् (IV. 1. 114)

Vart :—Of तिष्य and पुष्य when referring to asterisms, as, तिष्येण नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः = तैषः, पौषः (IV. 2. 3 S. 1204).

By the *varṭika* मातरि बिच्च given under IV. 2. 36, S. 1242 the affix आमह् in मातामह् is treated as having an indicatory य् ॥ The word मातामह् will take ङीष् because it is बिच्; its inclusion in the list of Gaurādi indicates that the rule of ङीष् application, because a word is बिच्, is not universal (अनित्यः बिच्च लक्षणो ङीष्) ॥ Therefore we have forms like इष्ट्वा &c.

५०० । जानपदकुण्डगोणस्थलभाजनागकालनलिकुशकामुककवराद्वृत्त्यम-
त्रावपनाकृत्रिमाश्राणास्थौदयवर्णानाच्छादनायाविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु । ४ ।
१ । ४२ ॥

एभ्य एकादशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः क्रमाद्भूत्यादिष्वर्थेषु ङीष् स्यात् । जानपदी वृत्तिश्चेत् । अन्या तु जौनपदी । उत्सादित्वादञ्जन्त्वेन टिड्ढेति ङीप्पाद्युवाचः । कुण्डी अमत्रं चेत् । कुण्डान्या । कुडि दाहे । शुरोश्च हल इति अप्रत्ययः । यस्तु अमृते जारजः कुण्ड इति मनुष्यजातिवचनस्ततो जातिलक्षणो ङीष् भव-
त्येव । अमत्रे हि स्त्रीविषयत्वाभावादप्राप्तो ङीष् विधीयते नतु नियम्यते । गोणी आवपनं चेत् । गोणान्या ।

स्थली अकृत्रिमा चेत् । स्थलाऽन्या । भाजी भ्राणा चेत् । भाजाऽन्या । नागी स्थूला चेत् । नागाऽन्या । राजवाची नागबद्धः स्थौल्यगुणयोगादन्यत्र प्रयुक्त उदाहरणम् । सर्पवाची तु वैद्यगुणयोगादन्यत्र प्रयुक्तः प्रयुदाहरणम् । काली वर्णश्चेत् । कालाऽन्या । नीली अनाच्छादनं चेत् । नीलाऽन्या । नील्या रक्ता शार्दूल्यर्थः । नील्या अन्वक्तव्य इत्यन् । अनाच्छादानेपि न सर्वत्र कितु ॥ * नीलादौषधौ * ॥ नीली ॥ प्राणिनि च * ॥ नीली गौः ॥ संज्ञायां वा * ॥ नीली । नीला । कुशी अयोविकारश्चेत् । कुशाऽन्या । कायुकी मैथुनेच्छा चेत् । कायुकाऽन्या । कवरी केशानां संनिवेशश्चेत् । कवराऽन्या चित्रेत्यर्थः ॥

500. The affix ङीष् is employed after the eleven words jānapada &c, in the sense of profession &c. respectively ; i. e. after the words 1. जानपद 2. कुण्ड, 3. गोण, 4. स्थल, 5. भाज, 6. नाग, 7. काल, 8. नील, 9. कुश, 10. कायुक, and 11 कवर; the affix ङीष् is employed when the sense is that of 1. 'profession or living' 2. 'a bowl', 3. 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4. 'a natural spot of ground'; 5. 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6. 'stout', 7. 'black-coloured', 8. 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9. 'a plough-share', 10. 'a libidinous female' 11. 'a fellet or braid of hair'; respectively.

Thus जानपदी 'a profession', otherwise ज्ञानपदी, the difference being in accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix भञ् to janapada, by sūtra IV. 1. 86, as it belongs to Utsādi class of words: in forming the feminine the affix ङीष् will be added in this latter case by IV. 1. 15 S. 470 thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable.

(2) So also कुण्डी 'bowl-shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'an adulteress'. To the root 'कुडिस्' the affix ञ् is added by III. 3. 103. S. 3280. The nasal being added, because the Verb is read with an indicatory इ in the Dhātupāṭha. The कुण्डः when meaning the son of a woman by a man other than her husband, while the husband is alive, is a word denoting caste or class and will therefore take ङीष् in the feminine by IV. 1. 63, S. 518. and therefore the feminine will be कुण्डी and कुण्डा ॥

In denoting a vessel in the feminine, there would have been no ङीष् in the feminine by any rule, so this rule ordains ङीष् and it does not make a niyama rule with regard to कुण्ड ॥ For, had it been a niyama rule, we could not have obtained the form कुण्डी meaning 'a female bastard'.

(3) गोणी 'a sack' यत्र धान्यादि प्रक्षिप्य नीयते otherwise गोणः, a particular name. (4) स्थली 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement'; otherwise स्थला as स्थलयोदकं परिगृह्णन्ति ॥ (5) भाजी 'cooked', otherwise भाजा, (6) नागी 'a stout elephantess', otherwise नागा "a long she-serpent". When नाग denotes

'an elephant' and the quality of stoutness is applied to it, then only its feminine will be नानी under the present sūtra. But when नाग denotes a serpent, and the length is only indicated, there the counter-example is नागा ॥

(7) काली 'a-black female', otherwise काला 'a name of a female where the name itself has no particular meaning.

(8) When cloth is not denoted, we have नीली ॥ But when cloth is meant, the feminine will be नीला which means 'a blue colored cloth.' This word is formed by adding the affix अन् denoting 'colored' by the Vārtika under sūtra IV. 2. 2. S. 1203 and thus the base is नीलम् to which आप् is added in forming the feminine.

The word अनाच्छादन in the sūtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses indicated below i. e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'.

Vārtika:—ङीष् is added in forming the feminine of नाल when a medicinal plant is meant, as नीली 'an indigo plant'.

Vārtika:—So also when an animal is meant as नीलीगौः The Nilgāi.

Vārtika:—Optionally so, when it is a proper name, as नीली or नीला ॥

(9) कुशी 'a plough share', otherwise कुशा 'a rope or a kind of grass'
(10) कासुकी 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise कासुका 'a woman desirous of wealth'. (11) कबरी 'a fillet or braid of hair', otherwise कवरा 'mixed, variegated'.

५०१ । शोणात्प्राचाम् । ४ । १ । ४३ ॥

शोणी । शोणा ॥

501. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word शोण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा वडवा 'a red or bay mare'.

५०२ । चोतो गुणवचनात् । ४ । १ । ४४ ॥

उदन्ताद्गुणवाचिनो वा ङीष् स्यात् ॥ चूही । चूदुः । उतः किम् ॥ शुचिः । शुणोति किम् । आसुः ॥

* खरुसंयोगोपधान्न * ॥ खरुः पतिवरा कन्या । पाण्डुः ॥

502. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word expressive of a quality and ending in short उ ॥

Thus चूदुः or चूही 'soft'. Why do we say 'ending in a short उ'? Observe शुचिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmana lady is pure'. Why do we say

“expressive of a quality ?” Observe भाखुः ‘a mouse’ (both masculine and feminine).

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated after the word खरु, and after words ending in short उ, which have a conjunct consonant as penultimate. As खरुख्यं ब्राह्मणी ‘a Brahmanī who chooses her own husband’. Similarly पाण्डु is common gender, as ण्ड् is a conjunct consonant. As पाण्डुख्यं ब्राह्मणी ॥

५०३ । बह्नादिभ्यश्च । ड । १ । ४५ ॥

एभ्यो वाडीष् स्यात् । बह्वी बहुः ॥ * कृदिकाराशक्तिः * ॥ रात्रिः । रात्री ॥ सर्वतोऽन्तिनर्या दि
त्येके ॥ शकटिः । शकटी । अन्तिनर्यात्किम् । अजननिः । क्तिन्नन्तत्वादप्राप्ते विध्यर्थे पद्धतिशब्दो
गणे ण्पठ्यते । हिमकाषिहतिषु चत पद्मावः । पद्धतिः पद्धती ॥

503. And the affix डीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after the words बहु and the rest.

As बहुः or बह्वी ॥

Vartika :—So also after the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, not क्तिन् (III. 3. 94), as रात्रिः or रात्री ॥

Vartika :—Some : say that the feminine affix न्दीष् may come after any word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् ॥ As शकटिः or शकटी ॥

Why do we say ‘not क्तिन्’ ? Observe अजननिः ॥

The word पद्धति is read in the Gaṇapāṭha, to make it a vidhi, although it is formed with the affix क्तिन् ॥ This word is formed in accordance with the rule laid down in VI. 3. 54. S. 992. Thus :—पाठ् + हति + क्तिन् = पद्धति ॥ Its Feminine is either पद्धतिः or पद्धती ॥

५०४ । पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् । ड । १ । ४८

या पुमाख्या पुंयोगात् स्त्रियां वर्तते ततो डीष् स्यात् । गोपस्य स्त्री गोपी ॥ * पालकान्ताम्
* ॥ गोपालिका । अश्वपालिका ॥ * सूर्यादेवतायां चाप् वाच्यः * ॥ सूर्यस्य स्त्री देवता सूर्या
देवतायां किम् । सूरि कुन्ती । मानुषीयम् ॥

504. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband.

Thus the wife of Gopa is गोपी.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words ending in पालक ॥ Thus गोपालिका ‘the wife of a cow-herd’; also अश्वपालिका ॥

Vart :—The affix चाप् comes after सूर्य in denoting the wife of Sūrya, when she is a celestial being. As सूर्या ‘the celestial wife of the god Sūrya.’ Why do we say ‘a celestial being’ ? Observe सूरि denoting the human wife of Sūrya, such as, Kuntī.

५०५ इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ।
४।१।५९॥

एषामानुगागमः स्यात् ङीष् च । इन्द्रादीनां षण्णां मातुलाचार्ययोश्च पुंयोग एवेत्यते ।
तत्र ङीषि सिद्धे आनुगागममात्रं विधीयते । इतरेषां चतुर्णां पुंभयम् ॥ इन्द्राणी ॥ * हिमारण्ययोर्महर्षे ॥
महर्षिम् हिमानी । महर्ष्यम् अरण्यानी ॥ * यवाद्दोषे * ॥ दुष्टो यवो यवानी । * यवनाल्लिप्याम् ।
यवनानां लिपिर्यवनानी ॥ * मातुलोपाध्याययोरानुत्वा * ॥ मातुलानी । मातुली । उपाध्यायानी ॥
उपाध्यायी ॥ * या तु स्वयमेवाध्यापिका तत्र वा ङीष् वाच्यः * ॥ उपाध्यायी । उपाध्याया ॥
आचार्यादणत्वं च * ॥ आचार्यस्य स्त्री आचार्यानी । पुंयोग इत्येव । आचार्या स्वयं व्याख्यात्री ॥
आर्यक्षत्रियाभ्यां वा स्वार्थे * ॥ अर्याणी । अर्या । स्वामिनी वैद्या वेत्यर्थः । क्षत्रियाणी । क्षत्रिया ।
पुंयोगे तु । अर्या । क्षत्रिया । कथं ब्रह्माणीति । ब्रह्माणमानयति जीवयतीति कर्मण्यण् ॥

505. The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र, and मृड, and to the words हिम 'snow,' अरण्य 'a forest,' यव 'barley,' यवन 'a Yavana,' मातुल 'a maternal uncle,' and आचार्य 'a preceptor,' before the feminine affix ङीष् ॥

The present sūtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix ङीष् ॥ Out of the above words, in the case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, i. e. the Proper Nouns upto मृड, the present sūtra teaches only the addition of the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix ङीष् would follow by force of the preceding Sūtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things.

Thus इन्द्राणी the wife of Indra.'

Vart:—Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in the sense of greatness. Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow,' अरण्यानी 'a great forest.' Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine.

Vart:—After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault. The fault consists in its imitating barley while not being a barley. In fact, the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain. Thus यवानी "a kind of grain, oat."

Vart:—After the word यवन, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting. Thus यवनानी 'the written character of the Yavanas.'

Vart:—Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle,' and उपाध्याय 'a preceptor,' when the feminine affix comes to express the wife there of, the augment आनुक् is optional. Thus मातुलानी or मातुली 'the wife of a maternal uncle' उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor.'

Vartika:—But when the female herself is a teacher (not necessarily the wife of a teacher) then the addition of डीष् is optional. Thus उपाध्यायी or उपाध्याया.

Vart:—And there is not the change to the lingual ण् of the dental न् of the augment अहवुक् (VIII. 4. 2 S. 197), after the word आचार्य. Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्य 'the wife of a preceptor.'

Vart:—After the words अर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally: when the matrimonial relation is not intended, but the word retains its own sense. Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishya class,' क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class.' When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only डीष् is added. As अर्या 'the wife of a Vaishya,' क्षत्रिया 'the wife of a Kshatriya.'

How do you explain the form ब्रह्माणी? It is derived from the derivative word ब्रह्माण by adding डीष्. The word ब्रह्माण is formed by adding the affix अण् to the root ब्रश् "to breathe" in the sense of object by III. 2. 1. S. 2913, ब्रह्म + ब्रश् + अण् = ब्रह्माण : f ब्रह्माणी.

५०६ । क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् । ४ । १ । ५० ॥

क्रीतान्ताद्दन्तात्करणेः स्त्रियां डीष् स्यात् । वस्त्रक्रीता । काचित्र । धनक्रीता ॥

506. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means where with the thing is bought.

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण of 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for cloth.' The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II. 1. 32).

५०७ । क्तादल्पाख्यायाम् । ४ । १ । ५१ ॥

करणेः क्तान्तात् स्त्रियां डीष् स्यादल्पत्वे द्योत्ये । अश्रुलिप्ती द्यौः ॥ अल्पाख्यायाम् किम्बन्धनलिप्ताङ्गना ॥

507. The affix डीष् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting "the means where with," is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्त, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'.

Thus अश्रुलिप्ती द्यौः 'a sky covered slightly with clouds',

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दनलिप्ताङ्गना "a lady covered with sandal essence?"

Note:—The word करण पूर्वात् 'preceded by a noun denoting 'the means where with', of the last Sūtra governs this also. The participle in क्त must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क्त to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection there with. The अल्पाख्यायाम् of the sūtra qualifies the whole word.

५०८ । बहुव्रीहेश्चान्तोदात्तात् । ४ । १ । ५२ ॥

बहुव्रीहिः कान्तादन्तोदात्तादन्तात् स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यात् ॥ * जातिपूर्वादिनि वक्तव्यम् * ॥ तेन बहु-
नम्सुकालसुखादिपूर्वात् । ऊरुभिन्नी । नेह । बहुकृता ॥ * जातान्तात् * ॥ दन्तजाता । * पाणिगृहीती
भार्यायाम् * ॥ पाणिगृहीतान्या ॥

508. The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्त, has an acute accent on the last syllable.

Note:—The word क्तात् of the last aphorism governs this also. This sūtra applies to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the first member is a *svānga* word. But if the antecedent member is not a *svānga* word, then the application of the rule is optional.

Vart:—It should be stated that the rule applies to those compounds only which have a word denoting jāti (class-name) as first member. As

ऊरुभिन्नी 'having a rent on the thigh' but not in 'बहुकृता' on account of the following *Vartika* :—

Vart:—Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words :—बहु, नञ्, सु, words denoting time, सुख &c. Thus बहुकृता, &c,

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle जात 'born,' which is also acutely accented on the final. Thus दन्तजाता 'a female who has cut her teeth'.

Vart—In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only. Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife'; (अग्निसाक्षिकं यस्याः पाणिर्गृह्यते); but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c.'

Note:—Bahuvrīhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI. 2. 170 and the following.

५०९ । अस्वाङ्गपूर्वपदाद्वा । ४ । १ । ५३ ॥

पूर्वेण नित्ये प्राप्ते विकल्पोऽयम् । सुरापीती । सुरापीता । अन्तोदात्तात्किम् । वस्त्रच्छन्ना । भना-
च्छादनादित्युदात्तनिषेधः । भत एव पूर्वेषामपि न ङीष् ॥

509. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the

feminine after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in क्, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्तादात्तात् and क्तान्तात् govern this sūtra. This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory. Thus सुसर्पाती or सुसर्पाता ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'when the first member of the compound is not a *svānga* word'? Observe शंखभिन्नी, ऊरुभिन्नी which admit of only one form.

Why do we say when the final is acutely accented? Observe बल्लच्छन्ना which is not acutely accented on the final (see VI. 2. 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or आच्छादन, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI. 2. 170, and therefore it will not take ङीष् even by the preceding sūtra.

५१० । स्वाङ्गाद्योपसर्जनादसंगोपधात् । ४ । १ । ५४ ॥

असंयोगोपधुपसर्जनं यस्वाङ्गं तदन्तादन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्वा ङीष् । केशानतिक्रान्ता अतिकेशी । अतिकेश । चन्द्रमुखी । चन्द्रमुखा । संयोगोपधात्तु सुमुखा । उपसर्जनात्किम् । शिखा । स्वाङ्गं त्रिधा ।

अद्वयं मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् * ॥

सुस्वेदा द्रवत्वात् । सुज्ञाना अमूर्तत्वात् । सुमुखा शाला अप्राणिस्थत्वात् । सुशोभा विकारजत्वात् ॥

अतस्त्वं तत्र दृष्टं च * ॥

सुकेशी सुकेशा वा रथ्या । अप्राणिस्थस्यापि प्राणिनि दृष्टत्वात् ॥

तेन चेतत्तथा युतम् * ॥

सुस्तनी सुस्तना वा प्रतिमा प्राणिवत्प्राणिसदृशे स्थितत्वात् ॥

510. And the feminine affix ङीष् comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (*i. e.* the final अ is not preceded by a double consonant.)

Thus अतिकेशी or अतिकेशा ; चन्द्रमुखी or चन्द्रमुखा ॥ The word अतिकेशा is a Tatpurusha compound meaning अतिक्रान्ताकेशान्, and केश is upasarjana by I. 2. 44.

Note :—The *anuvritti* of the words बह्व्री हेः, क्तान्तादन्तोदात्तात् does not extend to this aphorism. But the *anuvritti* of the word वा 'optionally' does extend to this Sūtra.

Why do we say "subordinate in a compound"? Witness अशिखा "without crest" (where the शिखा is not subordinate or epithetical). Why

do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness सुसुल्का, सुपाद्वी) ॥

The स्वाङ्ग which is of three sorts, has a technical meaning, as given in the following verse :—

अद्रवं सूतिमस्वाङ्गे प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् ।
अतस्तथं तत्रदृष्टं च तेन चेत्तत्तथायुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which (1) not-being-a-fluid (अद्रवं) is capable of being perceived by the senses, because of its having-a-form (सूतिम्) is svāṅga; it must exist-in-a-living-being, (प्राणिस्थ), but not produced by a change from the natural state (अविकारज) (2) Or though found elsewhere actually (अतस्तथ lit. not actually there in the body) had previously been known as existing in only a living being (तत्रदृष्टं lit. was seen in the body); (3) Or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being तेन चेत् तत् तथा युतम् ॥

Thus of the first kind of Svāṅga, the counter-examples are सुस्वेदा "she who has good sweat:" here "sweat" is "liquid" and so it is not a svāṅga; सुज्ञाना "who has good knowledge"; here "knowledge" has no form, and so it is not a svāṅga, सुमुख्या शाला "a hall having a good front," here मुख though lit. "face," is applied to an inanimate object, and so is not svāṅga; so that the following is wrong फलमुखी कारणमुखी चानवस्था; similarly सुशोभा "she who has a good deal of swelling or tumours." Here "swelling" or "tumours" are not natural members of body but excrescences; and hence it is not a svāṅga.

Of the second kind of svāṅga words, the example is सुकेशी सुकेशा वा रथ्या "A chariot well-cushioned with hair." Though chariot is a non-living being yet hair is always found in a living being.

Of the third kind of svāṅga, we have सुस्तनी or सुस्तना वा प्रतिमा "a statue having good breasts." Here the breasts have the same relation to the statue as they have in an animate being.

५११ । नासिकोदगौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाश्च । ४ । १ । ५५ ॥

एभ्यो वा ङीष् स्यात् । आङ्गयार्धह्रस्वक्षणा निषेधो बाध्यते । पुरस्तादपवादस्यायात् । ओष्ठादीनां पञ्चानां तु असंयोगोपधासति पर्युदासि प्राप्ति वचनम् । मध्येऽपवादस्यायात् । सहनञ्चलक्षणस्तु प्रतिषेधः परत्वादस्य बाधकः । तुङ्गनासिका । तुङ्गनासिका इत्यादि । नेह । सहनासिका । अनासिका । अत्र वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गनात्रकण्ठेभ्यो वक्तव्यम् * ॥ स्वङ्गी स्वङ्ग्यादि । एतच्चातुक्तसमुच्चयार्थेन चकारेण संग्रहामिति केचित् ॥ भाष्याद्यनुक्तत्वादप्रमाणमिति प्रामाण्यकाः । अत्र वार्तिकानि ॥ पुच्छाच्च * ॥ सुपुच्छी । सुपुच्छा ॥ कवरमणिविषांभ्यां नित्यम् * ॥ कवरचित्रपुच्छं यस्याः सा कवरपुच्छी मयूरी इत्यादि ॥ उपमानात्पक्षा पुच्छाच्च * ॥ नित्यमित्येव । उलूकपुच्छी शाला । उलूकपुच्छी सेना ॥

511. And the feminine ङीष् comes optionally after

compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' ओष्ठ 'lip,' जङ्घा 'leg,' दन्त 'a tooth,' कर्ण 'ear,' and शृङ्ग 'horn'

The first two words नासिका and उदर are words of more than two syllables, and so would have been governed by the following sūtra. This sūtra debarb the application of IV. 1. 56, which follows it on the maxim पुरस्तः "Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the Apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules."

While the five words ओष्ठ &c., were excluded from the operation of the preceding sūtra by the incidental negation (paryudāsa) of असंयोगोपधात् ॥ This present sūtra makes an exception to that exception with regard to these five words. This is on the maxim : मध्येऽपवादः पूर्वान् विधीय बाधते नोत्तरान्. "Apavādas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that PRECEDE, not those that follow them." Therefore though the sūtras IV. 1. 54 and 56, are superseded by the present sūtra, not so the sūtra IV. 1. 57, which supersedes this because of its being *subsequent* but one.

Thus तुङ्गनासिकी or तुङ्गनासिका; &c; but we have only one form as सहनासिका, अनासिका by the operation of IV. 1. 57 S. 513.

In the opinion of Kātyāyana, the affix ङीष् optionally comes after अङ्ग, गात्र, कण्ठ &c. Thus स्वङ्गी or स्वङ्गा &c.

According to others, all this as well as that which is not mentioned here may be taken as read into the sūtra by the force of the connecting particle च ॥ While on the other hand those who are very particular about authority, say that we cannot do so, because these are not mentioned in the *Bhāṣya*. Hence the following *Vartikas* :—

Vārt :—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail.' As सुपुच्छा or सुपुच्छी ॥

Vārt :—The affix *nish* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कब्र meaning variegated, picturesque मणि, विष, and शर ॥ As, कबरपुच्छी 'a peahen' माणपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी, 'a scorpion' and शरपुच्छी ॥

Vārt :—So also the feminine affix *nish* is necessarily employed after the words पक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As उलूकपक्षी सेना; उलूकपुच्छी शाला ।

५१२ । न क्रोडादिबहुचः । ४ । १ ॥ ५५ ॥

क्रोडादिबहुचश्च स्वाङ्गात् ङीष् । कल्याणक्रोडा । अश्वानामुरः क्रोडा । भाकृतिगणोऽयम् ।
मुजघना ॥

512. The feminine affix ङीष् does not come after

a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रोडा nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables.

क्रोडा means 'the breast of a horse.' The krodâdi class is âkritigana. So is also सुजघना which is a word of more than two syllables.

Note:—According to Ganaratnamahodadhi the word क्रोड without any gender is read in the Ganapâtha: implying that examples can be given with all the three genders. Mâdhava derives it from krud with घञ्; krodâ meaning the breast of a horse and according to him क्रोडा is read in Ganapâtha: and it forms Bahuvrihi when it has the sense above given. Otherwise as a general svânga word we have डीष् as कल्याणक्रोडी मयूरी ॥

Note:—The class क्रोड &c. is akriti-gana, that is a class of words constituted by usage. The following are some of the examples:—As कल्याणक्रोणा, कल्याणखुरा, कल्याणोखा, कल्याण वाला, कल्याण शफा, कल्याण घाणा ॥ So also सुभगा, सुगला, &c. Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजघना, पशुजघना, महा-ललाटा ॥ The word क्रोडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrihi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pūgavad-bhâva, and क्रोडा is shortened to क्रोड because it is an upasarjana (I. 2. 48).

५१३ । सहनञ् विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च । ४ । १ । ५७ ॥

सहेत्यादिविकपूर्वाच्च डीष् । संकशा । भक्केशा । विद्यमाननासिका ॥

513. The affix डीष् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'.

Thus संकेशा, भक्केशा, विद्यमाननासिका ॥

Note:—The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV. 1. 55 ante: as well as IV. 1. 54.

५१४ । नख मुखात्संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ५८ ॥

डीष् न स्यात् । शर्पणखा । गौरमुख । सज्ञायां किम् । ताम्रमुखी कन्या ॥

514. The feminine affix डीष् is not employed after नख, and मुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name.

Thus शर्प + नखा = शर्पणखा, 'Śarpṇakhâ the sister of Râvāṇa'. The न् is changed to ण् by VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 (पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायामगः) ॥ So also गौरमुखा, Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness ताम्रमुखी कन्या 'a copper-faced damsel'.

५१५ । दिक् पूर्वपदान् ङीप् । ४ । १ । ६० ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदास्वाङ्गान्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्परस्य ङीषो ङीबादेशः स्यात् । माङ्मुखी । आनुवातं पदम् ॥

515. The feminine affix ङीप् replaces ङीष् after a Nominal stem denoting a part of the body which is preceded by a word signifying direction.

Thus माङ्मुखी ॥ The accent here falls on the first syllable.

Note :—This aphorism over-rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sūtras 510 to 514. Whereever by those rules there would have been ङीष्, the present enjoins ङीप् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent ; the affix ङीप् being anudatta (III.1. 4. S. 3709). Thus माङ्मुखी ॥

५१६ । वाहः । ४ । १ । ६१ ॥

वाहन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् ङीष् स्यात् । ङीषेवानुवर्तते न ङीप् ॥ दित्यवाद च मे दित्यौही च मे ॥

516. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word वाह् ॥

The anuvritti of ङीष् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of ङीप्, though the latter was nearer. Thus दित्यवाद च मे दित्यौही च मे ॥

Note :—The word वह् is formed from the root वह् with the affix णि (III. 2, 64). The word वाह् is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *tadanta*, and have translated it by saying a “ word ending in vâh.” Thus दित्यौही ‘sustaining the demon.’ This form is thus evolved :—दित्य + वाह् + ङीष् = दित्य + ऊङ् + वाह् + ङीष् (VI. 4. 132 वाह् ऊङ्, Uth is the samprasârana of vâh, when this is a *bha*) = दित्य + ऊङ् + ङीष् (VI. 1. 108) संप्रसारणाच्च ‘after a samprasârana if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute’), = दित्यौही (VI. I. 89 S. 73 एतेष्वन्युद्भु वृद्धिः is the single substitute when *eti*, *edhati* or *ûth* follow’). Similarly प्रद्यौही ‘a young heifer training for the plough.’

५१७ । सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम् । ४ । १ । ६२ ॥

इतिशब्दः प्रकारे भाषायामित्यनन्तरं द्रष्टव्यः । छन्दस्यपि क्वचित् । सखी । अशिश्वी । बाधेनवो धुनयन्तामशिश्वीः ॥

517. The form सखी ‘a female companion’ and अशिश्वी “a childless woman,” are irregular forms ending in ङीष् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to Vaidic) Sanskrit.

The word इति in the sūtra has the force of प्रकार “thus” its syntacti-

cal position is after भाषायाम् ॥ Therefore we find sometime such use in the vaidic literature also.

*Note :—*Thus सखीयं मे ब्राह्मणी, and नास्याः शिशुरस्तीति = अशिथी ॥ Why do we say in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखासप्तपदी भव and अशिथुमित्र मामथं शिशुरभिमन्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as आधेनवो धुनयन्तामशिथी ॥ सखी सप्तपदी भव ॥

५१८ । जातेरस्त्रीविषयादयोपधात् । ४ । १ । ६३ ॥

जातिवाचि यत्र च स्त्रियां नियतमयोपधं ततः स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यात् ।

आ कृतिग्रहणा जातिः * ॥

अनुगतसंस्थानव्यङ्ग्येतिथः । तटी ॥

लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् ॥

सकृदाख्यातनिर्ग्राह्या * ॥

असर्वलिङ्गत्वे सत्येकस्थां व्यक्तौ कथनाद्व्यक्तमन्तरे कथनं विनापि सुग्रहा जातिरिति लक्षणांतरम् । वृषली । सत्यन्तं किम् । शुक्ला । सकृदित्यादि किम् । ईवदत्ता ॥

गोत्रं च चरणैः सह * ॥

अपत्यप्रत्ययान्तः शाखाधेतुवाची च शब्दो जातिकार्ये लभत इत्यर्थः । औपगवी । कटी । बह्वृची । ब्राह्मणीत्यत्र तु शार्ङ्गरवादिपाठात् ङीर्षो ङीष् बाध्यते । जातेः किम् । सुण्डा । अस्त्रीविषया-
त्किम् । बलाका । भयोपधात्किम् । क्षात्रिया ॥ योपधप्रतिषेधे ह्यगवयमुकयमनुष्यमत्स्यानामप्रतिषेधः * ॥
हृथी । गवथी । मुकथी । हलस्तद्धितस्थिति यत्तोपः । मानुषी । मत्स्यस्य ङ्घाम् * ॥ मत्सी ।

518. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word denoting a jâti or species, when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter य् for its penultimate.

The word जाति is thus defined :—

आकृति ग्रहणा जातिलिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् ।

सकृदाख्यात निर्ग्राह्या गोत्रं च चरणैः सह ॥

(This verse is split up into three parts by Bhattoji and thus explained): आकृतिग्रहणाजातिः whatever is distinguishable from another (*species*) on account of its possessing certain form or figure (common to individuals of that class) is a jâti. Or a jâti noun is that which expresses a distinguishing feature. Thus तटी 'a bank, a place near the river.' But:—(2) लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् "Provided that it is not a word used in all genders" (for then it will be a genus and not *species*), सकृदाख्यात निर्ग्राह्या, but though not used in all genders, yet while employed to denote a single individual and therefore in singular number, it will apply to other individuals of the class without their being

pecially mentioned. Such a word would also be jāti. Thus वृषली "a low caste woman," which implies her sons, brothers &c. Why do we say not having all genders? Observe शुक्ला ॥ Why do we say "singly used implying others"? Observe देवदत्ता (3) गोत्रं च चरणैः सह "A word denoting Gotra descendant denoted by a grammatical affix and charan (or school) is also a jāti word." That is to say, a word formed with a Patronymic affix, and expressive of a person belonging to a particular branch of Vedic school, who studies a particular portion of the Vedas. As औपगवी, कवी बह्वृची ॥ In ब्राह्मणी the ङीष् is debarred by ङीन् as it is read in sarāgaravādi class. (IV. 1. 73)

Why do we say "expressive of jāti"? Observe मुण्डा 'shaven' (where the word expresses not a jāti but a quality.) Why do we say "not invariably feminine"? Witness बलाका 'a mistress, a beloved woman.' Why do we say "not having the letter य् for its penultimate?" Witness क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class.'

Vārt:—In excluding words that have the letter य् as penultimate, there is not involved the exclusion of the following words (which have a penultimate य्) *vis.*, गवय 'the Bos Gaveans,' हय 'horse,' सुकय 'a sort of animal' मत्स्य 'a fish,' and मनुष्य 'a man.' Thus गवयी, हयी, मनुषी, (VI. 4. 150 S. 472 हलस्तद्धितस्य 'there is elision of the य् of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant when long ई follows') मत्सी ॥ The य् of *Matsya* is elided by the vārtika 'मत्स्यस्य ङ्बाम्' ॥ See also VI. 4. 149. S. 499 All these words are also included in the class गौरादि (IV. 1. 41 S. 498) and would have taken ङीष् independently of this vārtika.

Note:—The Loukika Gotra should not be confounded with the Grammatical Gotra. Charana is one who studies a particular shākhā of a Veda. Some explain however, that the word Gotra here means the Laukika Gotra of Clans. The above examples of कवी meaning "a woman who reads the Veda as belonging to the Katha Shakhā" and बह्वृची "a woman who must read Rik verses," show that women were not debarred from the study of *Vedas* even in Pāṇini's time. The present day prohibition is of recent origin, not more than a thousand years or so. For we read:—

पुरा कल्पेषु नारीणां मौञ्जीबन्धनमिष्यते ।

अध्यापनं च वेदानां सावित्रीवचनं तथा ॥

"In ancient times women were invested with the sacred thread and girdle of a Brahmacharin and they were [taught the Vedas and the Gayatri."

५१९ । पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलबालोत्तरपदाच्च । ४ । १ । ६४ ॥

पाकाद्युत्तरपदाज्जातिवाचिनः स्त्रीविषयादापि ङीष् स्यात् । ओदनपाकी । शङ्कुकर्णी ॥ शालपर्णी । खड्गपुष्पी । दासोफला । दर्भमुली । गोबाली । ओषधिर्विशेषेण कृता एते ॥

519. And the feminine affix डीष् comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of jâti, followed by the following पाक 'cooked,' कर्ण 'ear,' पर्ण 'leaf,' पुष्प 'flower,' फल 'fruit,' मूल 'root,' and बाल 'youth.'

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females, and, therefore, were not provided by the last sūtra. Thus ओदनपाकी शंकुकर्णी, शालपर्णी, शंखपुष्पी, दासीफली, दर्भमूली, and गोबाली all these are rūdhī words expressing medicinal herbs.

When, however, the affix डीष् is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मूल, then those compounds will fall under Ajādi class (IV. 1. 4 S. 454 ; such as संफला, भस्त्रफला, सत्पुष्पा, बमूला &c.

५२० । इतो मनुष्यजातेः । ४ । १ । ६५ ।

डीष् स्यात् । दाक्षी । योपधादपि । उदमेयस्यापत्ये औदमेयी । मनुष्येति क्रिम् । तित्तिरिः ॥

520. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short इ denoting classes or races of men.

Thus अवन्ती 'women of Avanti,' कुन्ती 'women of Kunti,' दाक्षी 'Dākshī.' Thus अवन्ति + ड्यङ् (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189) 'आवन्त्यः men of Avanti.' In the feminine this affix by IV. 1. 176 S. 1195 is elided. दाक्षी "the female descendant of Daksha." Why do we say "ending in short इ"? Witness विद 'Vaishya,' दरत् 'Darat.' Why do we say "of men"? Witness तित्तिरिः 'part-ridge.'

Though the anuvritti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV. 1. 63, S. 518 its repetition here indicates that डीष् is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is य. Thus औदमेयी ॥

Vārt:—This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इम् (IV. 2. 80 S. 1292) though they do not denote a jātī. Thus सौतंगमी, मौनचित्ती ॥ The affix इम् here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 and ordained to come after सुतंगम् &c., and does not denote a jātī.

५२१ । ऊङुतः । ४ । १ । ६६ ॥

उकारान्तादयोपधान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियामूङ् स्यात् । कुरुः ॥ कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ तस्य स्त्रियामवन्तीत्यादिना लुक् । अयोपधात्क्रिम् । अध्वर्युः ॥ अप्राणिजोतश्चरड्ज्वादीनामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ रज्ज्वादिपशुशसादुवर्णान्तेभ्य एव । अलाब्वा । कर्कन्धवा । अनयोर्दीर्घान्तत्वेऽपि नोङ्धात्वारिति वि- भक्त्युद् च्छेदप्रातिषेध ऊङः फलम् ॥ प्राणिजातिस्तु कृकवाकुः । रज्ज्वोदस्तु, रज्जुः । इतुः ॥

521. After a nominal-stem ending in short उ not having the letter य, as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is ण्ड्.

The anuvṛitti of the words मनुष्यजाति and अयोपधात् should be read into the sūtra to complete it. Thus कुरुः 'a female of the country of the Kurus,' ब्रह्मबन्धूः "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmans so called," जीवबन्धूः "a woman of the Jivabandhu class."

Thus कुरु + प्य = कौरव्यः IV. 1. 172, S. 1190 and this affix is elided by IV. 1. 176 S. 1195 in the feminine.

Note :—The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कप्, for a short उ would have also given the form कुरु (कुरु + उ = कुरु) ॥ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कप्, enjoined by V. 4. 154, S. 891 in Bahuvrīhis, will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मबन्धूः and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha.

The indicatory letter ङ् in ऊङ् is to distinguish this affix in Sūtras like नोङ् धात्वोः (VI. 1. 175 S. 3721), for had the affix been enunciated merely as ऊ, then the Sūtra VI. 1. 175 S. 3721 would have run as नो धात्वोः and the sense would have been ambiguous, for we could not have known what affix was particularly meant there. Thus in ब्रह्मबन्धां we could not have known the accent.

Why do we say "not having the letter य् as its penultimate"? Witness अथर्व्युर्वाङ्मयी 'a woman versed in the Yajur Veda'.

Vart :—The affix ऊङ् comes under similar conditions afterwords denoting non-animate jāti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus अलावूः 'the bottlegourd'; कर्कन्धूः 'the jujube tree.' Though these two words have ऊ in the masculine also, yet the addition of another long ऊ in the feminine indicates the difference of *accent*, though not of form, as अलाव्वा and कर्कन्वा are svarita accented on the final by VI. 1. 175 S. 3721 Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाङ्कुः 'a kind of lizard.' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c" Witness रज्जुः 'rope'; हनुः 'cheek' &c. The example अलाव्वा is Instrumental singular, and it is here that the rule of accent can be illustrated, and not in the Nominative or Accusative.

५२२ । बाहुन्तात्संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ६७ ॥

स्त्रियामूङ् स्यात् । भद्रबाहुः । संज्ञायां किम् । वृत्तबाहुः ॥

522. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

Thus भद्रबाहुः 'Bhâdrabâhû'. Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृत्तबाहुः 'a woman having rounded arms,' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine.

५२३ । पङ्गुश्च । ४ । १ । ६८ ॥

पङ्गूः । श्वशुरस्योकाराकारलोपश्च * ॥ चावृङ् । पुंयोगलक्षणस्य ङीष्ोपवादः । लिङ्गविशिष्ट-
परिभाषया स्वाद्यः । श्वभूः ।

523. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after the word पङ्गु 'lame'.

As पङ्गूः 'a female lame'.

Vart :—The feminine affix ऊङ् is added to श्वशुर, and thereby there is elision of the letter उ and of the letter श् of the word. As श्वभूः 'mother-in law'. This debars the पुंयोगा ङीष् of IV. 1. 48. S. 504 The case affixes are added to the base श्वभू on the maxim प्रातिपदिक ॥ &c. see IV. 1. 1. S. 182.

५२४ । ऊरुत्तरपदादौपम्ये । ४ । १ । ६९ ॥

उपमानवाचिपूर्वपदह्रस्वत्तरपदं यस्यातिपदिकं तस्मावृङ् स्यात् । । करभोरुः ॥

524. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant.

Thus करभोरुः 'a female with thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand'.

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison"? Witness वृत्तोरुः स्त्री "a woman with round thighs". The word करणुकरोरु "thigh like the proboscis (कर) of an elephant (करणु)" is a poetic irregularity in the following विचकरे च करणुकरोरुभिः ॥

५२५ । संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च । ४ । १ । ७० ॥

अनौपम्यार्थं सूत्रम् । संहितोरुः । सैव शफोरुः । शफो खुरौ ताविव संश्लिष्टत्वादुपचारात् । लक्षणशब्दादर्शभाष्यत् । लक्षणोरुः । वामोरुः ॥ संहितसहाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ हितेन सह संहितौ ऊरु भूत्याः सा संहितोरुः । सहेते इति सहौ ऊरु यस्याः सा सहोरुः । यद्वा । विद्यमानवचनस्य सहशब्दस्य ऊर्वतिशयप्रतिपादनाय प्रयोगः ॥

525. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words संहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark,' and वाम 'handsome' precede it.

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended. As संहितोरुः 'a female whose thighs are joined (e. g. from obesity)'. शफोरुः 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cows foot'. लक्षणोरुः 'whose thighs are marked,' वामोरुः 'with handsome thighs.' The word lakshana here is a Taddhita-formed word meaning "she who has the mark". The affix अच् is added to lakshana by its belonging to अर्शादि class V. 2. 129. S. 1933.

Vart:—So also with the words सहित and सह ॥ As सहितोरुः and सहोरुः ॥ The word सह here has the force of denoting largeness or excessiveness though it literally means mere existence.

५२६ । संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ७२ ॥

कद्रुकमण ल्योः संज्ञायां स्त्रियामूङ् स्यात् । कद्रूः । कमण्डलूः । संज्ञायां कियम् । कद्रुः कमण्डलुः । अच्छन्दैर्यं वचनम् ॥

526. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after the word कद्रु and कमण्डलु ॥

This rule applies to other than Vaidic forms. Thus कद्रुः 'a female named Kadrû wife of Kâśyapa,' कमण्डलुः 'Kamaṇḍalû.' Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद्रुः 'the tawny color.' कमण्डलुः 'a water-gourd.'

५२७ । शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो ङीर् । ४ । १ । ७३ ॥

शार्ङ्गरवादेरञो योऽकारस्तस्मन्ताच्च जातिवाचिनो ङीर् स्यात् । शार्ङ्गरवी । वैरी । जाते-रित्यनुवृत्तेः पुंयोगे ङीषेव । नृनरयोर्वृद्धिश्चेति गणसूत्रम् । नारी ॥

527. The feminine affix ङीर् comes after the words शार्ङ्गरवा and the rest, and that which ends with the affix अञ् ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गरवी 'a Sârṅgrava woman.' So also after a word formed with the affix अञ् as, वैरी 'a female descendant of Bida.' This sūtra applies to words expressing jāti or kind. In other words, this aphorism debars the affix ङीष् of IV. 1. 63 S. 518. &c., where it came after jāti-vâchaka words; but it does not debar that ङीष् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the ङीष् of IV. 1. 48. S. 504.

The नृ would have taken ङीष् by IV. 1. 5 S. 306 and नर would have taken ङीष् as it denotes a jāti. These words take vṛiddhi before ङीर्, the form being नारी in both cases. This is by force of the sūtra नृनया &c. read in the following list. Such sūtras are called gaṇa-sūtras.

The following is a list of Sârṅgaravâdi class words:—

1 शार्ङ्गरव, 2 कापटव, 3 गौगुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 वैर, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix अण्, the first four being formed by the अण् of (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) from शृंगर, कपट, गुगुलु and ब्रह्मन्; the word गौतम is formed from गौतम by the अण् of IV. 1. 114. This word is also included in Gaurâdi class IV. 1. 41. S. 498 7 कामण्डलेय, 8 ब्राह्मणकृतेय, 9 आनिचेय, 10 आनिधेय, 11 आशीकिय ॥ These are formed by ङक् (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126) except kâmaṇḍaleya which is formed by ङञ् (IV. 1. 135 S. 1141.) 12 वात्स्यायन, 13 मौञ्जायन ॥ These are formed by णक् of IV. 1. 101 S. 1103. and IV. 1. 99,

S. 1101. and denote castes or Gotra. 14 कैकसेय is also formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126.) 15 काव्य, 16 दौव्य are formed by ज्यङ् (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189.) 17 एहि, 18 परोहि are formed by इन् added to आ+इह् 'to try', and परि+आ+इह् (Up IV. 117 सर्वधातुभ्य इन्) 19 आम्बष्ठ्य is formed by यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107). 20 औदयान is formed by अण् (IV. 3. 76 S. 1455). 21 अराल, 22 चण्डाल, 23 वत्तण्डः are jāti words. 24 भोगवत्, 25 गौरिमत् ॥ These take ङीन् when denoting a Name. These words are formed by the affix मनुप्, and are consequently वगित्, and should have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 6 S. 455). This ordains ङीन् ॥

५२८ । यङञ्चाप् । ४ । १ । ७४ ॥

यङन्तात् स्त्रियां चाप् स्यात् । यङ इति ज्यङ्ज्यङोः सामान्यग्रहणम् । आम्बष्ठ्या । कारीष-
गन्ध्या ॥ बाधमञ्चाप् बाध्यः * ॥ पौतिमाष्या ॥

528. The feminine affix चाप् comes after a stem which is formed by the affix ज्यङ् or व्यङ् (with final acute VI. 1. 163.)

The affix यङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes ज्यङ् (as taught in IV. 1. 171 S. 1189 and व्यञ् (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198) as it is common element of both. Thus आम्बष्ठ्या 'a woman of the race of Ambashṭhya.'

Similarly व्यङ् formed words, as, कारीषगन्ध्या, &c.

Vart :—The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix यञ् when the letter ष immediately precedes such yañ. As शार्कराक्ष्या 'a female descendant of Śarkarāksha,' पौतिमाष्या 'a female descendant of Pâtīmāshya.'

५२९ । आवल्याच्च । ४ । १ । ७५ ॥

अस्माच्चप् स्यात् । यञ्श्चेति । ङीपोऽपवादः । अवट्टिशब्दोऽगर्गादिः । आवल्या ॥

529. And the feminine affix चाप् comes after the word अवल्य ॥

The word अवट्ट belongs to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) which after taking यञ्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 16 S. 471.) Thus आवल्या 'are female descendant of Avāṭa.'

५३० । तद्धिताः । ४ । १ । ७६ ॥

आपञ्चमसमाप्तेराधिकारोऽयम् ॥

530. The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after.

This is an adbhikāra or governing sūtra. Up to the end of the Fifth Book of Pāṇini, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita.

Note:—Thus the affix ति taught in the very next sūtra. As युवातेः The word so formed is called Pratipadika. The word तद्धिताः is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the word प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1. S. 180) &c; and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as पृथिव्य जाग्रौ ॥ अग्रादि पञ्चाङ्गिणम् ॥ As पार्थिव, अग्निम्, आदिम्, पश्चिम ॥ See Vart IV. 3. 23. The word Taddhita is used in Sūtras like कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च I. 2. 46.

५३१ । यूनास्तिः । ४ । १ । ७७ ॥

युवन्शब्दात्तिप्रत्ययः स्यात्स च तद्धितः । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया सिद्धे तद्धिताधिकार उत्तरार्थः । युवातिः । अनुपसर्जनादित्येव । बहवो युवानो यस्यां सा बहुयुवा । युवतीति तु यौतेः शत्रन्तान् ङीप् बोध्यम् ॥

531. The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita.

As युवातिः 'a young maid.' By IV. 1. 5. S. 306 ङीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sūtra debarb it. The word युवाति ending in इ does not take the affix ङीप् of IV. 1. 65, S. 520 for the affix ति its elf is a feminine-making affix though a Taddhita : or the word युवन् may be regarded as a non-jāti word and hence IV. 1. 65 S. 520 would not apply. But when upasarjana we get the form बहुयुवा "a city containing many youths." The form युवती is by ङीप् added to the Present Participle युवन् ॥ and is a different word altogether.

अथ कारकादिविभक्ति प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVI.

THE KĀRAKAS.

५३२ । प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा । २ । ३ । ४६ ॥

नियतोपस्थितिकः प्रातिपदिकार्थः । मात्रशब्दस्य प्रत्येकं योगः । प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्र-
लिङ्गमात्राधिक्ये परिमाणमात्रे संख्यामात्रे च प्रथमा स्यात् । उच्चैः । नीचैः । कृष्णः । श्रीः । ज्ञानम् ।
अलिङ्गा नियतलिङ्गाश्च प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्र इत्यस्यादाहरणम् । अनियतलिङ्गास्तु लिङ्गमात्राधिक्यस्य । तदः ।
तदी । तदम् । परिमाणमात्रे, द्रोणो ब्रीहिः । द्रोणरूपं यत्परिमाणं तत्परिच्छिन्नो ब्रीहिरित्यर्थः । प्रत्ययार्थे
परिमाणे प्रकृत्यर्थोऽभेदेन संसर्गेण विशेषणम् । प्रत्ययार्थस्तु परिच्छेद्यपरिच्छेदकभावेन ब्रीहौ विशेषणमिति
विवेकः । वचनं संख्या । एकः । द्वौ । बहवः । इहोक्तार्थत्वाद्भिन्नोक्तप्राप्तौ वचनम् ॥

532. Where the sense is that of the Crude form (I. 2. 45 S. 178) or where there is the additional sense of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

By the word "prātipadikārtha" (sense-of the-crude form) is meant that meaning or connotation which is invariably present with the word. The word mātra "only" is to be taken in connection with each term severally in the sūtra.

Thus—where the sense is only that of the Prātipadika—उच्चैः "aloft," नीचैः "below," कृष्णः Kṛishṇa, श्रीः Śrī, ज्ञानम् "knowledge".

These words have either no gender (as uchchais &c.) or a fixed constant gender, having no corresponding opposite gender, as Kṛishna &c.

While the words which have no fixed gender, will in addition to their own sense, denote gender also. As तदः, तदी, or तदम् "the (river) bank".

Where there is the additional sense of measure, we have द्रोणो ब्रीहिः "rice of the measure of a Drona"—which means that quantity of rice whose measure is that of a Drona. Now "Droṇa" by itself denotes measure, the Nominative affix सु is added to it in the sense of measure—the latter has a *general* sense of measure, the first is a particular kind of measure. The two—the base and the affix—have been united together in denoting an indivisible single thing, where the sense of the *base* (Droṇa) qualifies (limits) the general sense of the affix (su). But though the force of the affix सु after ब्रीहि is also that of measure—yet here the connection between the base and the affix is not abheda-saṃsarga, as it was in the case of droṇa and su; but on the

contrary, in the case of *vr̥hi* and *sū*, the sense of the *affix* qualifies or limits the general sense of the base *vr̥hi*, it is the Divider of a particular quantity out of a big mass—the relation between the affix and the base here being that of *parichchedaka* (measurer) and *parichchhedya* (measurable).

The word “*vachana*” means number ; as एकः one, द्वौ two, बहवः many.

The terms *dvitīyā* &c., are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pāṇini ; they apply to the triads of सुप् affixes. कदं करोति ‘he makes the mat,’ ग्रामं गच्छति ‘he goes to the village’.

५३३ । संबोधने च । २ । ३ । ४७ ॥

इह प्रथमा स्यात् । इ राम ॥

533. And when the sense is that of addressing, the first case-affix is employed.

Thus इ राम O Rāma.

—:0:—

५३४ । कारके । १ । ४ । २३ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

534. The phrase ‘*kāraka*’ (meaning ‘in the special relation to a word expressing an action’) is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Note.—Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a *kāraka*. Thus in ‘cooking,’ the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus ‘Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master.’ Here Rama is agent *kāraka*; ‘food’ is object *kāraka*; ‘vessel’ is a locative *kāraka*, fire is an instrumental *kāraka*, ‘furnace’ is the ablative *kāraka* and ‘master’ is the dative *kāraka*.

The word ‘*kāraka*’ thus is synonymous with the word cause (*hetu*) and occasion (*nimitta*). All the various causes and occasions that are required to complete an action will be *kāra*kas. Out of the seven cases in which a Sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a *kāraka* to a verb.

५३५ । कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म । १ । ४ । ४९ ॥

कर्तुः क्रिया आप्तुमिष्टतमं कारकं कर्मज्ञं स्यात् । कर्तुः क्रिम् । माषेष्टश्चे बध्नाति । कर्मण ईप्सिता माषा नतु कर्तुः । तमब्रह्मण क्रिम् । पयसा आहने भुङ्क्ते । कर्मत्यनुवृत्तौ पुनः कर्मग्रहणमाधारेण वृत्त्यर्थम् । अन्यथा गृहं प्रविशेतात्थि नव स्यात् ॥

535. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कंद करोति "He makes the mat". ग्रामं गच्छति "he goes to the village". Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe माषवधं बन्धाति "he ties the horse in the gram field." Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as horse is not the agent of the verb, the word माष takes the locative case. Why do we use the word "most"? Observe पयसौदनं भुङ्क्ते "he eats the food along with the milk." Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, it takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sūtra by anuvṛitti from the sūtra I. 4. 46 S. 542 the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvṛitti of the word ādhāra does not extend to this sūtra, because we do not take the anuvṛitti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken the anuvṛitti of the word karma from the last sūtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very well say गृहं प्रविशति "he enters the house," we could not say भोजनं पचति "he cooks the food," सक्तुं पिबति "he drinks saktu." By repeating the word in this sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-karaka takes the second case-affix.

५३६ । अनभिहिते । २ । ३ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

536. The word 'anabhihite' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word in the following sūtras.

Note :—Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise. The case-affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c., are applied to a noun, only then, when the force of the case-affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned by the voice of the verb, or by a Taddhita affix &c.

५३७ । कर्मणि द्वितीया । २ । ३ । २ ॥

अनुक्तं कर्मणि द्वितीया स्यात् । हरिं भजति । अभिहिते तु कर्मणि प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्र इति प्रथमैव । आभिधानं तु प्रायण तिङ्कृतञ्जितसमासः । तिङ्, हरिः सेव्यत । कृत्, लक्ष्म्या सेवितः । तद्धितः, शतेन क्रीतः दायः । समासः, प्राप्त आनन्दो यं स प्राप्तानन्दः । क्वचिन्निपातिनाभिधानं यथा । विषयवृक्षाऽपि संवर्ध स्वयं छेत्तुमर्थाप्तम् । संप्रतिमित्यस्य हि युज्यत इत्यर्थः ॥

537. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, &c. i. e. when the verb &c. does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.

Thus हरिं भजति "he worships Hari.", But when the karma relation is specified by the verb &c., then the word will take the affix of the first case by the general rule II. 3. 64.

The force of a case-affix is generally denoted either by *first* the conjugational affixes तिङ्; *secondly*, by the Primary affixes or कृत्, *thirdly*, by the secondary affixes तद्धित; or *lastly* by compounds. (Thus this sūtra declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, as कर्तं करोति 'he makes the mat': ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.') But the object can be denoted otherwise. Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as हरिं सेव्यते "Hari is served." Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sūtra I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. S. 2679 and 2152. So also by the kṛit affix, as लक्ष्म्या सेवितः "served by Lakshmi" sūtra III. 4. 70. S. 2833. So also by a Taddhita affix as शतस्यः or शतिकः meaning 'purchased with a hundred' = शतेन क्रीतः Similarly by samāsa, as प्राप्त आनन्दोयं प्राप्तानन्दः "Whom happiness has reached."

Sometime the case-relation may be shown by a preposition or Nipāta: as विषवृक्षोऽपि संवर्द्धं स्वयम् छेत्तुमस्मत्तम् ॥ Here विषवृक्षः is equal to विषवृक्षम् ॥ स्मत्तम् means, "is proper." It is not proper to cut himself the poison-tree that one has grown.

५३८ । तथायुक्तं चानीप्सितम् । १ । ४ । ५० ॥

ईप्सिततमवच्छिद्यथा युक्तं नाप्सितमपि कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् । ग्रामं गच्छन् तृणं स्पृशति । भोदनं भुञ्जानो विषं भुङ्क्तं ॥

538. If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act, becomes, however, similarly connected with the action, it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anīpsita or object of aversion. Thus भोदनं बुभुक्षुः विषं भुङ्क्तं "he eats poison while he was hungry for rice" ग्रामं गच्छन् तृणं स्पृशति 'going to the village, he touches the grass.'

Here विषं and तृणं are in the Accusative case or karma-kāraka, though they certainly are not the things *desired* by the agent: but as they are *similarly* connected with the action, as the most desired things 'rice' and 'village,' so they also take the accusative case.

५३९ । अकथितं च । १ । ४ । ५१ ॥

अपादानाद्विशेषैराविवक्षितं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् ।

दुह्याच्पचण्डरुधिप्रच्छिच्चिह्वास्तुजिमश्चम् ।

कर्मशुक् स्यादकार्यितं तथा श्यान्नीहृक्वहाम् ।

दुहादीनां द्वारशानां तथा नाप्रभृतानां चतुर्णां कर्मणायवृज्यते तदेवाकथितं कर्मेति परिगणनं कर्तव्यमित्यर्थः । गां शोधि पयः । बलिं याचते वसुधाम् । अविनीतं विनयं याचते । तण्डुलानोरनं पचति । गर्गाम् शतं दण्डयति । ब्रजमवरुणद्धि गाम् । माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति । वृक्षमवचिनोति फलानि । माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते शास्ति वा । शतं जयति देवदत्तम् । सुधां क्षीरनिधिं मथ्नाति । देवदत्तं शतं लुण्णाति । याममजां नयति हरति कर्षति वहति वा ।

अर्थनिबन्धनेन संज्ञा । बलिं भिक्षते वसुधाम् । माणवकं धर्मं भाषते अभिक्षते वक्तीत्यादि । कारकं किम् । माणवकस्य पितरं पन्थानं पृच्छति ॥

अकर्मकधातुभिर्योगे देशः कालो भावो गन्तव्योऽध्वा च कर्मसंज्ञक इति वाच्यम् * ॥ कुरून् स्वपिति । मासमास्ते । गोदाहमास्ते । क्रोशमास्ते ॥

539. And that kāraka which is not spoken of as coming under any one of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called karma.

Kārikā :—In the case of the twelve roots दुह् 'to milk' याच् 'to beg,' पच् 'to cook,' ण्ड् 'to punish,' रुध् 'to obstruct or confine' प्रच्छ 'to ask,' चि 'to collect' ब्रू 'to tell,' शास् 'to instruct' जि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) मन्थ 'to churn' लुप् 'to steal,' and also in the case of the four verbs नी, ह, कृष, and वह् all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case.

As, गां शोधि पयः 'he milks the cow': बलिं याचते वसुधां 'He begs the earth of Bali'; अविनीतं विनयं याचते "he supplicates for tolerance from the intolerant;" similarly तण्डुलानोरनं पचति, "He cooks the raw rice into boiled rice." गर्गाम् शतं दण्डयति, "He fines the Gargas a hundred pieces money." ब्रजमवरुणद्धि गां "He shuts up the cow (in) the cow-pen." माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति, "He asks the boy (which is) the road." वृक्षमवचिनोति फलानि, "He gathers fruits from the tree." माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते शास्ति वा "He expounds Dharma to the boy or teaches him Dharma." शतं जयति देवदत्तं, "He wins hundred from Devadatta." सुधां क्षीरनिधिं मथ्नाति, "He churns out ambrosia from the ocean of milk." देवदत्तं शतं लुण्णाति; "He steals a hundred from Devadatta." याममजां नयति-हरति-कर्षति वहति वा "He leads the goats to the village or takes them or drags them or drives them." are examples of the other roots in order.

Since it is the sense of the verb that causes these nouns to get the designation of "Indirect Object," it follows as a necessary corollary that other verbs also, though not mentioned in the above list, but being synony-

mous with those verbs, will take two objects. Thus बलिं भिक्षते वसुधां or माणवकं धर्मं भाषते, अभिषत्ते or व्यक्ति. &c.

Why do we say "a kāraka?" Observe माणवकस्य पितरं पन्थानं पृच्छात् "He asks the father of the boy which is the road." Here माणवकस्य not being a kāraka retains the Genitive.

Vārtika. The Intransitive verbs govern the accusative case of place, time, condition and length of road to be gone over. As कुरुन् स्वपिति "He sleeps in the land of the Kurus." मासमास्ते "He stays for a month." गोरोहमास्ते "He is engaged in milking cow." क्रौशमास्ते "He goes over one Krosa (two miles)."

५४० । गतिबुद्धिप्रत्यवसानार्थशब्दकर्मकर्मकाणामणि कर्ता सणौ । १।४।५२॥

गत्याद्यर्थानां शब्दकर्मणामकर्मकाणां चाणौ यः कर्ता स णौ कर्म स्यात् ॥

शञ्चूनगमयत्स्वर्गं वेदार्थं स्वान्वेदयत् ।

आशयच्चासृत्तं देवान्वेदमध्यापयद्विधिम् ॥ १ ॥

आसयत्सलिले पृथ्वीं यः स मे श्रीहरिर्गतिः ॥

गतीत्यादि किम् । पाचयत्योदनं देवदत्तेन ॥ अण्यन्तानां किम् । गमयति देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तं तमपरः प्रयुङ्क्ते । गमयति देवदत्तेन यज्ञदत्तं विष्णुमित्रः ॥ नीवह्योर्न * ॥ नाययौत वाहयति वा भारं भृत्येन ॥ नियन्तृकर्तृकस्य वहेरनिषेधः * ॥ वाहयति रथं वाहान् स्रुतः ॥ आदिखाद्योर्न * ॥ आदयति खादयति वादं बटुना ॥ भक्षेरहिंसार्थस्य न * ॥ भक्षयत्यन्नं बटुना । अहिसार्थस्य किम् । भक्षयति बलीवरान् सस्यम् ॥ जल्पति प्रभृतीनामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ जल्पयति भाषयति वा धर्मं पुत्रं देवदत्तः ॥ दृशेभ्य * ॥ दर्शयति हरिभक्तान् । सूत्रे ज्ञानसमान्यार्थानामेव ग्रहणं न तु तद्विशेषार्थानामित्यनेन ज्ञाप्यते । तेन स्मरति जिघ्रसीत्यादीनां न । स्मारयति प्रापयति वा देवदत्तेन । ॥ शब्दाद्यतेर्न * ॥ शब्दाद्ययति देवदत्तेन । धात्वर्थसंगृहीतकर्मत्वेनाकर्मकत्वात्प्राप्तिः । येषां देशकालादिभिन्नं कर्म न संभवति तेऽच्चाकर्मकाः । न त्वादिवक्षितकर्माणोऽपि । तेन मासमासयति देवदत्तमित्यादौ कर्मत्वं भवत्येव । देवदत्तेन पाचयतीत्यादौ तु न ॥

540. That which was Agent of the Non-causal verb becomes the Karma (object) of the causal verb, when the verb has the sense of "to move," "to know," "to make sound" or "to teach" or is an Intransitive verb.

In the case of roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e. g.

Thus in the verse above given :—

Causal.

शञ्चून-भगमयत् स्वर्गम्

He sent the enemies to Heaven.

Non-Causal

शञ्चवः स्वर्गम् भगच्छन्

The enemies went to Heaven.

वेदार्थं स्वान् अवेदयत्

He explained the sense of the Vedas to His own.

आशयत् च अमृतं देवान्

He made the Devas drink ambrosia.

वेदम् अध्यापयद् विधिम्

He taught the Veda to Brahmā.

आसयत् सलिले पृथ्वीम्

He fixed the Earth in Water.

स्वे (स्वकीयाः) वेदार्थमाविदुः

His own understood the sense of the Vedas.

देवा अमृतम् आभन्

The Devas drank ambrosia.

विधिः वेदमध्यैत

Brahmā learnt the Vedas.

सलीले पृथ्वी आस्त

The Earth floated on water.

Why do we say 'verbs of motion &c.'? Observe पाचयति भोदनं देवदत्तेन "He gets the food cooked by Devadatta."

Why do we say "of the Non-Causal"? Observe that in गमयति देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तं Devadatta makes Yajnadatta go) if some body else (विष्णु मित्र) prompts Devadatta to do this, we shall have to say विष्णुमित्रो देवदत्तेन यज्ञदत्तं गमयति 'Vishnumitra prompts Devadatta to cause Yajnadatta to go.' Here Devadatta is not put in the Accusative case, because it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

Vart:—The causals of नी 'to lead' and वह् 'to carry,' do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e. g. श्रूया भारं नयति वहति वा "A servant carries a load" becomes in causal श्रूयेन भारं नाययति वाहयति वा (He) causes a servant to carry a load.

Vart—But वह्, when it has for its subject in the causal a word signifying a 'driver,' obeys the general rule; as. वाहयति रथं वाहान् सूनः "The driver drives the chariot and the horses."

Vart:—The causals of the roots भक्ष् and खाद्, 'to eat,' govern the Instrumental case; e. g. बहुरन्नमत्ति खादति वा "The boy eats his food," becomes in the causal, बहुनान्नमादयति खादयति वा ॥ "(He) causes the boy to eat his food".

Vart:—भक्ष्, when it has not the sense of हिंसा 'injury to a sentient thing,' governs the Instrumental; as, भक्षयति अन्नं बहुना Why do we say "not in the sense of injury"? Observe भक्षयति वली वशीन् सस्यम् ॥ "He makes the bullocks to injure the crops".

Vart:—Enumeration should be made of जल्पयति &c. as जल्पयति भाषयति वा धर्मं पुत्रं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta teaches his son the dharma'.

Vart:—So also with दर्शयति; as दर्शयति हरिं भक्तान् "He shows Hari to the devotees".

These vārtikas imply that the "verbs of knowledge" of the sūtra are general verbs, and not verbs denoting particular kinds of knowledge.

Therefore, the rule will not apply to verbs like स्मरति 'he remembers', जिघ्रति 'he smells' &c. As स्मारयति प्रापयति वा देवदत्तेन ॥ "He makes Devadatta to remember or to smell".

Vart.—Not so with the verb शब्दायति as; शब्दाययति देवदत्तेन "He causes Devadatta to make sound".

By 'intransitive' roots mentioned above, is meant such roots, as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of 'time,' 'place' &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker's volition, or when their meaning is quite evident; as. किकरः पचरः पचति ॥ Here पचति, though transitive is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence किकरेण पाचयति and not किकरं ॥ Thus in मासमासयति देवदत्तं, the word मासम् is in the accusative case; but not so in देवदत्तेन पाचयति &c.

Note.—Patanjali, in his Mahabhashya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word शब्दकर्म in the sūtra गतिबुद्धि &c. शब्दकर्म may be either शब्दो येषां क्रिया or शब्दो येषां कर्म ॥

When we take the former interpretation, the roots ह्वयति (ह्वे) कंरति (कंर) and शब्दायते (denom. of शब्द) have to be excluded from the rule; as, ह्वयति देवदत्तः ह्वाययति देवदत्तेन; कंरति-शब्दायते-देवदत्तः; कंरयति-शब्दाययति-देवदत्तेन ॥ And the roots श्रु, ज्ञा with वि and लभ् with उप must be included in the rule; as, श्रुणोति विजानाति-उपलभते-देवदत्तः श्रावयति-विज्ञापयति-उपलभयति-देवदत्तम् ॥ When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots जल्प्, भाष् with आ and लप् with वि, must be included in the rule; जल्पति-विलपति-आभाषते-देवदत्तः, जल्पयति-विलापयति-आभाषयति-देवदत्तं ॥

In forming the passive construction of causal verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged e. g.

Primitive.	Causal Active.	Causal Passive.
रामो ग्रामं गच्छति ॥	रामं ग्रामं गमयति ॥	रामो ग्रामंगम्यते ॥
Rama goes to a village.	(He) causes Rama to go to a village.	Rama is caused to go &c.
शूयः कटं करोति ॥	शूयेन शूयं वा कटं कारयति ॥	शूयः कटं कार्यते ॥
The servant prepares a mat.	(He) causes the servant to prepare a mat.	The servant is made to prepare &c.
गोविंदो मासमास्ते ॥	गोविंदं मासमासयति ॥	गोविंदो मासमास्यते ॥
Govind sits for one month.	(He) makes Govind sit &c.	Govind is made to sit &c.

(a). But in the case of roots that imply 'knowledge' 'eating,' and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa,

e. g. माणवकं धर्मं बोधयति 'he makes the boy know his duty'; माणवको धर्मं बोध्यते or माणवकं धर्मो बोध्यते 'The boy is made known his duty' or 'duty is made known to the boy'; बटुमोदनं भोजयति 'he makes the boy eat food : ' बटुमोदनं भोजयते or बटुमोदनं भोज्यते (S. K.).

With regards roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; i. e., those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive verb, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, वामनो बलिं वसुधायाञ्चते (ईश्वरो) वामनेन बलिं वसुधायाञ्चयति ' (God) makes Vamana ask Bali for Earth'. गोपोऽजां नगरं हरति; (स्वामी) गोपं गोपेन वाजां नगरं हरयति ॥ ' (The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town.'

५४१। हृक्रोन्यतरस्याम् । १ । ४ । ५३ ॥

हृक्रोरणौ यः कर्ता स णौ वा कर्मस्यात् । हरयति कारयति वा श्रुत्यं श्रुत्येन वा कटम् ॥ अभिवादिदृष्टो शस्यनेपदे वेति वाच्यम् * ॥ अभिवादयते दर्शयते देवं भक्तं भक्तेन वा ॥

541. The agent of the verb in its non- causal form, in the case of hri "to lose" and kri "to make," is optionally called karma or object when these verbs are causal.

Primitive.

Causal.

As हरति भारं श्रुत्यः ॥

हरयति भारं श्रुत्यं or श्रुत्येन ॥

The servant takes the load.

He causes the servant to take the load.

करोति कटं श्रुत्यः ॥

कारयति कटं श्रुत्यः or श्रुत्येन ॥

The servant makes the mat.

He causes the servant to make the mat.

Vart :—The subject of the primitive verbs अभिवद् and हृश् when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or Instrumental case in the Causal : as.

Primitive.

Causal.

अभिवदति देवं भक्तः ॥

अभिवादयते देवं भक्तं or भक्तेन ॥

The devotee bows down to the Deity. He makes the devotee bow down to the Deity.

पश्यन्ति श्रुत्या राजानम् ॥

दर्शयते श्रुत्यान् राजानं or दर्शयते श्रुत्यैः ॥

The servants see the king.

He makes the servants see the king.

५४२। अधिशोङ्स्थासां कर्म । १ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अधिपूर्वाणामेषामाधारः कर्म स्थान् । अधिशेते अधितिष्ठति अध्यास्ते वा वैकुण्ठं हरिः ॥

542. That which is the site of the verbs शी 'to lie down,' स्था "to stand," आस "to sit," when preceded by

the preposition अधि is, however, called karma kâraka or object.

This ordains Accusative case, where otherwise by the last sūtra there would have been the Locative case. As अधिशेते अधितिष्ठति अथास्ते वा वै कुण्डं हरिः ॥ “Hari lies down in, occupies or rules the Vaikuṇṭha”.

५४३ । अभिनिविशश्च । १ । ४ । ४७ ॥

अभिनीयेतत्संघातपूर्वस्य विनयेराधारः कर्म स्यात् । अभिनिविशते सन्मार्गम् । परिक्रयणे संप्रदानमिति सूत्रादिह मण्डूकप्लुत्याऽन्यतरस्यां ग्रहणमनुवर्त्य व्यवस्थितविभाषाश्रयणात्कचिन्न । पापेऽभिनिवेशः ॥

543. That which is the site of the verb अभिनिविश् ‘to enter,’ is also called karma-kâraka.

As अभिनिविशते सन्मार्गम् ‘he resorts to the good path’. This is an optional rule, as the word “option” of sūtra I. 4. 44. S. 580 should be read into it, though between I. 4. 44 S. 580 and the present sūtra I. 4. 47 S. 543 two other sūtras intervene, in which the anuvritti of option is not read. This leaping over intermediate sūtras and exerting its influence on a remote sūtra is based on the maxim of “frog-leap.” The option however, will be a settled option—“vyavasthita vibhashâ”.

Thus we have the following forms also पापेऽभिनिवेशः “resorting to sin.” कल्याणेऽभिनिवेशः “resorting to good”. The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhâsa.

५४४ । उपान्वध्याङ्वसः । १ । ४ । ४८ ॥

उपादिपूर्वस्य वसनेराधारः कर्म स्यात् । उपवसति अनुवसति-अधिवसति आवसति वा वैकुण्डं हरिः ॥ अभुक्त्यर्थस्य न * ॥ वने उपवसति ॥

उभसर्वतसोः कार्यार्था धिगुपर्यादिषु त्रिषु ॥

द्वितीयाऽऽभेदितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते * ॥

उभयतः कृष्णं गोपाः । सर्वतः कृष्णम् । धिक् कृष्णाभक्तम् । उपर्युपरि लोकं हरिः । अध्यधि लोकम् । अधोऽधो लोकम् ॥

अभितः परितः समयानिकबाह्यप्रतियोगेऽपि * ॥ अभितः कृष्णम् । परितः कृष्णम् । ग्रामं समया । निकषा लङ्काम् । हा कृष्णाभक्तम् । तस्य शोच्यत इत्यर्थः । बुभुक्षितं न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् ॥

544. That which is the site of the verb वस् ‘to dwell,’ when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and ân, is called karma-kâraka.

As उपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिवसति or आवसति वैकुण्डं हरिः ‘Hari dwells in Heaven’.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means “fasting,” or does not denote “lying in a locality”. As वने उपवसति “he fasts in the forest”. Here the verb “upavasati” governs the locative case and not the accusative.

Vartika:—The words उभयतः, सर्वतः, धिक् and the double forms उपर्युपरि, अधोऽधः, अध्याधः, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative; sometimes other cases also. As उभयतः कृष्णगोपाः ‘on both sides of Krishna are the gopas’ सर्वतः कृष्ण ‘on all sides of Krishna’; धिक् कृष्णाभक्तम् ‘fie to non-devotee of Krishna’. उपर्युपरि लोकं हरिः ‘just over the lokas is Hari, अध्याधि or अधोऽधो लोकम् ‘just below the loka’.

Vart:—The words अभितः, परितः both meaning ‘round,’ समया, निकषा both meaning ‘near’ and हा ‘woe be to,’ and प्रति ‘to,’ govern, the accusative case; as, अभितः or परितः कृष्णम् ‘round Krishna’ ग्रामं समया ‘near the village’ निकषा लङ्काम् “near the Lankâ”. हा कृष्णाभक्तम् ‘woe be to non-devotee of Krishna, बुभुक्षितम् न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् ‘to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind’.

५४५ । अन्तराऽन्तरेण युक्ते । २ । ३ । ४ ॥

आभ्यां यागे द्वितीया स्यात् । अन्तरा त्वां मां हरिः । अन्तरेण हरिं न सुखम् ॥

545. A word joined with (or governed by) the word antarâ, or antarena takes the second case-affix.

Note:—The anuvritti of dvitīya is understood here and not that of tritīya. Both these words antara and antarena are Nipatas. They govern the accusative. This debars the genitive case. The word antara means ‘between,’ while antarena means ‘besides that,’ ‘without,’ ‘exception,’ ‘with reference to,’ ‘regarding’.

As. अन्तरा हरिं न सुखं ‘there can be no happiness without Hari’ अन्तरा त्वां मां हरिः ‘Hari is between thee and me’.

Why do we say ‘when joined with?’ Observe अन्तरा तत्क्षशिर्लाञ्च पादलिपुत्रं सुखस्य प्राकारः ॥

—:O:—

KARMAPRAVACHANIYAS.

५४६ । कर्मप्रवचनीयाः । १ । ४ । ८३ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

546. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachanīya.

Note :—These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed *upasarga* and *gati*. As सुस्तुतं भवता “well praised by you.” सु सिक्तं भवता “you have sprinkled well.” Here सु is a *karma-pravachaniya* and qualifies the sense of the verb, i. e. it is an adverb. It is not an *upasarga*, for had it been so, it would have changed the स्त into ष (VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270). The word *karma-pravachaniya* is a big term compared with other technical terms, such as, दि, चि, घु, &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word *karmapravachaniya* is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (प्रोक्तवन्त) an action (कर्म) is so called.

५४७। अनुर्लक्षणे। १। ४। ८४ ॥

अक्षणे योलेऽनुर्लक्षः स्यात्। गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञापवादः ॥

547. The word *anu* when it denotes a sign, is called *karma-pravachaniya*.

The word *lakshana* means a sign; an attendant circumstance, an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of अनु in this case is that of ‘after,’ ‘in consequence of,’ ‘because of,’ or ‘being indicated by’.

This debarbs the designation of *gati* and *upasarga* with regard to *anu* meaning *lakshana*.

५४८। कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया। २। ३। ८५ ॥

एतेन योने द्वितीया स्यात्। जपमनु प्रावर्षत्। हेतुभूतजपोपलक्षितं वर्षणमित्यर्थः। यत्पि हेनाविति तृतीयाऽनेन बाध्यते। लक्षणस्थं भूतत्वादिना सिद्धे पुनः संज्ञाविधानसामर्थ्यात् ॥

548. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a *karmapravachaniya* (I. 4. 83).

As जपमनुप्रावर्षत् ‘it rained after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers’. To put it in other words, *anu* is a *karmapravachaniya* when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

The third case affix ordained by the *subsequent* sūtra II. 3. 23. S. 568 even is debarred by the present sūtra, so far as अनु is concerned. This is because, though अनु would have been a *karmapravachaniya* by I. 4. 90 S. 552 it has been read again in I. 4. 84 S. 547.

Note :—Why make unnecessarily this sūtra, when अनु would have been *karma pravachaniya* even by force of sūtra 552 following, where also the word *lakshana* occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the *karmapravachaniyas* should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8 S. 548) even in expressing हेतु (II. 3. 23. S. 568). Otherwise Rule 568 would have set aside Rule 548 i. e. the

present sūtra, by the maxim of परस्व I. 4. 2. S. 175 and would have caused a karma pravachaniya to govern an Instrumental case, where the sense was that of hetu.

So also शाकल्यस्य संहितामनु प्रावर्षत् = शाकल्येन सुकृतां संहितामनुनिशम्य देवः प्रावर्षत् ॥ "The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Sakalya". The force of a karma pravachaniya, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga, whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun, which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example संहितां is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition अनु, but really governed by the verb अनुनिशम्य understood.

५४९ । तृतीयार्थे । १ । ४ । ८५ ॥

अस्मिन् द्यालेऽनुहस्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । नदीमन्ववसिता सेना । नद्या सह संबन्धेऽर्थः ॥ बिम्बन्धनेक्तः ॥

549. The word अनु is karma-pravachaniya, when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of 'with' or 'along with,' As नदीमन्ववसिता सेना "the army lying along side the river".

The word अवसिता is derived from बिम्ब meaning 'to bind', with the past participial affix क्त ॥

५५० । हीने । १ । ४ । ८६ ॥

हीने द्यालेऽनुः प्राग्वत् । अनु हरिं सुराः । हरिहोनादित्यर्थः ॥

550. The word अनु is karma pravachaniya, when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

As अनुहरिंसुराः 'The gods are inferior to Hari'

Note :—The word हीन् means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to complete the sense. In other words अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As अनुशाकटायनं वैयाकरणाः 'all grammarians are inferior to Sakatayana'.

५५१ । उपोऽधिके च । १ । ४ । ८७ ॥

अधिके हीने, च द्याले उपेऽप्यव्ययं प्राक्संज्ञं स्यात् । अधिके सत्तमी वक्ष्यते । हीने, उप हरिं सुराः ॥

551. The word उप when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachaniya.

That is, when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as उप हरिं सुराः "The gods are inferior to Hari.' In this sense उप governs the accusative case.

When उप means 'superior,' then it governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior ; examples of this will be given hereafter.

५५२ । लक्षणेत्थंभूताख्यानभागवीप्सास्तु प्रतिपर्यन्तवः । १ । ४ । ६० ॥

एवर्थेषु विषयभूतेषु प्रत्यादय उक्तसंज्ञाः स्युः । लक्षणे, वृक्षं प्रति पर्यन्तु वा विद्योतते विष्णु-
त् । इत्थंभूताख्याने, भक्तो विष्णुं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा । भागे, लक्ष्मीर्हरिं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा । हेर्भाग इत्यर्थः ।
वीप्सायां, वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा सिञ्चति । अत्रोपसर्गत्वभावात् पत्वम् । एषु क्रिम् । परिषिञ्चति ॥

552. The words prati, pari and anu are karma pravachaniya when used in the sense of (1) 'sign' 'in the direction of' (2) 'mere statement of a circumstance' ('as regards') (3) division 'share of' and (4) 'pervasion' severally.

As (1) वृक्षं प्रति—परि or अनु विद्योतते विद्यत् 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree'. (2) भक्तो विष्णुम् प्रति—परि-अनु "devotee towards Vishṇu" (3) हरिं प्रति लक्ष्मीं 'Lakshmi fell to the lot of Hari'. So with परि and अनु ॥ (4) वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति सिञ्चति "he sprinkles one tree after another". So with परि and अनु ॥ Here these words, not being upasargas, do not change the स of सिञ्चति to ष, as required by VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270. Why in these senses only? Observe परिषिञ्चति ॥

५५३ । अभिरभागे । १ । ४ । ६१ ॥

भागवर्जे लक्षणादावभिरुक्तसंज्ञाः स्यात् । हरिमभि वर्तते । भक्तो हरिमभि । देवदेवमभिसिञ्चति ।
अभागे क्रिम् । यदत्र ममाभिष्यात्तदीयताम् ॥

553. The word abhi is karma-pravachaniya, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, or 'share of'.

The illustrations given under the last sūtra mutus mutandī apply here also, with the exception of those given under head उ ॥ As हरिमभि वर्तते, भक्तो हरिमभि ; देवदेवमभि सिञ्चति ॥ Why do we say 'when it does not mean division or the share of'? Observe यदत्र ममाभिष्यात् तद् दीयताम् 'give that which falls here to my share'. Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore स of स्य is changed into ष by S. 2270.

५५४ । अधिपरी अनर्थकौ । १ । ४ । ६३ ॥

उक्तसंज्ञौ स्तः । कुतोऽध्यागच्छति । कुतः पर्यागच्छति । गतिसंज्ञाबाधाङ्गतिर्गताविति निघातो न ॥

554. The words अधि and परि are karma-pravachanīya when used as mere expletives.

As कुतोऽध्यागच्छति “whence has he come”? or कुतः पर्यागच्छति ॥ These words, though mere surplusages, have been called karmapravachanīya, so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati, and thus produce results peculiar to those words. (See VIII. 1. 70. S. 3977) for by that rule they would produce accentlessness of the subsequent words. This is prevented.

५५५ । सुः पूजायाम् । १ । ४ । ६४ ॥

सुसिक्तम् ॥ सुस्तुतम् । अनुपसर्गत्वाच्च षः । पूजायां किम् । सुषिक्तं किं तवाच । क्षेपोऽयम् ॥

555. The word सु is karma-pravachanīya in the sense of “respect,” (when it means ‘excellently’).

As सुसिक्तं भवता, “excellently sprinkled by your honor.” सु स्तुतं भवता “Well praised by your honor.” By not being an upasarga, it does not change the स into ष (VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270).

Why do we say ‘when respect is meant’? Observe सुषिक्तं किं तवाच “has this your place been well sprinkled to-day”. This is meant here as an irony.

५५६ । अतिरतिक्रमणे च । १ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अतिक्रमणे पूजायां चातिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञः स्यात् । अतिदेवान् कृष्यः ॥

556. The word अति, in the sense of super-abundance (‘excessively’) and ‘excellently’ is karma-pravachanīya.

As अतिदेवान्कृष्यः “Krishṇa is above all gods”.

Note :—The word अतिक्रमण means to do more than what is ‘necessary’ for the accomplishment of an object. The force of च in the aphorism is to draw in the word पूजायाम् from the last.

५५७ । अपिः पदार्थसंभावनाऽन्ववसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु । १ । ४ । ६६ ॥

एषु द्योत्येष्वापिस्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् । अनुपसर्गत्वाच्च षः । संभावनायां लिङ् । तस्या एव विषयभूते भवने कर्तृवैर्लभ्यप्रयुक्तं वैर्लभ्यं द्योत्यग्नपिशङ्गः स्यादित्यनेन संबध्यते । सर्पिष इति षष्ठी तु अपिशङ्गबलेन गम्यमानस्य बिन्दोरवयवावयविभावसंबन्धे । इयमेव ह्यपिशङ्गस्य पदार्थद्योतकता नाम । द्वितीया तु नेह प्रवर्तते सर्पिषो बिन्दुना योगो न त्वपिनेत्युक्तवान् ॥ अपि स्तुयाद्विष्णुम् ॥ संभावने शक्त्युत्कर्षमाविष्कर्तुमशुक्तिः ॥ अपि स्तुहि । अन्ववसर्गः कामचारानुज्ञा ॥ चिन्देवत्तमपि स्तुयाद्विष्णुम् । गर्हा ॥ अपि सिञ्च अपि स्तुहि समुच्चये ॥

557. The word अपि is a karma-pravachanīya, when it implies, “the sense of word understood”, (‘somewhat’) or possibility (e. g., ‘even’ in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, (‘if you like’), or censure (‘even’ in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection (‘and’).

In the above senses of “somewhat,” “even” “if you like”, “even”, and “and”, the word अपि gets the designation of Karma-pravachanīya.

As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् “there may be a drop of ghee.” Here since अपि is not an upasarga, the स of स्यात् is not changed to ष् (VIII. 3. 87. S. 2472).

There is Potential Mood with the force of संभावना in the above example. When there is such a doubt or uncertainty with regard to the existence of the agent of the verb, that is to say, when owing to the scarcity of the agent, it is doubtful whether it exists or not, there the word अपि denoting ‘scarcity’ is related with the verb syāt. The word सर्पिषः in the above example is in the Genitive case, and by force of the word अपि, it denotes that the word बिन्दु “a drop” which is understood here is related to सर्पिः, as a part is related to its whole. The full sentence will be सर्पिषोऽपि बिन्दुः स्यात् ॥ The force of the genitive, therefore, here is to denote the general relation of part to the whole, of a “drop” to the whole “Ghee.” This is the only way in which the word अपि can denote an *object* (padārtha): namely, to express scarcity owing to the scarcity of a drop even. The second case-affix ordained by II. 3. 8. S. 548, does not apply here, and so the word सर्पिः is not put in the accusative case. This is because, it has already been said above, that the word सर्पिः is syntactically connected with the word बिन्दुः understood, and not with the Karma-pravachanīya अपि.

Secondly, when अपि has the force of sambhāvana; as अपि स्तुयाद् विष्णुम् ॥ Viṣṇu who is not to be expressed by word or comprehended by mind, is being praised. The meaning is that a person who is capable of praising Viṣṇu the Invisible, the Incomprehensible, the Unutterable, is certainly able to praise other Divinities lower in rank. It is needless to say that he can praise others. Here the word अपि expresses “possibility” itself; while in the first example, it expressed the scarcity of the object of possibility. The word अपि being a Karma-pravachanīya, the स is not changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 65. S. 2270.

The word पदार्थ means the sense of another word which is not expressed, but has to be supplied. As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् ‘there may be perhaps a

drop of ghee,' नद्युनोऽपि स्यात् ॥ Here some word like bindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little,' mâtâ 'a measure' &c., has to be understood. The word संभावन् means possibility, a supposition. As, अपि सिंचन् मूलकसहस्रं क्षणेनैकेन 'possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment'. अपि स्तुयाद् विष्णुम् "he can praise even Vishnu". In the above cases, it is used with the Potential mood. अन्वसर्ग means indifference on the part of the speaker, where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As अपि सिंच 'you may sprinkle, if you like.' अपि स्तुहि 'you may praise, if you like.' The word गर्हा means 'censure, contempt or reproof. As धिग् देवदत्तमपि स्तुयाद् वृषलम् ॥ The word समुच्चय means cummulative. As अपि स्तुहि—अपि सिंच 'praise as well as sprinkle,'.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the स into ष ॥

५५८ । कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे । २ । ३ । ५ ॥

इह द्वितीया स्यात् । मासं कल्याणी । मासमधीते । मासं गुडधानाः । क्रीशं कुटिला नदी । क्रीशमधीते । क्रीशं गिरिः । अत्यन्तसंयोगे किञ्च । मासस्य द्विधीते । क्रीशस्यैकदेशे पर्वतः ॥

558. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

मासमधीते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' मासं कल्याणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), मासं गुडधानाः । क्रीशं कुटिला नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' क्रीशं गिरिः 'the hill through one full kos'.

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity' ? Observe मासस्य द्विधीते or क्रीशस्यैकदेशे पर्वतः ॥

Here ends the Accusative Kâraka.

—:0:—

KARTÂ

OR

THE AGENT KÂRAKA.

५५९ । स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता । १ । ४ । ५४ ॥

क्रियायां स्वातन्त्र्येण विवक्षितोऽर्थः कर्ता स्यात् ॥

559. What ever the speaker chooses as the in-

dependent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartâ or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as, देवदत्तः पचति 'Devadatta cooks.' स्थाली पचति 'the pot cooks.'

THE INSTRUMENTAL KĀRAKA.

५६० । साधकतमं करणम् । १ । ४ । ४२ ॥

क्रियासिद्धौ प्रकृष्टोपकारकं करणसंज्ञं स्यात् । तन्प्रग्रहणं किम् । गङ्गायां घोषः ॥

560. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karaṇa kâraka.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other kârakâs, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense. Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गङ्गायां घोषः "the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges." कुपे गर्गकुलम् "the family of frogs in the well, i. e. on the sides of the well."

५६१ । कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया । २ । ३ । १८ ॥

अनभिहिते कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया स्यात् । रामेण बाणेन हतो बाली ॥

प्रकृत्यादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ प्रकृत्या चारुः । प्रायेण याज्ञिकः । गोत्रेण गार्ग्यः । समेनेति । विषमेयेति । द्वित्रेणेन धान्यं क्रीणाति । सुखेन दुःखेन वा यातीत्यादि ॥

561. In denoting the agent or the instrument the third case-affix is employed.

As रामेण बाणेन हतो बाली 'Bâli was killed by Râma by an arrow.'

Vart:—The following words take the 3rd case. प्रकृति 'original,' प्राय 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्वित्रेण, पंचक and साहस्र as प्रकृत्याचारुः प्रायेण याज्ञिकः, गार्ग्योऽस्मि गोत्रेण, समेन or विषमेण एति, द्वित्रेणेन धान्यम् क्रीणाति सुखेन दुःखेन वा याती स्यादि. &c.

५६२ । दिवःकर्म च । १ । ४ । ४३ ॥

दिवः साधकतमं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्याच्चात्करणसंज्ञम् । अक्षैरक्षान्वा वीव्यति ॥

562. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb दिव 'to play' is called karma (object), as well as karaṇa, (instrument)

Note:—The present sūtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that karana is also to be read into this.

As अक्षान् वीक्ष्यति or अक्षै वीक्ष्यति 'he plays the dice or with the dice.'

५६३ । अपवर्गे तृतीया । २ । ३ । ६ ॥

अपवर्गः कलप्राप्तिस्तस्यां व्यत्यायां कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे तृतीया स्यात् । अह्ना क्रोशेन वाऽनुवाक्रोऽधीतः । अपवर्गे किम् । मासमधीतो नान्यातः ॥

563. The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed.

Thus; अह्ना क्रोशेनानुवाक्रोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka by going over a kos.'

Why is the word अपवर्ग read in the sūtra? It means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' Thus संवत्सरणानुवाक्रोऽधीतः means 'Anuvāka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as मासमधीतोऽनायातः 'learnt for a month, but not yet prepared the Anuvāka.'

५६४ । सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने । २ । ३ । १६ ॥

सहाय्येन युक्ते अप्रधाने तृतीया स्यात् । पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता । एवं साकं सार्धं समयोगेऽपि । विनापि तयोगं तृतीया । वृद्धोऽयनेत्यादिनिर्देशात् ॥

564. When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word, the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

As पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता 'the father has come with the son,'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह such as साकं, सार्धं, समं &c; as, पुत्रेण सार्धं 'with the son.' So also when the word सह is understood, as Pāṇini himself uses in I. 2. 65 S. 931 वृद्धो युना &c.

Note:—Why do we say 'when not the principal.' Observe, शिष्येण सहोपाध्यायस्थगौः.

५६५ । येनाङ्गविकारः । २ । ३ । २० ॥

येनाङ्गेन विकृतेनाङ्गिनो विकारो लक्ष्यते ततस्तृतीया स्यात् । अक्षणा काणः । अक्षिसंबन्धिकायां स्वाधिसिष्ट इत्यर्थः । अङ्गविकारः किम् । अक्षि काणमस्य ॥

565. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अक्षया काणः 'blind of one eye' पाद्वन खंजः 'lame of foot,' पाणिना कुण्डः &c. The word aṅga in this sūtra applies to the whole body. Whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here. Why do we say 'defect of a limb'? Observe अक्षिकाणमस्य "His eye is blind."

५६६ । इत्थंभूतलक्षणे । २ । ३ । २१ ॥

काचित्पकारं प्राप्तस्य लक्षणे तृतीया स्यात् । जटाभिस्तापसः । जटाज्ञाप्यतापसस्त्वविशिष्ट इत्यर्थः ॥

566. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation.

जटाभिस्तापसः 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair.'

Note:—अपि भवान् कमण्डलुना छात्रमद्राक्षति 'your honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamandalu.' But not so here, कमण्डलुपाणिनाः 'a student has kamandalu in his hand.' Because here in the compound कमण्डलुपाणि is hidden the mark.

Why do we say ittha-bhūta? Observe वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतनं ।

५६७ । संज्ञाऽन्यतरस्या कर्मणि । २ । ३ । २२ ॥

संपूर्वस्य जानातेः कर्मणि तृतीया वा स्यात् । पित्रा पितरं वा संजानीते ॥

567. After the verb sam-jñā, the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object.

पित्रा or पितरं संजानीते 'he knows his father.'

५६८ । हेतौ । २ । ३ । २३ ॥

हेत्वर्थे तृतीया स्यात् । द्रव्यादिसाधारणे निर्व्यापारसाधारणं च हेतुत्वम् । करणत्वं तु क्रिया-मात्रविषये व्यपारनियतं च । वण्डेन घटः । पुण्येन दृष्टो हरिः । फलमपीह हेतुः । अध्ययेन वसति । गन्धमानापि क्रिया कारकविभक्तौ प्रयोजिका । अलं श्रमेण । श्रमेण साध्यं नास्तीत्यर्थः । इह साधनक्रियां प्रति श्रमेः करणम् । शतेन शतेन वत्सान्पाययति पयः । शतेन परिच्छिद्यत्यर्थः ॥ अशिष्टव्यवहारे दाणः प्रयोगे चतुर्थ्यर्थे तृतीया * ॥ दास्या संयच्छते काशुकः । धर्मे तु भार्यर्थे संयच्छति ॥

568. When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case-affix.

विद्यया यशः 'by learning there is produced fame.' धनेन कुलम् 'by wealth, family ;' कन्यया शोकः 'by daughter there is grief.'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical *hetu* (I. 4. 55 S. 2575.) which is "agent." Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called *hetu*, where the thing produced is a substance, or a quality (गुण) or action (क्रिया), but where the *action* is not primarily taken into consideration.

The difference between *hetu* and *Kāraṇa* is this, that any substance, quality or action in general, by which any object in general is accomplished, without referring to any action necessarily is a *hetu*; while *kāraṇa* is confined to *action* only, and its scope is always limited to that action necessarily. This is expressed by the following verse:—

द्रव्यादि विषयो हेतुः कारकं नियतक्रियम् ।

व्यवहृतं तु व्यापारं निमित्तं हेतुरिष्यते ॥

As an example of substance (द्रव्य) being a *hetu*, we have दण्डेन घटः = दण्डहेतुकोषटः "A pot made by the stick." Here the stick is used to make the potter's wheel revolve. But it is not absolutely necessary. The wheel might be moved by *hand* as well. So the *stick* not being absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of the act, gets the name of *hetu*. As an example of *guṇa*-*hetu*, we have पुण्येन गौरवर्णः "white races get that color by their merit—while black races are sinners." Here "*white*" is an attribute or quality, the *hetu* of which is *punya*, but white colour may be acquired by other things than *punya* also. In short, *hetu* is that which effects something in the shape of a substance or action or quality; and which is not immediately connected with any *verb*. The *kāraṇa* is always so connected with a *verb*, and gives rise only to *action*, and not to a substance or quality.

As an example of action (क्रिया) we have पुण्येन दृष्टा हरिः "Hari is seen through virtue." Here *punya* means the highest merit (*apūrva*) acquired by deeds, and not any particular sacrifice &c. So it is not a *kāraṇa*, for it is not absolutely necessarily implied in the idea of seeing.

The FRUIT ALSO is *hetu* in the sense of this *sūtra*. As अभ्यसनेन वसति "He dwells with the Guru with the object of getting instruction."

An action not expressly mentioned in a sentence, but which may be inferred, may be the cause of giving rise to *kāraka*-inflection. As अलं श्रमण "no necessity of exertion." Here *Srameṇa* is in Instrumental *kāraka*, without any *verb* expressed, the understood verb being साध्यं नास्ति ॥ Here *श्रम* or exertion is *kāraṇa* or instrument to the verb साधन "accomplishment" understood. The full sentence being "by exertion, accomplishment is not possible, so do not exert." So also शक्तेन शक्तेन दत्तान् पाययति "He makes the calves

to drink by hundred, that is, he waters the calves, by dividing them into groups of hundreds.

Vart :—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative, in connection with the verb दा 'to give,' when immoral conduct is implied. As दास्य संयच्छते कायुकः "The profligate gives to the slave to entice her." यच्छ replaces दा by VII. 3. 78. S. 2440. But when proper conduct is meant, we use the Dative, and Parasmaipada, as भार्याय संयच्छति "He gives to his wife." See I. 3. 55 S. 2728, for the use of the Atmane and Parasmai Padas.

In the above vārtika the words दाणः प्राणि 'when the verb दा is employed' are redundant. Because, by I. 3. 55 S. 2728, दा alone takes the Instrumental case, with the force of the Dative, under certain circumstances.

—:O:—

THE DATIVE KĀRAKA.

५६९। कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानम् । १ । ४ । ३२ ॥

दानस्य कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

569. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of the verb दा 'to give' is called Sampradāna or recipient.

Note :—Though the word कर्मणा in the sūtra is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb दा to give; and this we infer from the word संप्रदान which has the root दा in it.

Note :—As उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति "he gives the cow to the teacher." माणवकाय भिक्षाम् ददाति he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

५७०। चतुर्थी संप्रदाने । २ । ३ । १३ ॥

विप्राय गां ददानि । अनाभिहित इत्येव । दानीया विप्रः ॥

क्रियया यमभिप्रैति सोऽपिसंप्रदानम् * ॥ पठ्यंते ॥

कर्मणः करणसंज्ञा संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा * ॥ पशुना रुद्रं यजते । पशुं रुद्राय ददातीत्यर्थः ॥

570. In denoting the sampradāna-kāraka (I. 4. 32) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun.

As विप्राय गां ददाति 'He gives a cow to the learned.' The word अनभिहिते is understood here also. See II. 3. 1 S. 536. Therefore we have the form दानीद्योविप्रः also, where the affix वनीयर् is used with the force of sampradâna.

Vârt:—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As पत्ये शेते 'she sleeps for her husband.'

Vârt:—After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (karma) gets the name of Instrument (karaṇa) and the recipient (Sampradâna) is called object (karma).

Thus पशुना रुद्रं यजते or पशुं रुद्राय ददाति 'he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra,' which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra.'

५७१ । रुच्यर्थानां प्रीयमाणः । १ । ४ । ३३ ॥

रुच्यर्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे प्रीयमाणोऽर्थः संप्रदानं स्यात् । हरये रोचते भक्तिः । अन्य-कर्तृकोऽभिलाषो रुचिः । हरनिष्ठप्रीतेर्भक्तिः कर्त्री । प्रीयमाणः किम् देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः पथि ॥

571. In the case of verbs having the signification of the root रुच 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called Sampradâna.

The verbs having similar meaning (artha) as the word ruchi or 'liking' are रुच्यर्थ. A desire or longing caused by something else, is called ruchi. As हरये रोचते भक्तिः "devotion pleases Hari." Here bhakti is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Hari.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe देव-त्ताय रोचते मोदकः पथि. "Devadatta likes sweet-meat in the way." The word 'p'athi' is here in the 7th case.

५७२ ॥ श्लाघन्तुङ्स्थाशपां ह्रीप्स्यमानः । १ । ४ । ३४ ॥

एषां प्रयोगे बोधयितुमष्टः संप्रदानं स्यात् । गोपी स्मरात्कृष्णाय श्लाघते हृते तिष्ठते शपते वा । ह्रीप्स्यमानः किम् । देवदत्ताय श्लाघते पथि ॥

572. In the case of verbs ślâgh 'to praise,' hnu 'to take away,' sthâ 'to stand,' and śap 'to curse,' the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, those actions, is called Sampradâna.

The word ह्रीप्स्यमान means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As गोपीस्मरान् कृष्णाय श्लाघते "Gopi praises Krishna," i. e. while praising

Krishna she wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As कृष्णाय हुते "she hides from the co-wives for the sake of Krishna," (wishing that Krishna should know of it) कृष्णाय तिष्ठते "she stays or waits for Krishna." कृष्णाय शपते 'she reviles Krishna.'

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe देवदत्ताय भ्लाघति पथि. Here pathi is in the Locative case.

५७३ । धारेरुत्तमर्णः । १ । ४ । ३५ ॥

धारयतेः प्रयोगे उत्तमर्णो उक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । भक्ताय धारयति मोक्षं हरिः । उत्तमर्णः किम् । देव-
दत्ताय शतं धारयति ग्रामे ॥

573. In the case of the verb dhâri 'to owe,' the creditor is called Sampradâna.

The word उत्तमर्णो is compounded of two words उत्तम 'best' and कृण 'debt' meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to अधमर्णो 'debtor.' As भक्ताय धारयति मोक्षं हरिः "Hari owes salvation to His devotee."

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe देवदत्ताय शतंधारयति ग्रामे 'he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village.' Here village is in the Locative case.

५७४ । स्पृहेरीप्सितः । १ । ४ । ३६ ॥

स्पृहयतेः प्रयोगे इष्टः संप्रदानं स्यात् । पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति । ईप्सितः किम् पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति ।
ईप्सितमात्रे इयं संज्ञा । प्रकर्षविवक्षायां तु परस्वात्मसंज्ञा । पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति ॥

574. In the case of the verb sprîh 'to desire,' the thing desired is called Sampradâna.

The verb स्पृह 'to desire,' belongs to the Churâdi class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers.'

Why do we say 'the thing desired.' Observe पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers in the forest.' Here वने is in the Locative case, the Sampradâna being confined to the object desired only.

This definition of the Dative is only confined to the thing desired. But where superiority or excellence is to be expressed, then by the next sūtra, the thing desired will get the designation of karma and will be in the objective case, as पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति ॥

५७५ । कुधदुर्हेर्ष्यासुयार्थानां यं प्रति कोपः । १ । ४ । ३७ ॥

कुधाद्यर्थानां प्रयोगे यं प्रति कोपः स उक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । हरये कुप्यति । ब्रूयति । ईर्ष्यति । भासु-
यति । यं प्रति कोपः किम् । भार्यामीर्ष्यति मैनामन्योऽद्वाक्षादिति । क्रोधामर्षः । ब्रह्माऽपकारः । इर्ष्याऽक्षमा ।

असूया गुणेषु संघाविष्करणम् । ब्रुहादयोऽपि कोपप्रभवा एव गृह्यन्ते । अतो विशेषणां सामान्येन च प्रति कोप इति ॥

575. In the case of the verbs having the sense of *krudh* 'to be angry,' *druh* 'to injure,' *īrshya* 'to envy,' *asūyā* 'to detract,' the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *Sampradāna*.

As हरये क्रुध्यति, ब्रुह्यति, ईर्ष्यति or असूयति "he is angry upon, (*i. e.* with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds the faults with Hari." Here Hari is in the Dative case.

Krudh means non-tolerance, *droha* means doing wrong or hurt, *īrshya* jealously; and *asūya* means to find out the faults of another. The word *kopa* includes all the above four sorts of actions.

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed.' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus भार्यामीर्ष्यति 'he is jealous of his wife,' *i. e.*, does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word '*bhāryā*' is in the accusative case. The words ब्रुह् &c., here should be taken as given birth to by 'anger.' Therefore they are all qualified by the common adjective "यं प्रति कोपः" in the *sūtra*.

५७६ । क्रुधद्रुहोरुपस्पृष्टयोः कर्म । १ । ४ । ३८ ॥

सोपसर्गयोरनयोऽयं प्रति कोपस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् । क्रूरमभिक्रुध्यति अभिद्रुह्यति ॥

576. But in the case of the verbs '*krudh*' and '*druh*,' when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *karma kāraka* or object.

क्रूरमभिक्रुध्यति अभिद्रुह्यति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As संवदत्ताय क्रुध्यति.

Note :—This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word *upasrishta* means having an *upasarga* or preposition.

५७७ । राधीक्ष्योर्यस्य विप्रश्नः । १ । ४ । ३९ ॥

एतयोः कारकं संप्रदानं स्यात् । यदीयो विविधः प्रश्नः क्रियते । कृष्याय राध्यति ईक्षते वा । पृष्टो नर्गः सुभाशुनं पर्यालोचयतीत्यर्थः

577. In the case of the verbs *rādh*, 'to propitiate,' and *īksh* 'to look to,' the person about whose good or bad

fortune questions are asked is called Sampradāna.

The word viprasna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus कृष्णाय राध्याति-ईक्षते गर्गः 'Garga is favorable to or looks to Kṛṣṇa' the sense is that being casually asked by Kṛṣṇa, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Kṛṣṇa.

Note :—Another explanation of this sūtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As शिष्याय राध्नाति or ईक्षते वा गुरुः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

५७८ । प्रत्याङ्क्षायां श्रुतः पूर्वस्य कर्ता । १ । ४ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां परस्य श्रुतोत्तर्योगे पूर्वस्य प्रवर्तनरूपव्यापारस्य कर्ता संप्रदानं स्यात् । विप्राय गां प्रति-श्रुणोति आश्रुणोति वा । विप्रेण मङ्गं देहीति प्रवर्तितः प्रतिजानीत इत्यर्थः ॥

578. In the case of the verb Śru preceded by the prepositions prati and āñ; and meaning 'to promise,' the person to whom promise is made (lit : the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradāna.

As विप्राय गां प्रतिश्रुणोति—आश्रुणोति "he promises a cow to a learned man."

Note :—The compound verb प्रातश्च and आश्च means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case.

५७९ । अनुप्रतिगृणश्च । १ । ४ । ४१ ॥

आभ्यां गृणतिः कारके पूर्वव्यापारस्य कर्तृभूतमुक्तसंज्ञं स्यात् । होत्रेऽनुगृणाति प्रतिगृणाति । होता प्रथमं शंसति तमध्वर्युः प्रोत्साहयतीत्यर्थः ॥

579. In the case of the verb gri, preceded by anu and prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating,' the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradāna.

The phrase pūrvasya kartā of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As होत्रेऽनुगृणाति or प्रतिगृणाति. They encourage the Hotri i. e., the Hotri priest invokes first, the Adhvaryu then follows him in invocation and by so doing encourages him.

Note :—The words अनुगरः and प्रतिगरः mean encouraging the invoker.

५८० । परिक्रयणे संप्रदानमन्यतरस्याम् । १ । ४ । ४४ ॥

नियतकालं श्रुत्या स्वीकरणं परिक्रयणं तस्मिन् साधकतमं कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं वा स्यात् । शतेन शताय वा परिक्रीतः ॥ तादर्थ्यं चतुर्थी वाच्या * ॥ युक्तये हरिं भजति ॥ कल्पे संपद्यमाने च * ॥ भक्तिर्ज्ञानाय कल्पते संपद्यते जायते इत्यादि ॥ उत्पातेन ज्ञापिते च * ॥ वाताय कपिला विद्युत् ॥ हितयोगे च * ॥ ब्राह्मणाय हितम् ॥

580. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb parikrî, 'employing on stipulated wages,' is optionally called Sampradâna.

As शताय परिक्रीतः or शतेन परिक्रीतः ॥

Note:—This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word परिक्रयणे means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time.

Vart:—The fourth case-affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof'; as युक्तये हरिं भजति 'he worships Hari for the purpose of getting emancipation.'

Vart:—The verb कल्प and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for, result in, bring about, accomplish, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case: as, भक्तिर्ज्ञानाय कल्पत-संपद्यते-जायते &c, 'devotion tends to produce knowledge.'

Vart:—The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'indicating a portent or calamity,' as, वाताय कपिला विद्युत् ॥ 'The reddish lightening portends wind.'

Vart:—The fourth case-affix should be employed in connection with the word हितः as ब्राह्मणायहितं 'good for the Brahmanas.'

५८१ । क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः । २ । ३ । १४ ॥

क्रियार्था क्रिया उपपदं यस्य तस्य स्थानिनोऽप्रयुज्यमानस्य तुमुनः कर्मणि चतुर्थी स्यात् । फलेभ्यो याति । फलान्याहर्तुं यातीत्यर्थः । नमस्कुर्मो नृसिंहाय । नृसिंहमनुकूलाधितुमित्यर्थः । एवं स्वयंभुवे नमस्कृत्यादावपि ॥

581. The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthâni) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) there with another verb, denoting action performed for the sake of the future action (kriyârthe III. 3. 10 S. 3175)

In other words, when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'nvul' (III. 3. 10,] is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case.

Thus फलेश्यो याति = फलान्याहर्तुं याति 'he goes for fruits i. e. to bring fruits.' This debars accusative case. So also we have नमस्कृतो नृसिंहाय "we salute Man—Lion to propitiate Him." So also in स्वयम्भुवे नमस्कृत्य &c.

५८२ । तुमर्थाच्च भाववचनात् । २ । ३ । १५ ॥

भावचनान्त्रिति सूत्रेण यो विहितस्तदन्ताच्चतुर्थी स्यात् । यागाय याति । यष्टुं यातीत्यर्थः ॥

582. The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' (abstract noun, III. 3. 11. S. 3180) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose).

As यागाय याति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' = यष्टुं याति ॥

Note:—The word तुमर्थ means 'having the same significance as the affix तुम्' ॥

५८३ । नमः स्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधाऽलं वषड्योगाच्च । २ । ३ । १६ ॥

एभिर्व्योगे चतुर्थी स्यात् । हरये नमः ॥ * उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसी । नमस्करोति देवान् । प्रजाभ्यः स्वस्ति । भद्रये स्वाहा । पितृभ्यः स्वधा । अलमिति पर्याप्त्यर्थग्रहणम् । तेन देवेभ्यो हाररलं प्रभुः समर्थः शक्त इत्यादि । प्रभवाद्व्योगे षड्यपि साधुः । तस्मै प्रभवति स एषां ग्रामणीरिति निर्देशात् । तेन प्रभुर्बुध्बुधुवनत्रयस्येति सिद्धम् । वषडिन्द्राय । चकारः पुनर्विधानर्थः । तेनाशीविवक्षायां परामपि चतुर्थी चाशिषीति षष्ठी बाधित्वा चतुर्थ्यैव भवति । स्वस्ति गोभ्यो भूयात् ॥

583. The fourth case-affix is employed in conjunction with words namaḥ 'salutation,' svasti 'peace,' svāhā, svadhā (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), alam 'a match for' 'sufficient for' and vashaṭ a term of oblation.

As हरये नमः But in नमस्करोति देवान्, the word देवान् is in the Accusative case in accordance with the following Paribhāṣhā.

Paribhāṣhā—"A case-termination, which if it were added to a base would show that the person or thing denoted by that base is instrumental in bringing about the action denoted by the Verb of a sentence, possesses greater force than a case-termination which might be added to the same base, because of the presence in the same sentence of a word requiring the

addition of that particular termination, and it accordingly is added in preference to the latter ”.

*Note :—*Accordingly देवान् has received the termination of the Accusative case by II. 3. 2. S.537' because the Accusative, namely the Devas are the object of the action denoted by नमस्करोति, and it has not received the termination of the dative which case is governed by the word नमः ॥ उपपदविभक्तिः कारक विभक्तिर्वलीयसी The meaning of उपपदविभक्ति is “that case which is used in connection with a certain word and has not any direct relation with the verb in the sentence.” Such as the dative case in हरये used in connection with नमः ॥ Here the dative has no connection with the verb and is brought about by the force of नमः ॥ कारकविभक्ति is the Vibhakti added on to the word which denotes the person or thing taking part in an action. The maxim says Karaka Vibhakti is stronger then Upapad-vibhakti.

स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्यः, स्वाहाऽग्नये, स्वधा पितृभ्यः, अलं मल्लो मल्लाय ‘Salutation to Gods’; ‘svâhâ to Agni’; ‘svâdhâ to the Pitṛis’; ‘an athlete is a match for an athlete’ &c., The word अलं, includes its synonyms also, as प्रभुः, शक्तः &c. ; as दैत्येभ्यो हरिरलं, प्रभुः, समर्थः, शक्तः &c.

The use of Genitive is also valid in connection with प्रभु &c. Because we find sentences like तस्मै प्रभवति (V. 1. 101 S. 1765) स एषां मामणीः (V. 2. 78 S. 1878) Therefore this is valid :—प्रभुर्दुर्भुषुर्भुवनत्रयस्य ॥ So also वषडिन्द्राय ॥

The च indicates that the Dative, will debar the Genitive, in spite of II. 3. 73 S. 631 in the case of these words, though used benedictively ; as, स्वस्तिगोभ्यो भूयात् ॥

५८४ । मन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु । २ । ३ । १७ ॥

प्राणिवर्जं मन्यतेः कर्मणि चतुर्थी वा स्यात्तिरस्कारे । न त्वां तृणं मन्ये तृणाय वा । इयना निर्वैशात्तानादिक्रयेणे न । न त्वां तृणं मन्ये । अप्राणिष्वित्यपनीय नौकाकाष्ठशुकशृगालवज्र्येष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ तेन न त्वां नावमन्नं वा मन्ये इत्यत्राप्राणित्वेऽपि चतुर्थी न । न त्वां शुने मन्ये इत्यत्र प्राणित्वेऽपि भवत्येव ॥

584. In denoting the indirect object, which is not an animal, of the verb manya ‘to think,’ the dative case is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown.

Ex. न त्वां तृणं तृणाय वा मन्ये ‘I do not consider thee worth a straw.’ The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb मन्य So also the sūtra uses the form मन्य, with the vikarana इयत्, indicating that it is Divādi that governs a dative, and not the Tanādi मन्; for the latter governs the accusative only, as न त्वां तृणं मन्ये ॥

The words “which is not an animal” in the sūtra are useless

and should be removed. Because even when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative :—as न त्वां शुने मन्ये “I do not regard thee even as a dog.” See the Vārtika given below.

Vart :—Instead of using अप्राणिषु in the sūtra, the word अनावानिषु should be used. The following words belong to Nāvādi class, they are always in the accusative after the word मन्ये; never in the Dative :—नौ ‘ship,’ काक ‘crow,’ अन्न ‘food,’ शुक्र ‘parrot,’ and भृगाल ‘jackal.’

Hence नावं and अन्नं although inanimate are not put in the dative in नत्वां नावमन्नं मन्ये; नत्वां शुने मन्ये ॥

५८५ । गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि । २ । ३ । १२ ॥

अध्वभिन्ने गत्यर्थानां कर्मणि एते स्तश्चेष्टायाम् । ग्रामं ग्रामाय वा गच्छति । चेष्टायां किम् । मनसा हरिं व्रजति । अनध्वनीति किम् । पन्थानं गच्छति । गन्वाधिष्ठितेऽध्वन्येवायं निषेधः । यदा सूपथात्पन्था एवाक्रमितुमिष्यते तदा चतुर्थी भवत्येव । उत्पथेन पथे गच्छति ॥

585. In the case of roots implying motion, the place, to which motion is directed, takes the affix of the 2nd (Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case, in denoting the ‘object,’ when physical motion is meant, and the object is not a word expressing ‘road’.

As, ग्रामं or ग्रामाय गच्छति ‘he goes to the village.’ Why do we say ‘when physical motion is meant? Observe मनसा हरिं व्रजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) ‘he goes mentally to Hari.’ Why do we say ‘when the object is not a word expressing road’? Observe पन्थानं गच्छति ‘he goes over the way’ (the object being the ‘way’).

The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying the road ; so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the Dative will be employed, as उत्पथेन पथे गच्छति ॥

—:O:—

THE ABLATIVE KĀRAKA.

५८६ । ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् । १ । ४ । २४ ॥

अपायां विश्लेषस्तस्मिन्साध्ये ध्रुवमवधिभूतं कारकमपादानं स्यात् ॥

586. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point, from which departure takes place, is called apādāna or ablation.

५८७ । अपादाने पञ्चमी । २ । ३ । २८ ॥

ग्रामाद्याति । धावतोऽश्वात्पतति । कारकं किम् । वृक्षस्य पर्णे पतति ॥ जुगुप्साविरामप्रमाद-
र्यानामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पापाञ्जुगुप्सते विरमति धर्मात्प्रमाद्यति ॥

587. When the Apâdâna-kâraka is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

As, ग्रामाद्याति 'he comes from the village'; धावताऽश्वात्पतति 'he falls off a galloping horse.'

Why do we say कारक in explaining the sūtra? Observe वृक्षस्य पर्णे पतति ॥ The leaf of the tree falls. (Here 'वृक्ष' has no direct connection with the Verb, hence it is not कारक) ॥

Vārtika :—The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation. Thus पापाञ्जुगुप्सते or विरमति, 'he dislikes or ceases from sin.' धर्मात्प्रमाद्यति, 'he deviates from the path of Virtue.'

५८८ । भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः । १ । ४ । २५ ॥

भयार्थानां त्राणार्थानां च प्रयोगे भयहेतुरपादानं स्यात् । चोराद् बिभेति । चोरात् त्रायते ।
भयहेतुः किम् । अरण्ये बिभेति त्रायते वा ॥

588. In the case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger,' that from which the danger or fear proceeds is called Apâdâna.

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection' govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चोरात् बिभेति "he is afraid of the thief," चोरात् त्रायते or रक्षति "He protects or saves from the thief."

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu), is put in the ablative case? Observe अरण्ये बिभेति or त्रायते "he fears or protects in the forest."

५८९ । पराजेरसोढः । १ । ४ । २६ ॥

पराजेः प्रयोगेऽसह्यार्थोऽपादानं स्यात् । अध्ययनात्पराजयते । ग्लायतीत्यर्थः । असोढः किम् ।
शत्रून्पराजयते । अभिभवतीत्यर्थः ॥

589. In the case of the verb parâji, 'to be tired or weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called Apâdâna.

When the verb जि "to conquer," with the preposition parâ has the

sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable,' it governs the ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अध्ययनात् पराजयते "he finds study unbearable."

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable.' Observe शत्रून् पराजयते "he defeats the enemies."

५६० । वारणार्थानामीप्सितः । १ । ४ । २७ ॥

प्रवृत्तिविघातो वारणम् । वारणार्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे ईप्सितोऽर्थोऽपादानं स्यात् । यवेभ्यो गां वारयति । ईप्सितं किम् । यवेभ्यो गां वारयति क्षेत्रे ॥

590. In the case of verbs having the sense of "preventing," the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off, is called Ablation or Apâdâna.

The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called vâraṇa or prevention. As यवेभ्यो गां वारयति or निवर्तयति "he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley."

Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case'? Observe गां वारयति क्षेत्रे "he wards off the cow in the field."

५९१ । अन्तर्धौ येनादर्शनमिच्छति । १ । ४ । २८ ॥

व्यवधाने सति यत्कर्तृकस्यात्मनो दर्शनस्याभावमिच्छति तदपादानं स्यात् । मातुर्निलीयते कृष्णः । अन्तर्धौ किम् । चौरान्न दिदृक्षते । इच्छतिग्रहणं किम् । अदर्शनेच्छायां सत्यां सत्यपि दर्शने यथा स्यात् ॥ देवदत्ताद् यज्ञदत्तो निलीयते ॥

591. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called Apâdâna.

Thus मातुर्निलीयते कृष्णः "Krishna conceals or hides from his mother," so that the mother may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe चौरान्न दिदृक्षते "he does not wish to see the thieves." Here the term chaurân is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apâdâna kâraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he is seen. As देवदत्ताद्यज्ञदत्तो निलीयते ॥

५९२ । आख्यातोपयोगे । १ । ४ । २९ ॥

नियमपूर्वकविद्यास्वीकारे वक्ता प्राक्संज्ञः स्यात् । उपाध्यायादधीते । उपयोगे किम् । नटस्य गायं भृणोति ॥

592. The noun denoting the teacher is called Apâdâna or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

Note :—The word आख्यातृ means “teacher,” and उपयोग means acquiring knowledge in the regular way.

Thus उपाध्यायादधीते “he learns from the preceptor.”

Why do we say ‘when meaning to learn’? Observe नटस्य गानां शृणोति ‘he hears the song of the player,’

५९३। जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः। १। ४। ३० ॥

जायमानस्य हेतुरपादानं स्यात्। ब्रह्मणः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते ॥

593. The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan “to be born,” is called Apâdâna.

As ब्रह्मणः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते the creatures come out of Brahma.’

Note :—That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb jan, is called जनिकर्ता That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the root jan is put in the ablative case.

५९४। भुवः प्रभवः। १। ४। ३१ ॥

भवन् भुः। भूकर्तुः प्रभवस्तथा। हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवति। तत्र प्रकाशत इत्यर्थः ॥

ल्यलोपे कर्मण्यधिकरणे च * ॥ प्रासादात्प्रेक्षते। आसनात्प्रेक्षते। प्रासादमारुह्य आसने उपविश्य प्रेक्षत इत्यर्थः श्वशुराजिजिह्वेति। श्वशुरं वीक्ष्येत्यर्थः।

गम्यमानाऽपि क्रिया कारकविभक्त्यानां निमित्तम्। कस्मात्त्वं नद्याः ॥

यतश्चाध्वकालनिर्माणं तत्र पञ्चमी * ॥ तद्युक्ताध्वनः प्रथमासप्तम्यौ * ॥ कालास्सप्तमी च वक्तव्या * ॥ वनाद्ग्रामो योजनं योजने वा। कार्तिदया आग्रहायणी मासि ॥

594. The source of the agent of the verb bhû, “to become,” is called Apâdâna.

The phrase ‘of the agent’ (kartuh,) is understood here. The word प्रभव means “the source or that from which anything arises.” As हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवति “the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas.”

The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in ल्यप् is elided; as प्रासादमारुह्य प्रेक्षते = प्रासादात् प्रेक्षते ‘he sees from a palace.’

Vart :—And under similar circumstances, in denoting the location, the place where an action is performed, is put in the ablative case, as, आसने उपविश्य प्रेक्षते = आसनात् प्रेक्षते ‘he sees from the seat.’ So also श्वशुराज् जिह्वेति = श्वशुरं वीक्ष्य “He becomes shy at the sight of his father-in-law.”

A verb understood is also a cause that gives rise to kâraka inflection. As कस्मात् त्वं नद्याः ॥

Note :—In questions, and answers, the fifth case-affix is employed:— कृते भवान्? पाटलीपुत्राद् ‘whence is your Honor coming? From Pataliputra.’

Vart :—That point of time or space, from which distance in time or space is measured, is put in the Ablative case :—as, वनात् ग्रामो योजनं योजने वा “The village is one or two yojanas from the forest.”

Vart :—After a word denoting time, the seventh case is also employed in the sense of ablation. As कार्तिक्या आग्रहायणी मासे ‘Agrahâyana is one month from Kârtika.’ The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case here as मासे ॥

Vart :—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative ; as गवीधूमतः सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि or चतुर्षु योजनेषु ॥

५९५ । अन्यारादितरतै दिक्शब्दाञ्चूत्तरपदाजाहियुक्तं । २ । ३ । २६ ॥

एतैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । अन्य इत्यर्थग्रहणम् । इतरग्रहणं प्रपञ्चार्यम् । अन्यो भिन्न इतरो वा कृष्णात् । आराद्वनात् । कृतं कृष्णात् । पूर्वो ग्रामात् । दिशि दृष्टः शब्दो दिक्शब्दः । तेन संप्रति देशकालवृत्तिना योगेऽपि भवति । चैत्रात्पूर्वः फाल्गुनः । अवयववाच्ययोगे तु न । तस्य परमाश्लेषितमिति निर्देशात् । पूर्वं कायस्य । अञ्चूत्तरपदस्य तु दिक्शब्दत्वेऽपि षष्ठ्यतस्यैति षष्ठीं बाधितुं पृथक्ग्रहणम् । प्राक्, प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् । आच्, इक्षिणा ग्रामात् । आहि, इक्षिणाहि ग्रामात् । अपादाने पञ्चमीति सूत्रे कार्तिक्याः प्रभृतीति भाष्यप्रयोगात् प्रभृत्यर्थयोगे पञ्चमी । भवात्प्रभृति आरभ्य वा सेव्यो हरिः । अपपरिवहिरिति समासविधानाज्ज्ञापकाद्वहियोगे पञ्चमी । ग्रामाद्वहिः ॥

595. When a noun is joined with words meaning ‘other than’ or with ârât ‘near or remote’ or itara ‘different from’ or rite ‘without,’ or words indicative of the ‘directions’ (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having añchu ‘to bend’ as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix âch or âhi (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

The word अन्य in the sūtra includes all words having the sense of अन्य, i. e. all words meaning ‘other than.’ इतर must be synonymous with अन्य for the application of this sūtra. Its use in the sūtra is therefore only illustrative. When इतर means नीच “low,” then the sūtra does not apply.

As अन्यो, भिन्नो, इतरो, कृष्णात् “different from Krishṇa,” आराद् वनात् “remote from or near to the forest”. (The word ârât meaning ‘near or remote’ would have taken the sixth case-affix by sūtra 611, but this enjoins 5th case-affix) कृतं कृष्णात् ‘excepting Krishṇa.’ पूर्वो ग्रामात् ‘east of the village’ The word दिक् ‘direction’ includes here every word which is employed primarily in denoting direction and nothing else. Therefore, the rule applies when such a word is used in connection with point of time, as चैत्रात्

पूर्वः फाल्गुनः, "The month Phalguṇa is anterior to Chaitra." Here the direction denoting word पूर्वः governs the Ablative. But when it means "member," it does not govern the ablative.' for Panini himself shows this in the construction of the sūtra तस्य परं आग्नेदितम् VIII. 1. 2. S. 83. Here परं does it not govern the ablative, and the sūtra is not तस्मात् परं &c. Thus पूर्व कायस्य, here पूर्व does not govern the ablative.

The words like प्राक् &c., formed from the verb añch are also दिक्शब्दः; their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the sūtra 609 does not come after them. उत्तरे ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूर्वो ग्रीष्मात् वसन्तः 'the spring is prior to summer.' With añchu we have प्राक् प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village,' with आच् we have दक्षिणा-ग्रामात् ॥ and with āhi we have दक्षिणाहि वा ग्रामात् both meaning 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

In commenting on the sūtra II. 3. 28. S. 587 Patanjali gives the example कार्तिक्याः प्रवृत्ति, which shows that प्रवृत्ति and its synonyms also govern the ablative case. Here प्रवृत्ति means आरभ्यः ॥ Thus भवात् प्रवृत्ति आरभ्या वा सेव्यो हरिः "Hari is to be served by all commencing with Bhava downwards."

The word बहिस् governs the ablative, and this we infer from II. 1. 12 S. 666, which says "The words अप, परि बहिस् and indeclinables ending in अञ्चु may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case." This rule of samāsa implies that बहिस् governs fifth case: as ग्रामाद् बहिस् ॥ This rule being inferred by implication is not universal, on the maxim ज्ञापकसिद्धं न सर्वत्र ॥ Therefore we have करस्य करभोबहिः and not करात् ॥

—:0:—

The three particles अप, पर and आङ् govern the ablative, when they are Karma-pravachanīya. The next two sūtras describe when they are Karma-pravachanīya.

५९६। अपपरी वर्जने। १। ४। ८८ ॥

एतौ वर्जने कर्मप्रवचनीयौ स्तः ॥

596. The words apa and pari are karma-pravachanīya, when meaning 'exclusion.'

Note :—The force of अप and परि is in this case that of 'with the exception of.' As अपत्रिगतैर्भ्यो वृष्टो देवः "it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigarta." So also परि त्रिगतैर्भ्यो वृष्टो देवः ॥ In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3. 10). When not having these senses, they are not karma pravachanīya. As ओवनं परिबिञ्चति ॥ "He waters the rice

thoroughly." Here it is an upasarga, meaning thoroughly and hence changes the स into ष ॥

५९७ । आङ् मर्यादा वचने । १ । ४ । ८८ ॥

आङ् मर्यादायुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । वचनग्रहणादभिविधावापि ॥

597. The word *ân* "as far as", is *karma-prava-chaniya* when it expresses limit (e. g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or 'as far as exclusive of.')

The word वचन in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. As आपाटलिपुत्राद् वृष्टो देवः "it rained as far as (but excluding) Pātaliputra" आपाटलिपुत्रं वृष्टो देवः "it rained as far as (including) Pātaliputra," आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः ॥ आसांकाश्यात्, आ मथुरायाः when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix, it does not get this name.

The मर्यादा is the limit exclusive (विना तेन), while अभिविधि is the limit inclusive (सह तेन) ॥ The construction of the sūtra would have been better if it had been the same as II. 1. 13 S. 667 आङ् मर्यादाभिविध्योः ॥

५९८ । पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः । २ । ३ । १० ॥

एतैः कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । अपहरः परिहरेः संसारः । परित्र वर्जने । लक्षणादेव तु हरिपरि । आधुक्तेः संसारः । आसकलाद्ब्रह्म ॥

598. The fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the *karmapravachaniya* *apa*, *ân* or *pari*.

अप or परि हरः संसारः "The samsāra is outside of Hari" Here the force is that of exclusion.

The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 38) being read along with अप ; therefore, not here वृक्षं परि विद्योतते विद्युत् (I. 4. 90 S. 552), or हरिं परि where the meaning is that of "sign" &c. mentioned in I. 4. 90 S. 552.

So also आधुक्तेः संसारः = मुक्तिं मर्यादीकृत्य "the samsāra has its sway up to mukti, but not with it or beyond it." आसकलाद्ब्रह्म "Brahma is in every thing." Here आ has the force of inclusion, = सकलमभिव्याप्य ॥

५९९ । प्रतिः प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदानयोः । १ । ४ । ६२ ॥

एतयोरर्थयोः प्रतिशक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

599. The word *prati* is *karma-pravachaniya* when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for.')

*Note:—*That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि ॥ Giving in return for what is obtained. is प्रतिदान ॥

६०० । प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् । २ । ३ । ११ ॥

अत्र कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णात्प्रति । तिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति माषान् ॥

600. The Fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed after whatsoever is governed by the karmapravachanīya प्रति when used in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I. 4. 92).

As प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णात् प्रति "Pradyumna is the representative of Kṛishṇa." तिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति माषान् "he exchanges māsḥās for the sesamum."

६०१ । अकर्तृवृत्ते पञ्चमी । २ । ३ । २४ ॥

कर्तृवर्जितं यदयं हेतुभूतं ततः पञ्चमी स्यात् ॥ शताद्वयः । अकर्तृरि किम् । शतेन बन्धितः ॥

601. A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kartṛi or agent, takes the fifth case-affix.

As शताद्वयः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?' Observe शतेन बन्धितः, 'a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison'; here शत being considered as a prayojaka hetu, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

६०२ । विभाषागुणेऽस्त्रियाम् । २ । ३ । २५ ॥

गुणे हेतावस्त्रीलिङ्गे पञ्चमी वा स्यात् । जाड्याज्जाड्येन वा बद्धः । गुणे किम् । धनेन कुलम् अस्त्रियां किम् । बुद्ध्या मुक्तः । विभाषेति योगविभागाद्गुणे स्त्रियां च क्वचित् । धूमादग्निमान् । नास्ति चटोऽनुपलब्धेः ॥

602. The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender.

As जाड्यात् जाड्येन वा बद्ध 'he has been bound by reason of his dullness.' Why do we say 'when the noun expresses an attribute'? Observe धनेन कुलम् ॥ Why do we say 'not being of the feminine gender?' Observe बुद्ध्या मुक्तः 'he was set at liberty on account of his skill.'

This sūtra may be divided into two distinct sūtras, e. g. विभाषा and गुणेऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ Thus we get two rules:—

1. The ablative is used optionally when the noun expresses the cause of a thing, whether material or attributive; whether feminine or masculine. This rule is of limited scope.

Therefore a feminine word even will also govern the ablative. As धूमादग्निमान्, "By reason of the smoke, (we infer the mountain to be) fiery." नास्ति घटोऽनुपलब्धे: "There is no pot here, because it is not perceived."

2. The ablative is employed when a word expresses attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender.

६०३ । पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ३२ ॥

एभिर्योगे तृतीया स्यात्पञ्चमीद्वितीये च । अन्यतरस्यां ग्रहणं समुच्चयार्थम् । पञ्चमीद्वितीयोऽनुवर्तते । पृथग् रामेण रामात् रामं वा । एवं विना नाना ॥

603. When joined with the words *prithak* 'without,' *vinā* 'without' and *nānā* 'without' the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

As रामाद्गामेण रामं वा विना पृथग् नाना वा 'without or different from Rāma.'

Note :—This sūtra may be divided into two parts :—(1) पृथग् विना नानाभिः (2) तृतीयोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ By this arrangement we can read dvitīya into the aphorism.

विना वातं विना वर्षं विद्युत्प्रपतनं विना ।

विना हस्ति कृतान्शेषान् केनेनौ पातितौ द्रुमौ ॥

The word *anyatarasyām* in the sūtra is for the sake of "collecting"—i. e. it includes the *dvitīya* as well as *pañchamī-vibhaktis*. In the *Ashtādhyāyī*, the arrangement of the sūtras are 1. अपादाने पञ्चमी, 2. अन्यादादितरत् &c. 3. तत्पर्यं &c. 4. एनपा द्वितीया 5. पृथग् विना &c.

Now in case the third-case-affix is not employed, then the second case-affix *alone* would be employed, because *dvitīya* is used immediately in the preceding sūtra. But if the second case-affix will come optionally, then the fifth will also come. But fifth is necessary (not optional); and thus the *simultaneous* employment of the three (5th, 2nd 3rd) will be impossible. Hence we say that the word *anyatarasyāma* of the sūtra must mean "aggregation or collection". Thus by frog-leap we draw in the *anuvṛitti* of *pañchamī* from sūtra II. 3. 28, S 587 while we draw in *dvitīya* from the sūtra immediately preceding the present. नाना has also the sense of exclusion, as said in the *Amarakośha* हिरुङ् नाना च वर्जने (*avyaya varga* verse 3) as in नाना नारी निष्फला लोकयात्रा ॥

The rule applies to these *three* synonyms only. Therefore not here *हिरण् देववत्तस्य* 'without Devadatta.'

६०४ । करणे च स्तोकाल्पकृच्छ्रकतिपयस्यासत्त्ववचनस्य । २ । ३ । ३३ ॥

एभ्योऽद्वयवचनेभ्यः करणे तृतीयापञ्चम्यौ स्तः । स्तोकेन स्तोकाद्वा युक्तः । द्वये तु स्तोकेन विषेण हतः ॥

604. When expressing an instrument-kâraka, after the words stoka 'little,' alpa 'little,' krichchhra 'difficulty,' and katipaya 'some,' the third as well as the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects (i. e. they are used as adverbs and not as adjectives).

As स्तोकात् स्तोकेन वा युक्तः and अल्पान्युक्तः or अल्पेनयुक्तः &c, 'he got off easily &c.' But स्तोकेन विषेण हतः, अल्पेन मधुना मत्तः &c. 'killed by a little poison.' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance.

६०५ । दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च । २ । ३ । ३५ ॥

एभ्यो द्वितीया स्याच्चात्पञ्चमीतृतीये । प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे विधिरयम् । ग्रामस्य दूरं दूरात् दूरेण वा । अन्तिकम् अन्तिकान् अन्तिकेन वा । असत्त्ववचनस्येत्यनुवृत्तेर्नेह । दूरः पन्थाः ॥

605. After the words having the sense of dūra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third.

As. दूर दूराद् दूरेण वा ग्रामस्य and अन्तिकात्, अन्तिकेन or अन्तिकं ग्रामस्य ॥

This rule applies only when these words have their original prâtipadika singification, and do not qualify a substance, because the anuvritti of "when they do not denote (or qualify) material objects" is understood here also. Therefore the proper case-affix is employed here as दूरः पन्थाः ॥

:0:

THE GENITIVE.

६०६ । षष्ठी शेषे । २ । ३ । ५० ॥

कारकप्रातिपदिकार्थव्यतिरिक्तः स्वस्वामिभावाहिसंबन्धः शेषस्तत्र षष्ठी स्यात् । राज्ञः पुरुषः । कर्माहीनामपि संबन्धमात्रविवक्षायां षष्ठेऽप्य । सतां गतम् । सर्पिषो जानीते । मातुः स्मरति । एषो दक्षस्यापस्कुरुते । भजे शंभोश्चरणयोः । फलानां तृप्तः ॥

606. The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining cases, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c.

different from that of a word related to a verb (kâraka), and from that of a Nominal-stem (Prâtîpadika)

As, राज्ञः पुरुषः 'the king's man' पशोः पादः 'beast's foot' पितुः पुत्रः 'father's son.'

The sixth case should also be employed when the *mere* relationship of kârkas like karma (Accusative) &c. is intended to be expressed. As सतां गतम् = सत्पुरुष सन्निधिगमनम् "the going of the good, i. e. the going relating to the good." So also सर्पिषा जानीते "He knows about ghee" i. e. every thing relating to ghee, its price, manufacture, quality &c. Here sixth case is used with the force of the Instrumental = सर्पिः सन्नन्धिं प्रवर्तनं ॥ Others take it in the sense of karma, explaining it as सर्पिः सन्नन्धि ज्ञानं ॥

So also मातुः स्मरति ॥ "He remembers his mother." एधोदकस्योपस्फुरते (see 614). "Fuel does good to water i. e. purifies it. Or heats it." The word edhodaka is either a samâhâra compound of एधाश्च उदकेच ; or एधांसिच दकेच ॥ The word दक is an abbreviated form of उदक ॥

So also भजे शंभोश्चरणयोः 'I worship the feet of Shambhu.' and फलानां नृप्तः "satisfied with fruits."

६०७ । षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे । २ । ३ । २६ ॥

हेतुशब्दप्रयोगे हेतौ चोत्प्रेषणी स्यात् । अन्नस्य हेतोर्वसति ॥

607. The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun implying the cause of an action, when the word "hetu" is used along with such a word.

As, अन्नस्य हेतोर्वसति 'he dwells for the sake of food.' This ordains sixth case, where there would have been otherwise the third case.

६०८ । सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च । २ । ३ । २७ ॥

सर्वनाम्नो हेतुशब्दस्य च प्रयोगे हेतौ चोत्प्रेषणी स्यात् षष्ठी च । केन हेतुना वसति । कस्य हेतोः ॥

निमित्तपर्यायप्रयोगे सर्वासां प्रायदर्शनम् * ॥ किमिति वसति । केन निमित्तेन । कस्मै निमित्तायेत्यादि । एवं किं कारणं को हेतुः किं प्रयोजनमित्यादि । प्रायमहणादसर्वनाम्नः प्रथमाद्वितीये न स्तः । ज्ञानेन निमित्तेन हरिः सव्यः । ज्ञानाय निमित्तायेत्यादि ॥

608. After a sarvanâman (I. 1. 27 S. 213) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word 'hetu' is used with it, the sixth case-affix is employed, as well as the third.

As कस्य or केन हेतुना वसति 'for the sake of what does he live?' यस्य or कस्य हेतोर्वसति ॥

Vart.:—When the words निमित्ते or कारण or its synonyms are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed ; as किं निमित्तं or केन निमित्तेन or कस्मै निमित्ताय or कस्मान्निमित्तात् or कस्य निमित्तस्य or कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति ॥ Similarly with the words kâraṇa and hetu. किं कारणं, को हेतुः, किं प्रयोजनं &c. Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word-form hetu (I. i. 68 S. 25) but its synonyms also ; as किं प्रयोजनं or केन प्रयोजनेन or कस्मै प्रयोजनाय &c., वसति ॥

By the employment of the word प्राय, the First and the second-case-affixes do not come after non-sarvanama words. As, ज्ञानेन, निमित्तेन हरिः सेव्यः or ज्ञानाय निमित्ताय &c.

६०६ । षष्ठ्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन । २ । ३ । ३० ॥

एतच्चागे षष्ठी स्यात् । द्विशब्देति पञ्चम्या अपवादः । ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः पुरः पुरस्तात् उपरि उपरिष्ठात् ॥

609. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V. 3. 28 S. 1978).

The affix अतसुच् is ordained by V. 3. 28. S. 1978.

It debars the fifth case affix ordained by V. 3. 27 S. 1974.

As ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः पुरस्तात् उपरि उपरिष्ठात् वा ' to the south or north, fore most, in or above the village.'

६१० । एनपा द्वितीया । २ । ३ । ३१ ॥

एनबन्तेन योगे द्वितीया स्यात् । एनपेति योगविभागात्षड्यपि । दक्षिणेन ग्रामं ग्रामस्य वा । एवमुत्तरेण ॥

610. With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V. 3. 35 S. 1984), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth.

As. दक्षिणेन ग्रामम् ग्रामस्य वा 'south of the village.' So also उत्तरेण ॥ By the rule of yoga-vibhâ, we get the sixth case-affix also.

६११ । दूरान्तिकार्थैः षष्ठ्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ३४ ॥

एतैर्योगे षष्ठी स्याद्वञ्चमी च । दूरं निकटं ग्रामस्य ग्रामाद्वा ॥

611. When in conjunction with words having the sense of 'dûra' 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the sixth case-affix is employed and also the Fifth.

As ग्रामाद् ग्रामस्य वा वनं दूरं बिम्बकृष्टं, अन्तिकं, अभ्यासं, निकटं समीपं वा ' the forest is distant from or near to the village.'

६१२ । ज्ञोऽविदर्थस्य करणे । २ । ३ । ५१ ॥

ज्ञानातिरज्ञानार्थस्य करणे शेषत्वेन विवाक्षिते षष्ठी स्यात् । सर्विषो ज्ञानम् ॥

612. Of the verb ज्ञा *juâ*, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

As सर्विषोज्ञानम् ॥

Note:—The verb ज्ञा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of 'to act, or to engage in;' or it may denote 'false knowledge'; as, सर्विषि रक्तः प्रतिहतो वा ॥ Compare I. 3. 54.

But not so here स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice.'

६१३ । अधीगर्थदयेशां कर्मणि । २ । ३ । ५२ ॥

एषां कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी स्यात् । मातुः स्मरणम् । सर्विषो दयनम् । ईशानं वा ॥

613. Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (*adhik*) and of *daya* 'to give,' 'to pity' 'to protect,' 'to move,' and of *îsa* 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

As मातुः स्मरणम् 'he remembers the mother.' सर्विषो दय नं ॥ ईशानं वा 'he gives clarified butter,' नाद्यं गात्राणामीदे 'he can not rule his limbs.

Note:—But not so here मातुर्गुणैः स्मरति because गुण here is not the object. The word शेष is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that मातुः स्मरति is also allowed.

६१४ । कृजः प्रतियत्ने । २ । ३ । ५३ ॥

कृजः कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी स्याद्गुणाधाने एधो दकस्योपस्करणम् ॥

614. The object of the verb *kri* takes the sixth case-affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue' (I. 3. 32).

As एधोदकस्योपस्करणम् 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, S. 2552 स is inserted).

Note:—When प्रतियत्न is not meant, the second case-affix is employed: as कदं करोति ॥

The word शेष is also understood here. So that we have also एधोदकमुपस्कुरुते ॥

६१५ । रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामञ्ज्वरेः । २ । ३ । ५४ ॥

भावकर्तृकाणां ज्वरिर्वर्जितानां रुजार्थानां कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा । भज्ज्वरिसंताप्योरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ रोगस्य चौरज्वरः । चौरसंतापो वा । रोगकर्तृकं चौरसंबन्धि ज्वरादिकमित्यर्थः ॥

615. The object of verbs having the sense of ruj 'to afflict,' with the exception of the Causative verb jvaraya 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i. e., when the subject is an Abstract noun).

As चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा "the disease afflicts the thief" चौरस्यामयति भानयः ॥

Vartika :—It should be rather stated "with the exception of ज्वरय or संतापय ॥"

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe नदी क्षूलानि रुजति 'the river breaks the banks' So also not here चौरं ज्वरयति ज्वरः 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb संताप is used, चौरं संतापयति तापः ॥

The word शष is also understood here. Thus चौरं रुजात रोगः ॥

६१६ । आशिषि नाथः । २ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आशीरर्थस्य नाथतेः शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । सर्पिषो नाथनम् । आशिषीति किम् । माणवकनाथनम् । तत्संबन्धिनी याज्वेत्यर्थः ॥

616. Of the verb nâth when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

As सर्पिषो नाथनम् 'the blessing of the honey.' Why do we say 'to bless'? Observe माणवकनाथनम् 'he entreats the boy.' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

६१७ । जासिनिप्रहणनाटक्राथपिषां हिंसायाम् । २ । ३ । ५६ ॥

हिंसार्थानामेषां शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्योज्जासनम् । निप्रो संहतौ निप्रथस्तौ व्यस्तौ वा । चौरस्य निप्रहणनम् प्राणिहणनम् । निहणनम् प्रहणनं वा । नट असस्वन्दने क्षुरादिः । चौरस्योन्नादनम् चौरस्य क्राथनम् । वृषलस्य पेषणम् । हिंसायाम् किम् । धानापेषणम् ॥

617. The object of the verbs jâsi 'to strike'; 'to hurt,' han 'to strike' preceded by नि and प्र, jointly, severally or in any order, nâṭ to 'injure,' 'krath,' and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure,' takes the sixth case-affix.

चौरस्योज्जासनम्, निग्रहणं, निहननं, ग्रहणं, ग्रहिणं, उदादयति, काथयति, विनष्टि वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root नद् belonging to the Churādi class No. 250 should be taken, and not that of the Bhvādi. हन् with the prepositions pra and ni may be taken in any order. The root कथ takes in the causative vridhhi irregularly. This verb is Bhvādi and falls into the subdivision ghatādi, and is called there a मित् verb; all मित् verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix णिच् (IV. 4. 92). Thus काथ is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure'? Observe धानोपपणम् 'the pounding of the barley.'

Note.—The word शेष is also understood here as चौरस्योज्जासयति. Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं हिनास्ति, चौरं विहन्ति ॥

६१८ । व्यवहणोः समर्थयोः । २ । ३ । ५७ ॥

शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । द्युते क्रयविक्रयव्यवहारं चानयोस्तुल्यार्थता । शतस्य व्यवहरणं पणनं वा समर्थयोः किम् । शलाकाव्यवहारः । गणनेत्यर्थः ॥ ब्राह्मणपणनं स्तुतिरित्यर्थः ॥

618. The object of the verbs vyavahṛi and paṇ when they are synonymous, that is, when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

As शतस्य व्यवहरणं or पणनं 'dealing in, or staking hundred.'

Why does not the verb पण take the affix आश्? It takes आश् when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Why do we say samarthayos? Not so here शलाका व्यवहारः 'counting the dice,' ब्राह्मण पणनं 'praising the Brāhmaṇa.' The word शेष is also here understood, so that we have शते पणते 'he stakes a hundred.'

६१९ । दिवस्तदर्थस्य । २ । ३ । ५८ ॥

द्युतार्थस्य क्रयविक्रयरूपव्यवहारार्थस्य च दिवः कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । शतस्य दीव्यति । तदर्थस्य किम् । ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति । स्तौतीत्यर्थः ॥

619. The object of the verb div, when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

As शतस्य दीव्यति 'he stakes or deals in hundred.' Why do we say 'when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking'? Observe ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति 'he praises the Brāhmaṇa.'

Note :—The yoga vihbāga, when this root might well have been included in the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sūtras, in which the anuvṛitti of विव runs, and not of others.

६२० । विभाषोपसर्गे । २ । ३ । ५९ ॥

पूर्वयोगापवादः । शतस्य शतं वा प्रतिदीव्यति ॥

620. The object of the verb div, when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an upasarga.

As शतस्य शतं वा प्रति दीव्यति 'he deals in or stakes a hundred.'

Note :—But no option is allowed when the verb is simple as in the last aphorism ; nor does this rule apply when the sense is not that of dealing or gambling. As, शालाकां प्रति दीव्यति 'he throws the missile.'

६२१ । प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषो देवतासंप्रदाने । २ । ३ । ६१ ॥

देवतासंप्रदानेऽर्थे वर्तमानयोः प्रेष्यब्रुवोः कर्मणो हविर्विशेषस्य वाचकाच्छब्दात्पठ्यते स्यात् । अग्नये छागस्य हविषो वपाया मेदसः प्रेष्य अनुब्रूहि वा ॥

621. The object of the verb preshya and brūhi (imperative singular of Divadi verb, meaning 'send' and 'utter,') denoting sacrificial food, takes the sixth case-affix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recipient.

As अग्नये छागस्य हविषो वपाया मेदसः प्रेष्य अनुब्रूहि वा 'send to fire as oblation the goat, the fat, and the marrow.'

Note :—But not here :—अग्नये छागं हविर्वपां मेदोऽनुब्रूहि. Because the verb is not preshya or brūhi. So also not here अग्नये गोमयान् प्रेष्य, Because it is not an oblation. Not here too माणवकाय पुरोडाशं प्रेष्य. Because the recipient is not a deity. Compare VIII. 2. 91.

This rule does not apply when the word प्रस्थित 'set out' qualifies the word हविः as ; इन्द्राग्निभ्यां छाग हविर्वपां मेदः प्रस्थितं प्रेष्य 'send for Indra and Agni the oblation set out for them' &c.

६२२ । कृत्वोऽर्थप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे । २ । ३ । ६४ ॥

कृत्वोर्थानां प्रयोगे कालवाचिन्यधिकरणे शेषे षष्ठी स्यात् । पञ्चकृत्वोऽहो भोजनम् । द्विरहो भोजनम् । शेषे किम् । द्विरहन्यध्वयनम् ॥

622. The sixth case-affix is employed in denoting location (adhikarapa) after a word denoting time

(kāla) when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of kritvasuch (V. 4. 17) 'so many times.'

As पञ्चकृत्वाऽहोभोजनम् 'eating five times a day.' In short, 'words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative.' As द्विरहोभोजनम् 'he eats twice in a day.'

Why do we say 'having the force of कृत्वसुच्'?. Observe आहुि शेते 'he sleeps in the day.'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (prayoga) as in अहनि युक्तम्. Nor when the time is not meant, as द्विः कास्यापात्रां युक्ते 'he eats in two brass vessels.' So also when location is not meant as द्विरहो युक्ते.

Why is शेष् understood here? Observe द्विरहन्यध्वयनम्.

६२३ । कर्तृकर्मणेः कृति । २ । ३ । ६५ ॥

कृद्योगे कर्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी स्यात् । कृष्णस्य कृतिः । जगतः कर्ता कृष्णः ॥ युद्धकर्मणि वेद्यते * ॥ नेताऽध्वस्य सुन्नस्य सुन्नं वा । कृति किम् । तद्धिते ना भूत् । कृतपूर्वी कटम् ॥

623. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a kṛit affix (III. 1. 93), the anuvritti of शेष् ceases.

As कृष्णस्य कृतिः "the doing of Kṛishṇa."

जगतः कर्ताकृष्णः "Kṛishṇa is the creator of the world,"

But not in शस्त्रेणभेत्ता 'cutting with weapon.' Where it is neither agent nor object.

Ishti:—According to Patanjali, the employment of the sixth case is optional when the word is an Indirect object (of a verb that takes two objects), as नेता अद्वस्य सुन्नस्य सुन्नं वा ।

Why do we say 'kṛit'? Not so when a Taddhita-affix is employed as कृतपूर्विकटं. In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

Note:—Why do we say कृत्? Because the agent or the object will take the affix of the sixth case only in connection with kṛit, while in connection with a conjugated verb (तिङ्) the sixth case is debarred by II. 3. 69. S. 627; Observe कृतपूर्वी कटं ।

Here the object कदं is not put in the sixth case, though it is not governed by a conjugated verb but by a Taddhita.

६२४। उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि । २ । ३ ।। ६६ ॥

उभयोः प्राप्तीर्थस्मिन्कृति तच्च कर्मण्येव षष्ठी स्यात् । आश्वर्य्यो गवां शोहोऽगोपेन ॥
स्त्रीप्रत्यययोरकारयोर्नायं नियमः ॥

भेदिका विभित्ता वा रुद्रस्य जगतः ॥ शेषे विभाषा * ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्यय इत्येके । विचित्रा जगतः कृतिर्हरिणा वा । केचिद्विशेषेण विभाषामिच्छन्ति । शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्य्येणाचार्य्यस्य वा ॥

624. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by a kṛit-affix, are both used in a sentence, and the sixth case can be employed after EITHER, then the sixth case-affix is employed in the object only, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

Note :—“ When a primary noun is accompanied at the same time by both its agent and its object, generally only the object is put in the genitive, the agent being denoted by the Instrumental. As आश्वर्य्यो गवां शोहोऽगोपालकेन wonderful is the milking of the cows, by one who is not a cow herd.” (Keil horn).

आश्वर्य्यो गवांशोहोऽगोपेन ‘the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.’

Vart :—‘ When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, and the restriction of the present sūtra regarding object does not apply when the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender ending in भक् or झ (III. 3. 111. and III. 3. 102. भेदिका विभित्ता वा रुद्रस्य जगतः “The destruction or the desire of destroying the universe by Rudra.” Here in भेदिका we have भक्, and in विभित्ता we have झ.

Vārtika :—There is option in the remaining affixes. According to some when affixes are feminine other than भक् or झ as, विचित्रा जगतः कृतिर्हरिणा वा ‘the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.’ Some hold the option of this vārtika as unrestricted by any such condition ; as शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्य्येण आचार्य्यस्य वा “the dissertation on words by the āchārya.” Here anuśāsanam is neuter, and not feminine.

६२५। कस्य च वर्तमाने । २ । ३ । ६७ ॥

वर्तमानार्थस्य कस्य योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । न लोकेति निषेधस्याऽपवादः । राज्ञां नतो बुद्धः पूजितो

625. The past participle ending in क् when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

This sūtra debars sūtra 627 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishthā affixes. This is an exception to that sūtra.

As राज्ञां पूजितः 'honored by kings,' So also राज्ञामनो बुद्धोवा ॥

६२६ । अधिकरणवाचिनश्च । २ । ३ । ६८ ॥

कस्य योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । इदमेषामासितं शयितं गतं भुक्तं वा ॥

626. The past participle in क् is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishthā contained in II. 3. 69. S. 627. As इदमेषामासितम् 'this is their seat.' इदेषां शयितं गतं भुक्तं वा 'this is their sleeping.'

६२७ । न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृणाम् । २ । ३ । ६९ ॥

एषां प्रयोगे षष्ठी न स्यात् । लोदेशाः । कुर्वन् कुर्वाणो वा सृष्टि हरिः । उः । हरिं विदुः । अनेकरि-
ण्युर्वा । उक् । इत्यान् घातुको हरिः ॥ कमेरानिवेधः * ॥ लक्ष्म्याः काष्ठको हरिः । अव्ययम् । अगतं सृष्ट्वा ।
भुखं कर्तुम् । निष्ठा । विष्णुना हता दैत्याः । दैत्यान् हतवान् विष्णुः । खलर्थाः । ईषत्करः प्रपञ्चो हरिया ।
हृन्निति प्रस्थाहारः शत्रुशानच्चाविति तुमश्शारभ्यातृनो नकारात् । शानन् । सोमं पवमानः । शानश्च । भा-
स्मानं मण्डयमानः । शतृ । वेदमधीयन् । तृन् । कर्ता लोकान् ॥ द्विषः शत्रुर्वा* ॥ भुरस्य भुरं वा द्विषन् ॥ सर्वोऽ-
थ कारकषष्ठ्याः प्रतिवेधः ॥ षष्ठे षष्ठी तु स्यादेव । ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् । नरकस्य जिष्णुः ॥

627. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle which is the substitute of ल, or when the word is formed by the affix उ, or उक्, or governed by an Indeclinable, or by a past Participle in क् and क्वत्, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल् or by a noun of agency formed by तृन् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sūtra debars Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word लोक is formed by ल + उ + उक् = ल + ऊक् = लोक.

1. The word ल means the substitutes of ल i. e., the Present Participles in शतृ, शानच् (III. 2. 124 S. 3100), कानच् (III. 2. 106 S. 3094) क्वत् (III. 2. 107

S. 3095) कि and किन् (III. 2. 172 S. 3151). Thus कुर्वन् or कुर्वाणो वा सृष्टिं हरिः ॥ भोक्षन् पचन्. पचमानः, पेचानः or पेचिवान्, पयिः सोमम्, हरिर्गाः ॥

2. The affix ड is enjoined by III. 2. 168 S. 3148, as, हरिं दिदृक्षुः "desires of seeing Hari." The prohibition applies when a word ending in इष्णुच् (III. 2. 136) is the governing term ; as, कन्यामलंकरिष्णुः ॥

3. The affix ण्क is ordained by (III. 2. 154: S. 3134 as दैत्यान् घातुको हरिः ॥

Vart:—But there is no prohibition in the case of the word कायुक in secular Sanskrit, which governs the Genitive, as लक्ष्म्याः कायुको हरिः ।

4. Indeclinables formed by कृन् affixes, as, जगत् सृष्ट्वा सुखं कर्तुम् ॥

Vart:—This prohibition, however, does not apply, to the indeclinables formed by तोषुन् (III. 4. 16 S. 3443) and कषुन् (III. 4. 17 S. 3444,) as पुरा सूर्यस्योदेतोराधेयः, पुरा क्रूरस्य विष्णो विरिषिन् (I. 1. 40.)

5. Nishṭhā i. e., क्त and क्तवद् ; as विष्णुना हता दैत्याः । दैत्यान् हतवान् विष्णुः ॥

6. The words formed by खलर्थ affixes (III. 3. 126. S. 3305), as, ईषत्करो प्रपञ्चो हरिणा, ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता.

7. The तृन् in the aphorism is a pratyāhāra, formed by taking the तृ of शत् (III. 2. 124 S. 3100) and the final न of तन् (III. 2. 135 S. 3115), meaning the affixes क्षानन् (III. 2. 128 S. 3108) As सोमं पवमानः॥ चानवा (III. 2. 129 S. 3109) आत्मानं मण्डयमानः॥ शत् (III. 2. 130 S. 3110), अधीयन् and तृन् (III. 2. 135 S. 3115). कर्ता लोकान् ॥

Vart:—Optionally so, when the root द्विप् takes the affix शत्, as, दुरं or दुरस्य द्विप् ॥ The rule of this sūtra is a prohibition of kāraka Shashṭhī and not of Shesha Shashṭhī. That sixth-case affix will be employed. As ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन्, नरकस्य जिष्णुः ॥

६२८ । अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्णयोः । २ । ३ । ६० ॥

भविष्यत्यकस्य भविष्यदाधमर्णयोर्येनञ् योगे षष्ठी न स्यात् । सतः पालकोऽवतराती । ब्रजं गामी । शतं शयी ॥

628. The sixth case affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in अक denoting futurity, or in इन् denoting 'futurity' and 'indebtedness.'

The affix अक, such as ण्बुल, बुझ् &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix इन् such as णिनि (III. 3. 3 and 170. S. 3171, S. 3311), denotes both. Thus सतः पालकोऽवतराती "He takes birth to protect the good." भोक्षन् भोजको ब्रजति 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with इन्, as, ब्रजं गामी 'he has to go to Braja.' शतं शयी 'he owes hundred.'

६२६ । कृत्यनां कर्तरि वा । २ । ३ । ७१ ॥

षष्ठी वा स्यात् । मया मम वा सेव्यो हरिः । कर्तरीति किम् । गेयो मानवकः साम्नाम् । भव्यगेयेति कर्तरि याद्विधानादनभिहितं कर्म । अत्र योगो विभज्यते ॥

629. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (kṛitya).

By II. 3. 65, S. 623 primary nouns, (kṛit-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sūtra declares an option as to agents only, in the case of those primary nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus मया मम वा सेव्यो हरिः.

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent?' In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory. As गेयो मानवकः साम्नाम् ॥

Here by III. 4. 68 S. 2894, the kṛitya word गेयः can denote the agent also, and is not necessarily confined to the object, like other kṛitya formed words (III. 4. 70 S. 2833). Hence the compulsory genitive. Of course, the objective may also be used, as गेयानि मानवकेन सामानि ॥

Vart:—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus कृष्टव्या भानं शाखा देवदत्तेन, नेतव्या व्रजं गावः कृष्णेन.

According to Patanjali the present sūtra should be divided into two rules, by the method of Yoga vibhāga. As.

६२६ क ॥ कृत्यानाम् ॥

उभयप्राप्ताविति नति चानुवर्तते । तेन नेतव्या व्रजः गावः कृष्णेन । ततः

629 A. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the kṛitya affix are both used in a sentence and it is possible to employ the Genitive case after either of them, then the sixth case-affix is not used after the object.

Here the words उभयप्राप्तौ of II. 3. 66 S. 624 and न of II. 3. 69 S. 627 must be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The meaning of the aphorism therefore is as given above.

As नेतव्या व्रजं गावः कृष्णेन ॥ Here we cannot employ the sixth case-affix, after the word व्रजं ॥

६२९ ख ॥ कर्तरि वा ॥

उक्तार्थः ॥

629 B. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the *kṛitya* affix are both used in a sentence, then the sixth case-affix may optionally be used in denoting the agent.

As गेयः माणवकः साम्नाम् ॥

Patanjali :—Why have we used the word “kartari” in the sūtra? So that the affix may not come in the object. No, this cannot be the reason: for the *kṛitya*-affixes are employed in denoting *bhāva* Impersonal action and *karma* (Passive Voice) only, and never *kaṭā* (agent). (See. III. 4. 70 S. 2833). Thus being governed by the *kṛitya*, the object of the Passive Participle will never take the Genitive affix, but will take the first case-affix. To this Kātyāyana gives the following answer :—

Ārtika :—The word “Kartari” is used in the sūtra, because the *kṛitya* words of the sūtra III. 4. 68 S. 2894 (*viz.*, भव्य, गेय &c.) express agent also (are used in Active construction); and their object being not expressly taught, those *kṛitya* words do not govern any object directly. As गेयो माणवकः साम्नाम् ।

The object of the Passive Participles भव्य &c., not being taught, the “agent” of the *kṛitya* words is taken here.

How do you say “the object of the Participles *bhavya* &c., is not taught by the *kṛitya* affixes,” for do we not find them also governing an object, as in the following example? भाकटव्या मानं शाखा. The verb कृष्ट governs two objects, the Principal object is put in the accusative after the Participle. So it is necessary to use the word *kartari* in the sūtra.

If this be so, we shall divide the sūtra into two. First कृत्यानां and then कर्तरि च as given above.

६३० । तुल्यार्थैरनुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ७२ ॥

तुल्यार्थैर्योगे तृतीया वा स्यात्पक्षे षष्ठी । तुल्यः सदृशः समो वा कृष्णस्य कृष्णन वा । अनुलोपमाभ्यां क्रिय । तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

630. The third or the sixth case affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning ‘like to, or resemblance’; excepting तुला and उपमा

Thus तुल्योः सदृशः समो वा कृष्णस्य or कृष्णेन. Why do we say “excepting तुला and उपमा.” Here the Genitive must necessarily be employed. Observe तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

Note:—Though the anavṛitti of वा was understood in this sūtra from the previous sūtra, yet the repetition of अन्यतरस्याम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याम् into that sūtra; but had the word अन्यतरस्याम् not been used in this sūtra, then the word च would have attracted the word वृत्तिश्च instead, which is not desired.

६३१ । चतुर्थी चाशिष्यायुष्यमद्रमद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः । २ । ३ । ७३ ॥

एतदर्थेयेणे चतुर्थी वा स्वात्पक्षे षष्ठी आशिषि । आयुष्ये चिरंजीवितं कृष्णाय कृष्णस्य वा भूयात् । एवं मद्रं मद्रं कुशलं निरामयं सुखं चो अर्थः प्रयोजनं हितं पश्यं वा भूयात् । आशिषि किम् । देवदत्तस्यायुष्यमस्ति । व्याख्यानार्थवचनार्थमहमम् । मद्रमद्रयोः पर्यायत्वादित्यतरो न षष्ठीयः ॥

631. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words āyusha 'long life,' madra 'joy,' bhadra 'good fortune,' kuśala 'welfare,' sukha 'happiness,' artha 'prosperity,' and hita 'good.'

The च in the sūtra makes the employment of Dative optional : in the alternative we have Genitive.

Vart:—In the sūtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्यं चिरंजीवितं कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य ॥ Similarly मद्रं, भद्रं, कुशलं, निरामयं, सुखं, चो, अर्थो, प्रयोजनं, हितं पश्यं कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य भूयात् ॥

Why do we say when 'benediction is intended'? Observe आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य तपः 'the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.' Here there is no option allowed; and the Genitive case is only employed.



६३२ । आधारोऽधिकरणम् । १ । ४ । ४५ ॥

कार्त्तृकर्मद्वारा तन्निष्ठक्रियाया आधारः कारकमधिकरणसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

632. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed, by reason of the agent or the object being in that place, is called Adhikaraṇa or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called ādhāra. As कटे आस्ते 'he is seated on the mat.' कटे शेते 'he is sleeping on the mat.' स्यात्कटं पचति 'he cooks in the pot.' The Adhikaraṇa takes the 7th case-affix.

६३३। सप्तम्यधिकरणे च । २ । ३ । ३६ ॥

अधिकरणे सप्तमी स्वात् । चकराद्दुरान्तिकार्येभ्यः । औपश्लेषिको वैषयिकोऽभिव्यापकश्चेत्याधार
स्त्रिधा । कटे भास्ते । स्थात्यां पचति । मोक्षे इच्छाऽस्ति । सर्वस्मिन्नात्मास्ति । वनस्य दूरे अन्तिके वा ॥ दूरा-
न्तिकार्येभ्य इति विभक्तित्रयेण सह चतस्रोऽत्रविभक्तयः फलितः ॥

क्तस्येन्विषयस्य कर्मण्युपसङ्गनम् * ॥ अधीति व्याकरणे । अधीतमनेनेति विग्रहे इष्टादिभ्यश्चेति
कर्तरीनिः ॥

साधुसाधुप्रयोगे च * ॥ साधु कृष्णो मातरि । असाधुर्मातुले ॥

निमित्तात्कर्मयोगे * ॥ निमित्तमिह फलम् । योगः संयोगसमवायात्मकः ॥

अर्मणि द्वीपिनं हन्ति स्तयोर्हन्ति कुञ्जरम् ।

केशेषु चर्चरी हस्ति रीमि पुष्कलको हतः ॥ १ ॥

हेतौ तृतीयाऽच प्राप्ता तन्निवारणार्थमिदम् । सीमाऽण्डकोशः । पुष्कलको गन्धदृशः ।

योगविशेषे किम् । वेतनेन धान्यं स्तुनाति ॥

633. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location, as well as after the word meaning 'distant' or 'near.'

The location is of three sorts :—

1. Location of contact.
2. Location of object.
3. Location of pervasion.

As कट् भास्ते 'he sits on the mat' स्थात्यां पचति 'he cooks in the pot.' मोक्षे इच्छाऽस्ति. "He desires Liberation." सर्वस्मिन्नात्मास्ति. अन्तिके दूरे वा वनस्य 'near or distant from the forest.' Thus the words दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely, the second, third, fifth and seventh. See II. 3. 35 S. 605.

Vart:—Words formed by adding इन् to the past participle in क्त, govern the locative of that which forms their object :—as अधीती व्याकरणे 'versed in grammar.' It should be analysed as अधीतमनेन, and then is added इनि by See V. 2. 88 S. 1888.

Var:—The words साधु and असाधु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown ; as साधुः कृष्णो मातरि 'Krishna is well behaved towards his mother.' असाधुर्मातुले 'ill-behaved towards his uncle.'

Vart:—The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done. The nimitta here means "fruit" ; yoga means samyoga and samavāya. As in the above verse :—

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, the chamari cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.'

Here the third case-affix would have, otherwise, come in denoting "hetu". The present vārtika prevents that. The word सीमा in the above verse means "testicle." The word पुष्कलकः means musk-deer. According to Padamanjari pushkalaka means "a spear or dart." सीम्नि पुष्कलकोदतः "a bolt or dart fixed in the ground, for the sake of demarcation or fixing the boundary."

Why do we say in this vārtika "purpose for which anything is done"? Observe वेतनं धान्यं लुनाति "by wages he cuts the paddy."

६३४ । यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् । २ । ३ । ३७ ॥

यस्य क्रियाया क्रियान्तरं लक्ष्यते ततः सप्तमी स्यात् । गोषु दुह्यमानासु गतः ॥
अर्हाणां कर्तृत्वेऽनर्हाणामकर्तृत्वे तद्वेपरीत्ये च * ॥ सखु तरखु असन्त आसते । असखु तिष्ठखु
सन्तस्तरन्ति । सखु तिष्ठखु असन्तस्तरन्ति । असखु तरखु सन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति ॥

634. By the action (bhāva) of what-so-ever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix.

This is Locative Absolute. गोषु दुह्यमानासु गतः 'the cows being milked, he went away' दुग्धास्वागतः 'and returned when they were milked' अग्निषु ह्यमानेषु गतः, हुतेष्वागतः.

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe यो जटाभिः स भुक्ते. Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness यो भुक्ते स वेवदन्तः.

Vārtika:—In denoting the proper action of a person competent to perform it, in the same sentence with the non-performance of the same action by the person not competent to do it, or in the non-doing of the action by the person not competent to do it, in the same sentence with the performance of the action by the person competent to do it, the first part of the sentence is put in the Locative case and *vice versa*, when incompatibility of an action is denoted. As सखु तरखु असन्त आसते "The good crossing over, the bad remain sitting." &c.

६३५ । षष्ठी चानादरे । २ । ३ । ३८ ॥

अनादराधिक्ये भावलक्षणे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तः । रुदति रुदते वा प्रात्राजीत् । रुदन्तं पुत्रादिकमना-
दृत्य संन्यस्तवानित्यर्थः ॥

635. The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after

that by whose action the time of another action is indicated.

This is Genitive Absolute. रुदतः रुदति वा प्राज्ञाजीव 'in spite of his weeping, he went away.' The force of this genitive is that of the English words 'not-with-standing' 'in spite of' 'for all, that' &c., रुदन्त पुत्रादिकमनादृश्य संन्यस्तवान् "disregarding the weeping sons and the rest, he became a San-yāsi."

६३६ । स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च । २ । ३ । ३६ ॥

इति: सप्तमियोगे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तः । षष्ठ्यामेव प्राप्तायां पाक्षिकसप्तम्यर्थे वचनम् । गवां गोषु वा स्वामी । गवां गोषु वा प्रसूतः । गा एवावुभवितुं जात इत्यर्थः ॥

636. The sixth and the seventh case affixes are used after words when they are joined with svāmin 'master,' īśvar 'lord', adhipati 'ruler,' dāyāda 'an heir,' śākhshin 'witness,' pratibhū 'a surety' and prasūta 'begotten.'

Thus गवां गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वर 'master of cows.' So also गवां गोषु वा प्रसूतः "born for the cows i. e. to help the cows."

Note:—These words naturally would have governed the Genitive; the present sūtra ordains Locative as well.

६३७ । आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् । २ । ३ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां योगे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तस्तात्पर्येऽर्थे । आयुक्तो व्यापारितः । आयुक्तः कुशलो वा हरिपूजने हरिपूजनस्य वा ॥ आसेवायां किम् । आयुक्तो गोः शकटे । ईषयुक्त इत्यर्थः ॥

637. In conjunction with the words āyukta 'engaged,' and kuśala 'skillful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

As आयुक्तः कुशलो वा हरिपूजने हरिपूजनस्य वा 'deeply absorbed in worship of Hari.'

Why do we say 'deeply absorbed'? For when not meaning 'deeply absorbed,' the construction is different. Observe आयुक्तो गोः शकटे 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart.' Here the seventh case-affix only is employed.

६३८ । यतश्च निर्धारणम् । २ । ३ । ४१ ॥

आतिशयप्रक्रियासंज्ञानि-सदृशप्रादिकरेणस्य पृथक्करणं निर्धारणं यतस्तत षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तः । गुणां

वृषु वा ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः । गवां गोषु वा कृष्ण बहुक्षीरः । गच्छतां गच्छत्सु वा धावः शीघ्रः । छात्राणां छात्रेषु वा मैत्रः पटुः ॥

638. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class.)

A nirdhārana or specification is made by separating one from the many or a part from the whole, by reason of its genus, quality or action (II. 2. 10.)

As नृषां वृषु वा ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः : "The Spiritual man is the best among men or of men."

As गवां गोषु वा कृष्ण बहुक्षीरः 'among cows the black one gives much milk.' गच्छतां गच्छत्सु वा धावः शीघ्रः "Of walkers, the runner is the fastest." छात्राणां छात्रेषु वा मैत्रः पटुः "Among the pupils Maitra is most skillful."

६३९ । पञ्चमी विभक्ते । २ । ३ । ४२ ॥

विभागो विभक्तम् । निर्धारमाणस्य तत्र भेद एव तत्र पञ्चमी स्यात् । माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकंभ्य आरब्धतराः ॥

639. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकंभ्य आरब्धतराः 'Mathuras are more rich than Pataliputra.'

६४० । साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः । २ । ३ । ४३ ॥

आभ्यां योगे सत्पत्नी स्यादर्चायां न तु प्रतेः प्रयोगे । नातरि साधुनिपुणो वा । अर्चायां किम् । निपुणो राज्ञो भृत्यः । इह तत्त्वकथने सात्वत्यम् । अयस्यादिभिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ साधुनिपुणो वा नातरं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा ॥

640. In conjunction with the words sādhu 'good,' and nipuna 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case affix is employed ; provided that the word prati is not used.

Thus, नातरि साधुः or निपुणः 'good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted'? Observe, साधुर्हत्वीरस्यः 'the servant is good towards the king.' Here it is a bare statement of a fact.

Vāriika :—The exception applies not only to प्रति, but to other prepositions, like परि, अन्तु &c., as साधुर्निपुणो वा नातरं प्रति पर्यन्तु वा ॥

६४१ । प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च । २ । ३ । ४४ ॥

आभ्यां योगे तृतीया स्याच्चात्सप्तमी । प्रसित उत्सुको वा हरिणा हरो वा ॥

641. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

We read the anuvritti of सप्तमी by force of the word च "and" in the sūtra.

As प्रसति उत्सको हरिणा हरोवा.

६४२ । नक्षत्रे च लुपि । २ । ३ । ४५ ॥

नक्षत्रे प्रकृत्यर्थे यो लुप्तंज्ञया लुप्यमानस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थस्तत्र वर्तमानाचूतीयासप्तम्यौ स्तोऽधिकरणे । मूलेनावहयेदेवीं श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत् । मूले श्रवणे इति वा । लुपि किम् । पुष्ये शनिः ॥

642. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Thus 'मूलेनावहयेदेवीं श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत्' or else मूले or श्रवणे.

Note:—पुष्येण पुष्ये वा पायसमश्नीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk.' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV. 2. 5. So also मघाभिः पललोद्गन् मघास्तु पललोद्गमः. But not so here पंचालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchāla.' Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe पुष्ये शनिः Here there is no elision.

But why not in भयपुष्यः, अद्यकृत्तिका. Because they do not denote location, which is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words, that we may use the third case-affix in the alternative.

६४३ । सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये । २ । ३ । ७ ॥

शक्तिद्वयमध्ये यौ कालाध्वानौ ताभ्यामने स्तः । भय सुक्त्वाऽयं ह्यहे ह्यहाहा भोक्ता ॥ कर्तृ-शक्तयोर्मध्येऽयं कालः । इहस्थोऽयं क्रोशे क्रोशाद्वा लक्ष्यं विध्येत् । कर्तृकर्मशक्तयोर्मध्येऽयं देशः ॥ अधिक-शब्देन योगे सप्तमीपञ्चम्याविध्येते । तदस्मिन्नाधिकामीति यस्मादधिकमिति च सूचनिर्देशात् । लोके लोका-द्वाधिका इति ॥

643. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and ano-

ther action (or implies an interval of time and space between to kârakas.)

Thus अद्य भुङ्क्तायं द्यौः or द्यौःशब्दाभोक्ता 'having dined today, he will dine in or after two days.' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. So also इहस्थोऽयं क्रोशात् क्रोशेवा लक्ष्यं विध्यत् 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos.' Here kos or space is the interval between the agent and the object, or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location. The rule I. 3. 10 does not apply here.

Ishti:—According to Patanjali, the word अधिक governs the fifth and the seventh case-affixes. This is inferred from the Jñâpaka of sûtras V. 2. 45 S. 1846, and II, 3. 9. S. 645 where Pāṇini uses the forms अस्मिन्नाधिकं and यस्मादधिकं ॥ Thus लोके लोकाद्वा अधिको हरिः ॥

६४४ । अधिरीश्वरे । १ । ४ । ६७ ॥

स्वस्वामिभावसंबन्धेऽधिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

644. The word adhi is karmapravachaniya when used in the sense of 'lord' ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord").

Note:—The word ईश्वर means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master. The word adhi governs a Locative case. Sometime locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अधि ब्रह्मवत्ते पंचालाः or अधि पंचालेषु ब्रह्मवत्तः. Brahmadatta rules over Panchâlas.

६४५ । यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी । २ । ३ । ६ ॥

अत्र कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते सप्तमी स्यात् । उपपराधे हरेशुणाः । परार्धादधिका इत्यर्थः । ऐश्वर्ये तु स्वस्वामिभ्यां पर्यायेण सप्तमी । अधिसुवि रामः । अधिरामे भूः । सप्तमी शौण्डैरिति समासपक्षे तु रामाधीना । अपदक्षेत्यादिना खः ॥

645. Where a word is governed by a karmapravachaniya in the sense of 'more than' (I. 4. 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4. 97) there the seventh case-affix (locative) is employed.

As उपपराधे हरेशुणाः 'the qualities of Hari are more than billions.'

In denoting 'lordship,' the seventh case-affix is used either after the word denoting the thing possessed or after the possessor, indifferently. As अधि सुवि रामः or अधि रामेभूः "Râma is lord of the world." By II. 1. 40 S. 717 there may be compounding also, as रामाधीना ॥ Here the affix ईन (technically ख) is added to the stem अधि by V. 4. 7. S. 2079.

इ४६ । विभाषा कृञि । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अधिः करोती प्राक्पञ्चो वा स्वादीश्वरेऽर्थे । यच्च मामधिकरिष्यति । विनिबोध्यत इत्यर्थः । इह विनिबोक्तुरीश्वरत्व गम्यते । अगतिव्याप्तिश्चि चोदात्तवतीति निषातो न ॥

946. The word adhi is optionally karmapravachaniya when the verb kri follows.

As यच्च मामधि करिष्यति. Here adhikarishyati means "directs, controls &c." Here the word अधि may be treated either as a गति or a कर्मप्रवचनीय. When it is a गति the accent will be regulated by VIII. 1. 71. S. 3978. otherwise not.

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अथाव्ययीभावसमास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVII.

THE AVYAYĪ BHĀVA COMPOUNDS.

SECTION I.

ANOMALOUS COMPOUNDS.

६४७। समर्थः पदविधिः । २ । १ । १ ॥

पदसंबन्धी यो विधिः स समर्थाश्रितो बोध्यः ॥

647. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixes out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected.

Note.—This is a paribhāṣhā or interpreting aphorism. Wherever in this Grammar a पदविधि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words. A rule relating to पद or complete words is called पदविधि ॥ The word विधि is formed by adding वि to the root धाञ्; that which is ordained (विधीयते) is called विधि ॥ What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to समास or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to विभक्ति or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (पराङ्मवद् भावः) ॥

The word समर्थ means capable; and is of two sorts vyapekṣhā and ekarthī bhāva. When a single word is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence, on analysis, it is called ekarthībhāva Sāmartyam; while that which depends upon the words of a sentence as connected in sense, is called vyapekṣha sāmartyam.—Thus राजपुरुषः a single compound word is an example of the first; while राज्ञः पुरुषः of the second. In this second case राज्ञः may be connected with other words also, as राज्ञःपुरुषोऽश्वश्च “The king's man and horse”. But not so in the first case, there you cannot add any other word with राज ॥

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 24 ‘a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words श्रित, भर्ता &c. and forms tatpurusha compound;’ as, कष्टं श्रितः=कष्टश्रितः ‘who has had recourse to pain.’ But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense, there can be no

compounding; as, पश्य देवदत्त कष्टं, भित्तो विष्णुमित्रो गुरुकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कष्टं and भित्तं though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ ॥

Why have we used the word पद 'a complete word' in the sūtra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि i. e. rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधि: and therefore, the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply there. Two words, however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyāhāra इक् there is one denoted by the pratyāhāra यण, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyāhāra अच् immediately follows;' as, दधि + भक्षण = दध्यक्षान ॥ This substitution of य for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as तिष्ठतु दध्यक्षान एवं शाकैर्न 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छन्नं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छन्न, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI. 1. 76).

६४८ । प्राक्कारात्समासः । २ । १ । ३ ॥

कङ्कारः कर्मधारय इत्यतः प्राक्समास इत्यधिक्रियते ॥

648. From this point up to the aphorism kada-rākarmadhāraye (II. 2. 38 S. 751), all the terms that we shall describe will get the designation of samāsa or compound.

Thus it will be stated. 'The indeclinable word यथा when not meaning like unto.' Here the word समास must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense.

६४९ । सह सुपा । २ । १ । ४ ॥

सह इति योगो विभज्यते । सुबन्त समर्थेन सह समस्यते । योगविभागस्येष्टातिष्ठार्थस्वाक्कति-पयतिङ्स्तोचरपक्षेऽयं समासः । सच छन्दस्येव । पर्यभूषयत् । भगव्यचलत् ॥

649. The words 'saha supā' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word सुप् is understood from sūtra 2, so that it consists of three words viz., सुप्, सह, सुपा ॥ All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each sūtra may require,

This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sūtras that follow.

Why have we used the word सह? Well, without it, the sūtra would have stood thus: सुप् सुपा 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word सह is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sūtra into two separate and simple sūtras, namely :—

649 A. सह, (सुप्, समस्यते समर्थेन) 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word सह with the help of the three words सुप् taken from sūtra 2, समस्यते from sūtra 3, and समर्थेन from sūtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like अनुव्यचलन्, अनुश्रावर्षत, पर्यभूषत् ॥ The accent will depend upon these being considered as samāsa. This is, of course, confined to Chhandas literature. The words being samāsa, the udātta accent is on the final.

649 B. सुपा (सह सुप् समस्यते) "a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word." The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, पुनरुक्त्युतं वासो वेयं पुनर्निष्ठतो स्यः This also is for the sake of accent, as well as to give the designation of pratipadika to the words so formed. Because they are pratipadikas, they take case-inflections &c.

६५० । सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः । २ । ४ । ७१ ॥

एतयोरेवयवस्य सुपो लुक् स्यात् । भूतपूर्वे चरडिति निर्वेशाद्भूतशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातः पूर्व भूतो भूतपूर्वः ॥

इवेन समासो विभक्त्यलोपश्च ० ॥ जीभूतस्येव ॥

650. There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or of a crude form.

In the sūtra भूतपूर्वे चरड् (VI. 3. 53. S. 1999), the word भूतपूर्व is a compound, and it teaches us that such compounds can be formed, in which भूत stands as the first member. पूर्व भूतः=भूतपूर्वः and not पूर्वभूतः, though both nouns are in the nominative case; and there is no express sūtra of Pāṇini, which teaches which of them should stand first in a case like this. Naturally पूर्व being upasarjana would have stood first, but, the usage of Pāṇini is to the contrary.

Vartika :—There is no elision of the case-affix when a word enters into composition with इव 'like.'

Thus जीमूतस्येव ॥ This samāsa, like the previous, is of rare occurrence.

A noun is changed into a root (धातु) when it is made a denominative verb. As पुत्रीयति (III. 1. 8, S. 2657 "he wishes for a son of his own." A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (I. 2. 46 S. 179); as कष्टभितः 'having recourse to pain'. राजपुरुषः 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus पुत्रम् इच्छति = पुत्रीयति, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. कष्टभितः = कष्टभितः &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of धातु or प्रातिपदिक ? Because when it gets any other name, such as अङ्ग &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus वृक्षः, प्लक्षः ॥

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SECTION II.

AVYĀYĪBHĀVA.

६५१ । अव्ययीभावः । २ । १ । ५ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

651. From this forward, whatever we shall describe, will get the name of Avyayībhāva samāsa or adverbial compound.

Note :—This is also an adhikāra aphorism like the last.

६५२ । अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिवृद्ध्यर्थाभावात्ययासंप्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भा-
वपश्चाद्यञानुपूर्व्ययौगपद्यसादृश्यसंपत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु । २ । १ । ६ ॥

अव्ययमिति योगो विभज्यते । अव्ययं समर्थेन सह समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः ॥

652. An indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or 'of near to,' or 'prosperity,' or 'adversity,' or 'absence of the thing,' or 'departure,' or 'not now,' or 'the production of some sound,' or 'after,' or 'according to,' or 'order of arrangement,' or 'simultaneousness,' or 'likeness,' or 'possession' or 'totality,' or 'termination,' is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, which is connected with

it in sense, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayībhāva*,

The words *सुप्* and *सुपा* are understood in this *sūtra*. The words *वचन* should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases. The examples of this *sūtra* will be found under 658.

This *sūtra* should also be divided into two, namely, the word *अव्यय* should form a *sūtra* by itself.

652. A. अव्ययं ॥

An Indeclinable is compounded with any word with which it is connected in sense.

Thus the two words *अप* and *दिशम्* may be compounded, when meaning *दिशयोर्मध्ये* ॥ In compounding, the following rules should be borne in mind ; the actual compound is shown in *sūtra* 657.

६५३ । प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम् । १ । २ । ४३ ॥

समासशास्त्रे प्रथमानिर्दिष्टसुपसर्जनसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

653. In (this book, in the *sūtras* relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word.

Note :—This defines or rather describes the *Upasarjana*. In the *sūtras* referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called *Upasarjanam*.

Thus *sūtra* II. 1. 24 (द्वितीया धितानीत पतितगत्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नेः) is a *saṃāsa* *sūtra* enjoining composition. In this *sūtra* the word *द्वितीया* is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The *sūtra* means, "An accusative (द्वितीया) compounded with the words धित, धीते, पतित, गत, अत्यस्त, प्राप्त, and आपन्न and forms *Tat-purusha*." Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called *Upasarjana*. Thus कष्टं+धितः=कष्टधितः ॥ Here the word कष्टं being *Upasarjana*, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30 S. 654 उपसर्जनपूर्वम्, (In a compound the *Upasarjana* should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative *Tat-purusha*, the words standing in those cases will be *Upasarjana*. Thus शकुलाखण्डः, यूपशरः, वृकभयम्, राजपुरुषः, बाक्षशौण्डः ॥

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called प्रधान or principal.

६५४ । उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् । २ । २ । ३० ॥

समासे उपसर्जनं प्राक्प्रयाज्यम् ॥

654. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653) is to be placed first in a compound.

Note :—The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samāsa, must stand first.

६५५ । एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते । १ । २ । ४४ ॥

विग्रहे यन्मित्रतविभक्तिकं तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं स्यात् ननु तस्य पूर्वनिपातः ॥

655. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound.

Note :—A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called *eka-vibhakti*, i. e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samāsa i. e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix ; apūrva-nipāte, such a word will be an upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30 S. 654) which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions निः &c., when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. As निष्क्रान्तः + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बिः ॥ निष्क्रान्तं + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बिम्, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बिना ॥ निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बये. निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बौ

Similarly the word, निर्धारणसिः ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारी in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राजः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी ; राजः + कुमारीम् = राजकुमारीम् ; राजः + कुमार्या, = राजकुमार्या, राजः + कुमार्ये = राजकुमार्ये ॥

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ई of री would have been shortened into इ as in the previous example by I. 2. 48. S. 656.

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30 S. 654) can not stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as, कौशाम्बीनिः ॥

६५६ । गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य । १ । २ । ४८ ॥

उपसर्जनं यो गोशब्दः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तं च तदन्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात् । अव्ययीभावश्चेत्यव्ययत्वम् ॥

656. A short vowel is the substitute of that prâtipadika which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix ; when regarded as upasarjana.

The word upasarjana, has been defined in sūtra 654. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened, when it stands last and is an upasarjana.

Thus चित्र + गो = चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.' This is an example of a Bahuvrīhi or possessive compound. So also शबलगु 'a spotted cow.' Similarly in those prâtipadika upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः + कौशाम्बी = निष्कौशाम्बिः ॥ Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाणसिः ॥

Other examples are :—भति + खट्वा = भतिखट्वः 'without a bedstead' अतिनालः 'surpassing a necklace in beauty.'

If such a word is not an upasarjana, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राजन् is upasarjana, and not the word कुमारी, which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word *formed by the addition of an affix*, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore, we have अतिलक्ष्मीः 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty' अतिश्रीः ॥

६५७ । नाव्ययीभावादतोऽम् त्वपञ्चम्याः । २ । ४ । ८३ ॥

अव्ययीभाव्ययीभावात्तुपो न लुक् किन्तु तस्य पञ्चमी विना भवादेशः । विशयोर्मध्ये अपविशम् । स्त्रीविश्वयं त्वपविशं विशोर्मध्ये विद्विस्त्रयामित्यमरः ॥

657. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix after an Avyayībhāva compound that ends in आ; अम् is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the fifth case-affix.

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the sūtra II. 4. 82. instead of luk-elision, we have अम् added to the words

ending in short अ; as दिशयोर्मध्ये = अपदिशम् ॥ This is neuter and an Indeclinable. But when दिश् is consonant ending, then also we have the same form As दिशोर्मध्ये = अपदिश ॥ The word दिश being read in the शरसादि class, takes the samāsānta टच् ॥ Another synonym of अपदिश is विदिक् which is, however, feminine. It means "an intermediate quarter" See Amarakosha (Chat I. Vyoma Varga verse 5)

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ' ? Because after an Avyayibhāva compound, ending in any other vowel, there is not अम् substitution, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes ; as अधिहरि ॥

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Avyayibhāva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अम् substitution ; as उपकुम्भादानय ॥

६५८ । तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम् । २ । ४ । ८ ॥

अवन्ताद्व्ययीभावान्तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलमभावः स्यात् । अपदिशम् । अपदिशेन । अपदिशम् । अपदिशे । बहुलमहणास्त्रुमद्रुन्मत्तगङ्गमित्यादौ सप्तम्या नित्यमभावः ।

विभक्तित्वादिरेयमर्थः । विभक्त्यर्थानिषु वर्तमानमव्ययं सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः । विभक्तौ तावत् । हरौ इत्यधिहरि । सप्तम्यर्थस्येवात्र द्योतकोऽधिः । हरि ङि अधि इत्यलौकिकं विग्रहवाक्यम् । अत्र निपातेनाभिहिते ऽप्याधिकरणे वचनसामर्थ्यात्सप्तमी ॥

658. The change to अम् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayibhāva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely.

Thus Nominative and Accusative अपदिशम् ; Ins अपदिशान or अपदिशम्, Dat, Abl., and Gen. अपदिशम्, Loc. अपदिशे or अपदिशम् ॥

Vārt :—The अम् substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayibhāva compound denotes prosperity (II. 1. 6. S. 652) or a compound of rivers (II. 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II. 1. 19 S. 673) ; as सुमद्रम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras' ; सुमगधम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas' ; similarly उन्मत्तङ्गम् । लोहितगङ्गम् । एकाविंशतिभारद्वाजम् ॥ The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vārtika.

—:O:—

The meaning of sūtra II. 1. 6 S. 652 is now being given. "An Indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity &c. is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is Avyayibhāva."

(1) Thus विभक्तिवचन example is अधिहरि ॥ Here अधि has the force of the seventh case-affix. The analysis of this compound is हरि + ङि + अधि

This is the grammatical (alaukika) as opposed to syntactical analysis. Here though the location is expressed by a particle (adhi), yet there is seventh case by force of the sūtra. Because सुप् is understood and it is the rule that a सुबन्त can be compounded with a सुप् ॥ Some explain अधिहरि as हरो अधिकृत्य ॥

The compound अधिहरि is Neuter by the next sūtra.

६५६ । अव्ययीभावश्च । २ । ४ । १८ ॥

अयं नपुंसकं स्यात् ॥ हसो नपुंसके प्रतिपदिकस्य ॥ गोपायतीति गाः पातीति वा गोपाः । तस्मिन्नित्यधिगोपम् । समीपे । कृष्णस्य समीपमुपकृष्णम् । समया आमन्त्रे, निकषा लङ्काम् । आराहनादित्यत्र तु नाव्ययीभावः । अभितः परितः अन्यारादिति द्वितीयापञ्चम्योर्विधानसामर्थ्यात् । मन्त्राणां समृद्धिः सुमद्गम् । यवनानां व्युद्धिर्दुर्वचनम् । विगता ऋद्धिर्वृद्धिः । मक्षिकाणामभावो निर्मक्षिकम् । हिमस्यात्य-
योऽतिहिमम् । अत्यगो ध्वंसः । निद्राऽसंप्रति न युज्यत इत्यतिनिद्रम् । हरिशब्दस्य प्रकाश इतिहरि । विष्णोः पश्चादनुविष्णु । पश्चाच्छब्दस्य तु नायं समासः । ततः पश्चात्संस्थिते ध्वंस्ते इति भाष्यप्रयोगात् । योग्यतावीप्सापसर्यान्तवृत्तिसादृश्यानि यथार्थाः । अनु रूपम् । रूपस्य योग्यमित्यर्थः । अर्थमर्थं प्रति प्रत्ययम् । प्रतिशब्दस्य वीप्सायां कर्मप्रवचनयिसंज्ञाविधानसामर्थ्यात्तद्योगे द्वितीयागर्भे वाक्यमपि । शक्तिमन्तत्क्रिय यथाशक्ति । हरेः सादृश्यं सहरि । वक्ष्यमाणेन सहस्य सः । ज्येष्ठस्यानुपूर्व्येनेत्यनुज्येष्ठम् । चक्रेण युगापविति विग्रहे ॥

659. An Avyayībhāva compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, अधिहरि ॥

Note :—But for this rule, an Avyayībhāva compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound ; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already.

A crude-form is shortened by the rule S. 318 ; therefore, पा will be shortened to प when last member in a compound, as अधि + गोपा = अधिगोप which in Neuter becomes अधिगोपम् ॥ The word गोपा is derived either from गोपायति (सुप् 'to protect,') or from पा 'to protect' with the noun गो ; as गाः पाति = गोपा "protector of cows."

The word गोपा when derived from सुप् रच्णे is thus formed सुप् + आष् (III. i. 28 S. 2303) = गोपाय ॥ Now add to this root क्तिप्, thus गोपाय + क्तिप् = गोपा (the अ of य is dropped by VI. 4. 48 S. 2308 and the य is elided by VI. i. 66 S. 873) गोपा "protector." The second गोपा (गाः पाति) is an upapada compound.

Now we give examples of समीपवचन &c. of S. 652 :—

(2) समीपवचनं, as कृष्णस्य समीपं = उपकृष्यम्, 'near to Krishna.' But in समयामामम्, निकषा लङ्गाम्, आराद् वनात् there is no avyayibhāva. Because by the vārtika अभितः परितः &c. (S. 544) the words समया and निकषा govern Accusative case. If there were compounding, there would have been no necessity of that vārtika. Similarly by sūtra अन्धारात् &c. S. 595, आरात् governs the Fifth case, and therefore would give rise to no compounding.

3. सद्यस्त्रिवचनं;—As सुमद्रे 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगधं 'well with the Magadhas.'

4. व्युद्धिवचनं;—As दुर्गवादिकं 'ill with the Gavadikas'; दुर्वचनं 'ill with the Yavanas.' The word vyridhi means विगता काङ्क्षि "want of prosperity, adversity."

5. अभाववचनं;—As निर्मक्षिकम् 'free from flies'; निर्मशकम् 'free from mosquitoes.'

6. अत्ययवचनं;—As निर्हिमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather'; or अतिहिमम् ॥ Atyaya means "destruction, departure."

7. असम्प्रतिवचनं;—As अतितैस्मृक् 'past (not now) the time of wearing quilts,' so also अतिनिद्रम् "Past the time of sleeping," i. e. time to awake.

8. शास्त्रादुद्भाववचनं;—As इति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवगृहे इतिहरि वर्तते 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').

9. पश्चाद्वचनं;—As विष्णोः पश्चात् = अनुविष्णु "after Vishṇu." The word पश्चात् however itself cannot be so compounded; as Patanjali uses it separately in ततः पश्चात् संस्यते see Mahābhāṣya on I. 1. 57 S. 50 and II. 2. 24.

10. यथार्थवचनं;—The meaning of the word यथा is four-fold, viz., correspondence, 2. severalty or succession, 3. the not passing beyond something, 4. and likeness; thus (1) अनुरूपम् 'in a corresponding, or becoming or suitable manner.' (2) प्रत्येकम् 'according to each or several object of signification.' The word प्रति is a karmapravachanīya also when it denotes severalty, and so there will be no compounding but a sentence optionally having an accusative case, (3) यथाशक्ति 'according, to one's ability.' (4) सहृ 'like Hari.' Here सह is changed to स, See also example 13 further on.

11. आनुपूर्व्यवचनं;—As अनुव्येष्टं प्रविशन्तु भवन्तः 'let your honors enter in the order of seniority.'

12. यौगपदवचनं;—As सचक्रं धेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel'

Here सचक्रं is formed from चक्रेण युगपत् or सहचक्रेण ॥ At this stage applies the next sūtra, by which सह which has the meaning of युगपत् is changed to स ॥

६६० । अग्न्ययीभावे चाकाले । ६ । ३ । ८१ ॥

सहस्य सः स्यादग्न्ययीभावे न तु काले । सचक्रम् । काले तु सहपूर्वाङ्गम् । सदृशः सखया ससाखि । यथार्थत्वेनैव सिद्धे पुनः सादृश्यमहणं गुणभूतेऽपि सादृश्ये यथा स्यादित्येवमर्थम् । अत्राणां संपत्तिः सक्षत्रम् । ऋद्धेराधिक्यं ससृद्धिः । अनुकूप आत्मभावः संपत्तिरिति भेदः । नृणमप्यपरित्यज्य सतृणमस्ति । साकल्येनेत्यर्थः । नस्वच्च नृणमक्षणे तात्पर्यम् । अन्ते । अग्निमन्यपर्यन्तमधीते साम्नि ॥

660. स is the substitute of सह, in an Avyayībhāva, when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सचक्रं, but सहपूर्वाङ्गम् when the second member is a time denoting word (II. 1. 5).

13. सादृश्यवचनः;—As ससाखि 'like a friend.' Though this could have been formed by example 10, as सहसि, the repetition of सादृश्य is for the sake of indicating that compounding will take place where sādriśhya is secondary even.

14. संपत्तिवचनः;—As सक्षत्रम् 'as warriors ought.' The difference between ससृद्धि and सम्पत्ति is this, that the former means "abundance of prosperity," the latter "acting according to one's nature, or befitting one's self."

15. साकल्यवचनः;—As सतृणम् 'even to the grass' i. e. the whole, not leaving even a scrap, as in the sentence सतृणमस्ति 'He eats up every thing, even the straw.' The sense is not that he eats the straw, but that he eats everything.

16. अन्तवचनः;—As साम्नि 'he studies as far as the chapter of fire' (i. e. the whole Veda).

६६१ । यथाऽसादृश्ये । २ । १ । ७ ॥

असादृश्ये एव यथाशब्दः समस्यते । तेनेह न । यथा हरिस्तथा हरः । हरैरुपमानत्वं यथाशब्दो योतयति । तेन सादृश्य इति वा यथार्थ इति वा प्राप्तं निषिध्यते ॥

661. The indeclinable word yathâ, when it does not signify 'likeness', is invariably compounded, with a word ending in a case-affix, which is in construction with it, and the compound is called an Avyayībhāva Samāsa.

Thus यथावृद्धम् ब्राह्मणानामानन्वयस्य "invite every old Brâhmana." So also यथाध्यापकम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As यथाहरिस्तथा हरः 'As is Hari

so is Hara ' Here यथा denotes comparison with Hari. Thus the compounding under cl. (10) when यथा means सादृश्य or under cl. (14). having the same meaning is prohibited here by.

६६२ । यावद्वधारणे । २ । १ । ८ ॥

यावन्तः श्लोकास्तावन्तोऽच्युतप्रणामा यावच्छ्लोकम् ॥

662. The indeclinable word yāvat, when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called Avyayibhāva.

The word अवधारण means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, यावदमत्र ब्राह्मणानामन्वयस्व 'invite so many Brāhmanas only and not more as there are pots': i. e., if there are five pots then invite five Brahmanas; if six pots, then invite six Brāmansa.' यावच्छ्लोकम् प्रणामाः "Bowling the head down so many times as there are the verses," i. e. saluting the God with every verse.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe यावदन्तं तावद्व्युक्तम् 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' i. e. I do not know for certainty how much I have eaten.

६६३ । सुप् प्रतिनामाप्रार्थे । २ । १ । ६ ॥

शाकस्य लेशः शाकप्रति । मात्रार्थे किम् । वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् ॥

663. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word prati, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called Avyayibhāva.

The word मात्र means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit;' as, शाकप्रति 'a little,' सूप्प्रति 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'it lightens in the direction of every tree.' Here it is not compounded.

Note :—Though the word सुप् was, by anuvritti from sūtra II. 1. 2, S. 3656. understood in this sūtra, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the anuvritti of the word अन्वय which began with sūtra II. 1. 6 S. 652 does not extend further into the subsequent sūtras.

The word प्रतिना being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 30. S. 654).

६६४ । अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा । २ । १ । १० ॥

धृतव्यवहारे पराजये एवायं समासः । अक्षेण विपरीतं घृतं अक्षपरि । शलाकापरि । एकपरि ॥

664. The words *aksha*, 'a die for playing with,' *śalākā* 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and *sankhyā* 'numeral' are compounded with the word *pari*, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

Note :—This समास is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called *panchikā*, which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned downwards, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses.

This compound is confined to words denoting loss in gambling. Thus *अक्षपरि* 'an unlucky throw of dice,' *शलाकापरि*, 'an unlucky throw of ivory pieces'; so also *एकपरि* 'an unlucky throw by one over.'

६६५ । विभाषा । २ । १ । ११ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । एतस्मान्मर्थ्येव प्राचीनानां नित्यसमासत्वम् । सुप्सुपेति तु न नित्यसमासः । अव्ययनित्याविसमास विधानाज्ज्ञापकायै ॥

665. The word *vibhāṣā* or option governs all the succeeding sūtras.

This is an *adhikāra sūtra*. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words, as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before this; for by the *jñāpaka* of this aphorism we infer that the compounds taught before must be *nitya* and not *vibhāṣā*. There is, however, an exception with regard to सुप्सुपा compounding. It is not *nitya*, because of the *jñāpaka* of the sūtra II. 1. 6. S. 652, for सुपा would have covered the case of *avyayas* also; but the enunciation of a separate rule about *avyayas*, indicates that the previous rule सुप्सुपा is an *anitya* rule, and the compound so formed may be expressed by a sentence. Compounds like सुमद्र, ययावृद्ध, अक्षपरि &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (नित्य समास), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

Note :—The compounds taught previous to this sūtra, like the technical terms दि, वु, अ &c., would be necessarily *nitya*, because no क् is read in those sūtras. But the author strengthens this inference, by clearly enunciating the present sūtra "option

ally." Q. If so, then सुप्सुपा should also be a *nitya*, as that has also been taught anterior to this sūtra ? Ans. Not so, the repetition of the injunction with regards to Indeclinables, as contained in II. 1. 6. S. 652 indicates that सुप्सुपा compounding is not *nitya* ; because the Indeclinables are also सुप् and would have been covered by the rule of सुप्सुपा &c.

६६६। अपपरिवहिरञ्चवः पञ्चम्या । २ । १ । १२ ॥

अपविष्णु संसारः । अपविष्णोः । परिविष्णोः । बहिर्वनम् । बहिर्वनात् । प्राग्वनम् । प्राग्वनात् ॥

666. The words *apa*, *pari*, *bahih* and indeclinables ending in *añchu* may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be *Avyayībhāva*.

As अपविष्णु संसारः or अप विष्णोः संसारः "The *samsāra* is outside or away from *Vishṇu*." So also, परिविगतेभ्यः or परिविगतेभ्यः 'round about *Trigarta*,' बहिर्मानम् or बहिर्मानात् 'outside the village' प्राग् मानम् or प्राग् मानात् 'east of the village.'

Words formed from the verb अञ्च् 'to go,' are उत्तञ्च् 'north' प्राञ्च् 'east,' &c.

From this sūtra we learn by inference (*jñāpaka*) that the word बहिः also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29 S. 595). But this is not universal, as we see in करस्य करभोबहिः, here 'it governs the sixth case.

६६७। आङ्मर्यादाभिर्विध्योः । २ । १ । १३ ॥

एतयोराङ् पञ्चम्यन्तेन वा समस्यते सोऽप्ययीभावः । आधुक्ति संसारः । आधुक्तेः । आबालेभ्यः ॥

667. The word आङ् when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayībhāva*-

As, आपादलिपुत्रं or आपादलिपुत्रात् वृष्टौ देवः 'it rained up to *Pāṭaliputra*.' आकुमारं or आकुमारभ्यां यज्ञः पाणिनेः 'the fame of *Pāṇini* extends even to the boys.' So also आधुक्ति संसारः or आधुक्तेः संसारः ; आबाले हरिभक्तिः or आबालेभ्यः ॥

६६८। लक्षणेनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये । २ । १ । १४ ॥

आभिमुख्यद्योतकाभिप्रती चिह्नवाचिना सह प्राग्वत् । अभ्यग्नि शलभाः पतन्ति । अभिप्रति । प्रत्याग्नि अभिप्रति ॥

668. The words *abhi* and *prati* when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the goal which regulates or marks the direction; and the resulting compound is *Avyayībhāva*.

The word *lakṣaṇa* means a sign, goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 S. 547 and 552 for a further explanation of this word. As अग्निं प्रति or अग्निमभि शलाभाः पतन्ति 'the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also प्रत्याग्निं or आग्निं प्रति, the sense being, that making the fire their aim (लक्ष्य) they fall towards it.

६६६ । अनुर्थत्समया । २ । १ । १५ ॥

यं पदार्थं समया द्योत्यते तेन लक्षणभूतेनानुः समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः । अनुवनमशनिर्गतः । वनस्य समीपं गत इत्यर्थः ॥

669. The word *anu* 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is *Avyayībhāva*.

As, अनुवनमशनिर्गतः 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

Note.—Though this compounding was valid even by sūtra 652, because nearness is mentioned there also: it is repeated here in order to show that an *Avyayībhāva* compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

६७० । यस्य चायामः । २ । १ । १६ ॥

यस्य वैध्यमनुना द्योत्यते तेन लक्षणभूतेनानुः समस्यते । अनुगङ्गां वाराणसी । गङ्गाया अनुः गङ्गावैध्यसदृशवैध्योपलक्षितेत्यर्थः ॥

670. The word *anu* 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayībhāva*.

As, अनुगङ्गां वाराणसी 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' अनुयमुनं मथुरा 'Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

६७१ । तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च । २ । १ । १७ ॥

एतानि निपात्यन्ते । तिष्ठन्त्यो गावो यास्मिन्काले स तिष्ठद्वर्गेहनकालः । आयत्तीगवम् । इह शब्दा-
देशः पुनश्चावविरहः समासान्तश्च निपात्यते ॥

671. And the words *tishṭhadgu*, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c. are *Avyayībhāva* compounds.

The words *तिष्ठद्गु* &c. are all irregularly formed *Avyayībhāva* compounds. Most of these words are epithets of various times. The force of च in the sūtra is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the *Avyayībhāva* compound and nothing else. They are as follow :—

तिष्ठद्गु "the time when the cows stand still ; *i. e.* the milking time." षड्व्यु, आयत्तीगवम्. In *आयत्तीगवम्* there is the absence of the Present Participial affix क्तृ and in *आयति* (which is a conjugated verb), of the masculinisation and there is added the *samāsānta* affix अ ॥ All these are irregularities. खलेयवम् खलेबुसम् खलेबुसम्, लुनयवम्, लुयमानयवम्, पूतयवम्, पूयमानयवम्, संहृतयवम्, संह्रियमाणयवम्, संहृतबुसम्, संह्रियमाणबुसम्, समभूमि, समपराति, सुषमम्, विषमम्, दुष्पमम्, निष्पमम्, अपरसमम्, आयत्तीसमम्, प्राहणम्, प्ररथम्, प्रमृगम्, प्रहक्षिणम्, अपरहक्षिणम्, संप्रति, असंप्रति, पापसमम्, पुण्यसमम्, इव् कर्मव्यतिहारः V. 4. 127. *e. g.* कच्चाकाच ॥

६७२ । पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा । २ । १ । १८ ॥

पारमध्यशब्दौ षष्ठ्यन्तेन सह वा समस्येते । एदन्तत्त्वं चानयोर्निपात्यते । पक्षे षष्ठीतिरुपपन्नः । पारेगङ्गादानय । गङ्गापारात् । मध्येगङ्गात् । गङ्गामध्यात् । महाविभाषया वाक्यमपि । गङ्गायाः पारात् । गङ्गाया मध्यात् ॥

672. The words *pāra* 'across,' and *madhya* 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms *pāre* and *madhye*, and the compound so formed is *Avyayībhāva*.

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive *Tatpurusha* compounds. The present sūtra ordains *Avyayībhāva* instead. The force of वा in the text is that the Genitive *Tatpurusha* compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, *पारेगङ्गादानय* or *गङ्गापारात्* 'bring across the Ganges.' *मध्येगङ्गात्* or *गङ्गामध्यात्* 'middle of the Ganges.'

Of course according to the option allowed by sūtra II. 1. 11 S. 665 this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase ; as *गङ्गायाः पारात्* or *गङ्गाया मध्यात्*.

६७३ । संख्या वंश्येन । २ । १ । १९ ॥

वंशो द्विधा विद्यया जन्मना च । तत्र भवो वंश्यः । तद्व्याप्तिना सह संख्या वा सामस्येन । वेद
श्रुती वंश्यो द्विगुनि । व्याकरणस्य त्रिगुनि । विद्यातद्वृत्तामभेदविवक्षायां त्रिगुनि व्याकरणम् । एकविंशति
भारद्वाजम् ॥

673. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayībhāva.

The word वंश is of two kinds and means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source, whether through (1) birth or (2) knowledge. A succession of (1) teachers and pupils, or of (2) ancestors and descendants, would constitute a वंश 'family.' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंश्य or descendant.

As द्विगुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyākaraṇa which has two sages as its principal expounders viz., Pāṇini and Patanjali.' So त्रिगुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives viz., Pāṇini, Patanjali and Śākāṭyāna or Kātyāyana.'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case : as द्विगुनि or त्रिगुनि व्याकरणम्.

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् 'Twenty-one Bhāradwājas.' These and the subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

६७४ । नदीमिश्र । २ । १२ । २० ॥

नदीभिः सह संख्या प्राग्वत् ॥ समाहारे चायमिष्यते * ॥ सप्तगङ्गम् । द्वियमुनम् ॥

674. A numeral (saṅkhyā) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayībhāva denoting an aggregate.

Ishii:—According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहार); as सप्तगङ्गम् 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्वियमुनम् 'at the meeting of the two Yamunās.' See II. 4. 1, 17.

६७५ । अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् । २ । १२ । २१ ॥

अन्यपदार्थे विद्यमानं सुबन्तं नदीभिः सह नित्यं समस्यते संज्ञायाम् ॥ विभाषाधिकारेऽपि वाक्येन
संज्ञानवगमादिह नित्यसमासः ॥ उन्मत्तगङ्गं नाम देशः । लोहितगङ्गम् ॥

675. A word ending in a case affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound, and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an Avyayībhāva.

The anuvritti of the word saṅkhyā does not extend to this sūtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samāsa rule : for no name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, उन्मत्तगङ्गा 'the country called Unmatta Gangam.' So also लोहितगङ्गा कुब्जगङ्गा; शनैर्गङ्गा II. 4. 18.

६७६ । समासान्ताः । ५ । ४ । ६८ ।

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

676. The following affixes are added to the ends of compounds without changing their sense.

Note :—This is an adhikāra or regulating sūtra.

६७७ । अव्ययीभावे शरत्प्रभृतिभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १०७ ॥

शरद्विभ्यश्च स्यात्समासान्तोऽव्ययीभावे । शरदः समीपमुपशरदम् । प्रतिविपाशम् । शरद् । विपाश् । अनस् । मनस् । उपानह् । दिव् । हिमवत् । अनडुह् । दिश् । दृश् । विश् । चेतस् । चतुर् । त्वद् । तद् । यद् । कियत् । जरायाजरस् च । उपजरसम् । प्रतिपरसमनुभ्यो ऽक्षः ॥ यस्येति च ॥ प्रत्यक्षम् । अक्षः परमिति विश्वे समासान्तविधानसामर्थ्यादव्ययीभावः । परोक्षे लिङिति निपातनात्परस्मैकारादेशः । परोक्षम् । परोक्षा क्रियेत्यादि तु अर्शआद्याचि । समक्षम् । अन्वक्षम् ॥

677. The affix tach comes after the words śarat &c, when forming an Avyayībhāva compound.

Thus शरदः समीपम् = उपशरदम्, प्रतिशरदम्, प्रतिविपाशम् ॥

Those words of शरदादि class which end in a ह्रस्व consonant add invariably (नित्य) the tach, in spite of V. 4. 111. S. 682 The anuvritti of avayayībhāva extends upto V. 4. 113 S. 852

I शरद्, 2 विपाश्, 3 अनस्, 4 मनस्, 5 उपानह्, 6 अनडुह्, 7 दिव्, 8 हिमवत्, 9 हिरुक् *, 10 विद् *, 11 सद् *, 12 दिश्, 13 दृश्, 14 विश्, 15 चतुर्, 16 त्वद् *, 17 तद्, 18 यद्, 19 कियत् *, 20 जराया जरस् च (as उपजरसम्), 21 प्रतिपरसमनुभ्यो ऽक्षः (as प्रत्यक्षं, परोक्षः, समक्षम्, and अन्वक्षम्, The second is Tatpurusha) 22 पथिन्, 23 सहश् ॥

20. The word जरा assumes the form जरस् in the compound. As उपजरसम् ॥

21. The words प्रति, पर, सम and अनु are compounded with अक्षी ॥ As, प्रत्यक्षम् ॥ It is thus formed प्रति + अक्षि + टच् = प्रति + अक्ष् + टच् (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 143 S. 311) = प्रत्यक्षम् so also अक्षः परम् = परोक्षम् ॥ Here ओ replaces the final अ of पर, because we find the form परोक्ष used by Pānini himself in III. 2. 115 S. 2171. The form परोक्षा in परोक्षाक्रिया &c. takes the affix अच् by V. 2. 127 S. 1933. so also समक्षम् and अन्वक्षम् ॥

६७८ । अनश्च । ५ । ४ । १०८ ॥

अनन्ताद्व्ययीभावादृच् स्यात् ॥

678. The affix *tach* comes after an *Avyayībhāva* compound ending in *अन्*, as the final of the compound.

Thus उप+राजन्+ट्च् ॥ Now applies the following *sūtra*, by which the *अन्* of *राजन्* should be elided.

६७९ । नस्तद्धिते । ६ । ४ । १४४ ॥

नान्तस्य भस्य ढेलोपः स्याच्छिते । उपराजम् । अध्यात्मम् ॥

679, Of the stem *bha*, the final *न्* with the vowel that precedes it, is elided before a *Taddhita* affix.

Thus उपराजम्, अध्यात्मम् ॥

६८० । नपुंसकादन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १०६ ॥

अनन्तं यस्कीदं तदन्ताद्व्ययीभावादृच् वा स्यात् । उपचर्मम् or उपचर्म ॥

680. The affix *tach* comes optionally after an *Avyayībhāva* compound, ending with a neuter word, whose final syllable is *अन्*

Note—The word *अन्* is understood here also. The word 'Neuter' qualifies, the second i.e. last term of the compound. This allows option, where as the previous *sūtra* had made it compulsory.

Thus उपचर्म or उपचर्मम् ॥

६८१ । नदीपौर्णमास्याग्रहायणीभ्यः । ५ । ४ । ११० ॥

वा ट्च् स्यात् । उपनद्म् । उपनदि । उपपौर्णमासम् । उपपौर्णमासि । उपग्रहायणम् । उपग्रहायणि ॥

681. The affix *tach* comes optionally after an *Avayayībhāva* ending in *nadī*, *paurṇamāsi*, and *âgrahâyaṇi*.

Thus नद्याः समीपम् = उपनद्म् or उपनदि, उपपौर्णमासम् or उपपौर्णमासि, उपग्रहायणम् or उपग्रहायणि ॥

६८२ । झयः । ५ । ४ । १११ ॥

अनन्ताद्व्ययीभावादृच्वा । उपसमिधम् । उपसमिन् ॥

682. The affix *tach* comes optionally after an *Avyayībhāva* compound ending in a letter of *jhay* class (a mute letter).

Thus उपसमिधम्, or उपसमित् ॥

Note :—The भ्रम् here means the pratyâhâra ह्रस्व i. e. all the Mute consonants.

६८३ । गिरेश्च सेनकस्य । ५ । ४ । ११२ ॥

गिर्यन्ताद्व्ययीभावाद्वृत्त्वा स्यात् । सेनकग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । उपगिरम् । उपगिरि ॥

683. The affix तच् comes after an Avyayibhâva compound ending in 'giri', according to the opinion of the Grammarian Senaka.

Thus उपगिरिम् or उपगिरि ॥ The name of Senaka is mentioned for the sake of respect (pujârtha), for the anuvritti of the word अन्यतरस्याम् "optionally" was understood here already.

Here end the Avyayibhâva compounds.

अथ तत्पुरुष समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TATPURUSHA COMPOUNDS.

६८४। तत्पुरुषः । २ । १ । २२ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । प्राग्बहुव्रीहिः ॥

684. From this aphorism as far as aphorism II. 2. 23, S. 829 the word Tat-purusha is the governing word and is understood in all the following sūtras.

Form this sūtra as far as the sūtra II. 2. 23 S. 829 relating to Bahuvrīhi compounds, the word Tat-purusha should be read into each sūtra.

Note :—The Karmadhāraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds.

६८५। द्विगुश्च । २ । १ । २३ ॥

द्विगुरपि तत्पुरुषसंज्ञः स्यात् । इदं सूत्रं त्यक्तुं शक्यम् । संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुश्चेति पठित्वा अकारबलेन संज्ञाद्वयसमावेशस्य सुवचत्वात् । समासान्तः प्रयोजनम् । पञ्चराजम् ॥

685. And the kind of compound called Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-purusha.

This sūtra could well have been dispensed with, by inserting a च in the sūtra II. 1. 52 S. 730, and so that aphorism would mean that a compound preceded by a Numeral would get the designation of Dwigu as well as Tatpurusha. The object of its being a Tatpurusha is that दच् affix of samāsānta may be added ; as पञ्चराजम् ॥

Note :—The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्त affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 S. 676 &c. should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sūtra ; as sūtra II. 1. 52 S. 730 already defines Dwigu. Thus पञ्चराजम् V. 4. 91 S. 788 fem पञ्चराजी (IV. I. 15, 21 S. 470), an aggregate of 5 princes.' According to Haradatta the feminine form is wrong, as अ is not part of राज but of the whole compound.

ACCUSATIVE TATPURUSHA.

६८६ । द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः । २ । १ । २४ ॥

द्वितीयान्तं श्रितादिप्रकृतिकैः सुबन्तैः सह वा समस्यते स तत्पुरुषः । कृष्णं श्रितः कृष्णश्रितः
दुःखमतीतो दुःखातीतः ॥ गम्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ ग्रामं गमी ग्रामगमी । भन्नं बुभुक्षुः भन्नबुभुक्षुः ॥

686. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words śrita 'who has had recourse to,' atīta 'gone by,' patita 'who has fallen upon,' gata 'who has gone to,' atyasta 'who has passed,' prāpta 'who has obtained,' and āpanna 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णं + श्रितः = कृष्णश्रितः 'who has had recourse to Krishna.' So also
दुःखं + अतीतः = दुःखातीतः 'who has passed over sorrow.'

Varṣ:—The words गमी, गामी &c. should also be included. As
ग्रामगमी ; भन्नं बुभुक्षुः = भन्नबुभुक्षुः ॥

६८७ । स्वयं क्तेन । २ । १ । २५ ॥

द्वितीयेति न संबध्यते अयोग्यत्वात् । स्वयंकृतस्यापत्यं स्वायंकृतिः ॥

687. The indeclinable word *swayam* 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The anuvritti of the word द्वितीया being inappropriate does not take place ; though, however, it is understood in the next sūtra. Because the word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं कृतस्यापत्यं
= स्वायं कृतिः ॥

६८८ । खट्वा क्षेपे । २ । १ । २६ ॥

खट्वाप्रकृतिकं द्वितीयान्तं क्तान्तप्रकृतेन सुबन्तेन समस्यते निन्दायाम् । खट्वाकूटो आत्मः
नित्यसमासोऽयम् । नहि वाक्येन निन्दा गम्यते ॥

688. The word *khatvā* in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, when *censure* is implied, and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

As खट्वाकूटः or खट्वाप्लुतः (literally lying on a bed) ; silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

Note :—The word क्षेप means ‘censure,’ ‘blame’ and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word, as a whole, and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a Nitya Compound, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to Optional Compounds :—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of a sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

There is no compounding when ‘censure’ is not meant. As खट्वामारुहः ‘lying on a bed.’

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts :—a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his Brahmacharya i. e. the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All Brahmacharis were bound to sleep on ground and not on खट्वा or cots, so long as they were Brahmacharis. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, खट्वामारुहः ‘who had ascended the couch in an improper way.’ Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

६८६। सामि। १। १। २७॥

सामिकृतम् ॥

689. The indeclinable word sâmi meaning ‘half’ is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As सामिकृतम् ‘half-done.’

Note :—The word सामि being an avyaya, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore, the anuvṛitti of the word द्वितीया would be inapposite in this aphorism.

६९०। कालाः। २। १। २८॥

क्तेनेत्येव। अनत्यन्तसंयोगार्थं वचनम्। मासप्रमितः प्रतिपञ्चन्द्रः। मासं परिच्छेदुमारब्धवानि-
त्यर्थः।

690. The words denoting *time*, (but not duration thereof) being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha.

As मासप्रमितश्चन्द्रमासः ‘the new moon,’ (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month).

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word कालाः does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by Sūtra I. 1. 68, S. 25 the word-form काल but special words denoting काल ॥

६९१ । अत्यन्तसंयोगे च । २ । १ । २९ ॥

काला इत्येव । अन्तान्तार्थे वचनम् । मुहूर्ते सुखं मुहूर्तसुखम् ॥

691. Words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of *complete connection throughout* with the time (i. e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The word काल is understood in this aphorism ; but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix क् ॥'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग means 'uninterrupted connection.'

As मुहूर्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure.'

—:0:—

INSTRUMENTAL TATPURUSHA.

६९२ । तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन । २ । १ । ३० ॥

तत्कृतेति लुप्ततृतीयाकम् । तृतीयान्तं तृतीयान्तार्थकृतगुणवचनेनार्थशब्देन च सह प्राग्बन् । शङ्कुलया खण्डः शङ्कुलाखण्डः । धान्येनार्थो धान्यार्थः । तत्कृतेति किम् । अक्षणा कार्याः ॥

692. A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

As शङ्कुलाखण्डः = शङ्कुलाखण्डः 'cut by nipper' धान्यार्थः 'wealth acquired by grain.' The word तत्कृत is an anomalous compound used only in sūtras and in which the 3rd case affix is elided. It is equal to तत्कृतेन ॥ Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case? Observe अक्षणा कार्याः 'blind of one eye.' Here अक्षणा in the 3rd case, is not the instrumental cause, that produced blindness, and hence there is no compounding.

Note :—The words सुख, सुखा are understood here : and the whole of this sūtra is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with

a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थः, provided that, the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case.

६६३ । पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः । २ । १ । ३१ ॥

तृतीयान्तमैः प्राग्बन् । मासपूर्वः । मातृसदृशः । पितृसमः । ऊनार्थे । माषोन् कार्षापणम् । माषविकलम् । बाक्कलहः । आचारनिपुणः । गुडमिश्रः । आचारश्लक्ष्णः । मिश्रग्रहणे सोपसर्गस्यापि ग्रहणम् । तन्मि चानुपसर्गनसन्धावित्यत्रानुपसर्गग्रहणात् । गुडसंमिश्रा धानाः ॥ अवरस्योपसंख्यानम् * ॥ मासेनावरो मासावरः ॥

693. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words *pūrva* 'prior,' *sadrīṣa* 'like,' *sama* 'similar,' *anārtha* 'words having the sense of less,' *kalaha* 'quarrel,' *nipuṇa* 'proficient,' *miśra* 'mixed,' and *ślakṣha* 'polished, sleek' and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

From this sūtra, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासेन पूर्वः = मासपूर्व 'prior by a month,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' पितृसमः 'similar to the father,' माषोन् कार्षापणं, माषविकलं 'a Karshāpana coin less by a māṣā' बाक्कलहः 'bandying words.' आचार निपुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' गुडमिश्रः 'mixed with juggery' आचारश्लक्ष्णः 'polished in behaviour.'

Vart:—The compounding takes place even when मिश्र is preceded by an Upasarga. This we infer from VI. 2. 154 S. 3888 "The word मिश्र is acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any preposition and does not mean a compact." This shows that it takes upasarga also. Thus we have गुडसंमिश्रा धानाः ॥

Vart:—The word अवर should be enumerated in the list, as मासावरः 'later than a month.'

६६४ । कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् । २ । १ । ३२ ॥

कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया कृदन्तेन बहुलं प्राग्बन् । हरिणा ब्रातो हरिब्रातः । नखोर्भेत्तौ नखभिन्नः ॥ कृदग्रहणे गतिकारकप्रवृत्त्यापि ग्रहणम् * ॥ नखविभिन्नः । कर्तृकरणे इति किम् । भिक्षाभिरुषितः । हेतावेवा तृतीया । बहुलग्रहणे सर्वोपाधिव्यभिचारार्थम् । तेन दात्रेण लूनवानिरयाशे न । कृता किम् । कष्टे पचतितराम् ॥

694. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II. 3. 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a *krit*

affix ; and the compound so formed is called Tatpuru-
sha.

As अहिनाहतः = अहिहतः 'killed by the snake' नखभिन्नः 'divided by the
nails.' परशुच्छिन्नः 'cut by the axe,' हरिणाचातः = हरिचातः ॥

Vart :—The word कृत् here includes not only simple kridantas, but
words preceded by a Gati or a kârakâ even. As not only नखभिन्नः but नखनिभिन्नः
also.

Why do we say 'when denoting the *agent* or the *instrument*' ?
Observe भिक्षाभिरुदितः 'dwelt with alms.' Here the force of the 3rd case is that
of हेतुः mentioned in sūtra II. 3. 21 S. 566 and not that of II. 3. 18. S. 561.

The word बहुलं shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules
and conditions. Observe हविषेण लूनवान् 'cutting with the sickle.' परशुनाछिन्नवान्
'cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is com-
pounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बहुलः—
as, पादहारकः and गले चोपकः. Why do we say with a kridanta ? See काष्ठैः पचन्ति
तरां where पचन्तितरां is a verb and not a kridanta noun.

Paribhashā :—"A kṛit-affix denotes, whenever it is employed in
Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that kṛit affix has
been added and which ends with the kṛit-affix ; but moreover, should a Gati,
or a noun such as denotes a case-relation, have been prefixed to that word-
form, then the kṛit-affix must denote the same word-form together with the
Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it."

६६५ । कृत्यैराधिकार्थवचने । २ । १ । ३३ ॥

स्तुतिनिन्वाफलकमर्थवादवचनमधिकार्थवचने तत्र कर्तरि करणे च कृत्या कृत्यैः प्राग्वन् । वात-
च्छेद्यं तुणम् । काकपेया नदी ॥

695. A word ending with the third case-affix when
it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded op-
tionally *with* a word ending in a *kṛitya* affix, when an *exaggera-
ted statement* (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and
the compound is Tat-puruṣa.

As वातच्छेद्यं तुणं 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by wind.) It
is praise, denoting softness, or it may be the reverse ; denoting weakness.

So also काकपेयानदी 'a full river' (so full that a crow may dip his beak,
into it and drink while sitting on the bank. In this sense it is praise. It
may be censure also, and it will mean a shallow river, so shallow that a crow
may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink.)

६९६ । अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम् । २ । १ । ३४ ॥

संस्कारकद्रव्यवाचकं तृतीयान्तमन्नेन प्राग्वत् । दध्ना ओदनो दध्योदनः । इहान्तभूतोपसेकक्रिया-
द्वारा सामर्थ्यम् ॥

696. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting a *condiment*, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, signifying *food*, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

That which is to be prepared is called अन्न, and that which prepares is व्यञ्जन; as दध्योदनः = दध्ना उपसिक्त ओदनः 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood.

६९७ । भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम् । २ । १ । ३५ ॥

गुडेन धानाः गुडधानाः । मिश्रणक्रियाद्वारा सामर्थ्यम् ॥

697. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a *relish giving or refining ingredient*, is compounded with a word meaning, *victuals*, and the compound is Tatpurusha.

As गुडधानाः 'barley prepared with juggery ;'

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य; its refinement is called मिश्रीकरणम् ॥

Note :—The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

—————:or:—————

THE DATIVE TATPURUSHA

६९८ । चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः । २ । १ । ३६ ॥

चतुर्थ्यन्तार्थाय यत्तद्वाचिनाऽर्थादिभिश्च चतुर्थ्यन्तं वा प्राग्वत् । तदर्थेन प्रकृतिविकृतिभाव एव शृण्यते । बलिर्बलितर्पणं ह्यज्ञापकात् । यूपाय वारु यूपशरु । नेह । रन्धनाय स्थाली । अश्ववासादयस्तु षष्ठीसमासाः ॥ अर्थेन नित्यसमासो विशेष्यलिङ्गता चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ द्विजायां द्विजार्थः सूपः । द्विजार्था यवागृः । द्विजार्थं पयः । भूतबलिः । गोहितम् । गोमुखम् । गोरक्षितम् ॥

698. A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words *artha* 'on account of,' *bali* 'a sacrifice,' *hita* 'salutary,' *sukha*

‘pleasure’ and *rakshita* ‘kept,’ and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुप्, सुपा are understood in this sūtra : and the whole sūtra qualifies these words.

By the expression तदर्थ ‘for the purpose there of,’ the special relation of a material and its modification alone is, by Patanjali here, held to be intended. This we infer from the jñāpaka of the words *bali* and *rakshita* used in this sūtra. As यूपाय दारुः = यूपदारुः ‘wood for stake’ (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). But not so here. रन्धनाय स्थाली ‘pot for cooking.’ So also or अवहननाथोलुखलम् ‘the wood mortar for threshing.’ The words like बन्धवास &c. are Genitive compounds.

From this sūtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of ‘for the purpose there of.’ The word तदर्थार्थ is taken as one word by some, meaning ‘a thing serviceable there to.’ See VI. 2. 44. S. 3777. For accent see VI. 2. 45 S. 3779.

Vart:—With the word अर्थ the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies; as, द्विजार्थः सुपः “soup for the twice-born” ब्राह्मणार्थम् पयः ‘milk for the sake of Brahmans;’ and द्विजार्था यवागूः ‘gruel for the twice-born.’ So also भूत बलिः ‘a sacrifice for bhūtas’ महाराजबलिः ‘a sacrifice for the great Raja.’ गोहितं ‘what is good for cows.’ गोसुखं ‘what is pleasant for cows’ गोरक्षितं ‘what is kept for cows,’ (as grass).

—:0:—

THE ABLATIVE TATPURUSHA

६६९ । पञ्चमी भयेन । २ । १ । ३७ ॥

चोराङ्ग्यं चोरभयम् ॥ भयभीतभीतिभीतिरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ वृकभीतः । वृकभीतिः । वृकभीः ॥

699. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word *bhaya* ‘fear,’ and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Note:—The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, and the sūtra qualifies it.

As चोराङ्ग्यम् = चोरभयं ‘fear from thieves’

Vart:—So also with the words भीत, भीति and भीः as वृकभीतः, वृकभीतिः, वृकभीः ॥

Note:—This sūtra is an expansion of sūtra II. 1. 32 S. 694 and an exposition of the word बहुल there. So that we may have the following compounds also : ग्रामनिर्गतः ‘gone out of the village.’ अधर्म जुगुप्सुः ॥

७०० । अपेतापोढमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पशः । २ । १ । ३८ ॥

एतैः सहात्पं पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्यते स तत्पुरुषः । सुखापेतः । कल्पनापोढः । चक्रमुक्तः । स्वर्गपतितः । तरङ्गापत्रस्तः । अल्पशः किम् । प्रासादात्पतितः ॥

700. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words *apeta* 'gone away,' *apodha* 'carried away,' *mukta* 'freed' *pat'ita* 'fallen,' *apatrasta*, 'afraid of,' when the action takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

As, सुखापेतः 'gone away from pleasure' कल्पनापोढः 'carried away by imagination' चक्रमुक्तः 'freed from the wheel.' स्वर्गपतितः 'fallen from heaven.' तरङ्गापत्रस्तः 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32. S. 694.

Why do we use the word अल्पशः 'when the action is gradual'? It shows the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following case:—प्रासादान् पतितः, 'fallen from the mansion.' For here the fall, is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

७०१ । स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि केन । २ । १ । ३९ ॥

स्तोकान्मुक्तः । अल्पान्मुक्तः । अन्तिकादागतः । अभ्याशादागतः । दूरादागतः । विप्रकृष्टादागतः । कृच्छ्रादागतः । पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्य इत्यलुक् ॥

701. Words with the sense of *stoka* 'a little,' *antika* 'near,' *dūra* 'far,' and also the word *kricchhra* 'difficulty,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in *ka*, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As स्तोकान् मुक्तः 'loosed from a little distance.' अल्पान्मुक्तः ॥

So also अन्तिकादागतः 'come from near' अभ्याशादागतः 'come from near' दूरादागतः 'come from far,' विप्रकृष्टादागतः 'come from a distance.' कृच्छ्रादागतः 'come with difficulty.' कृच्छ्राल् लब्धः 'obtained with difficulty.'

By rule VI. 3. 2. S. 959 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

—:0:—

THE GENITIVE TATPURUSHA

७०२ । षष्ठी । २ । २ । ८ ॥

राज्ञः पुरुषो राजपुरुषः ॥

702. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man.'

७०३ । याजकादिभिश्च । २ । २ । ९ ॥

एभिः षष्ठ्यन्तं समस्यते । तुजकाभ्यां कर्तरीत्यस्य प्रतिप्रसवोऽयम् । ब्राह्मणयाजकः । देवपूजकः ॥ शुष्णात्तरेण तरलोपश्वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ तरन्नन्तं यद्दुशुषवाच्चि तेन सह समासस्तरप्प्रत्ययलोपश्च । न निर्धारण इति पूरणगुणति च निषेधस्य प्रतिप्रसवोऽयम् । सर्वेषां श्वेततरः सर्वश्वतः । सर्वेषां महत्तरः । सर्वमहान् ॥ कृद्योगा च षष्ठी समस्यत इति वाक्यम् * ॥ इध्मस्य व्रश्चनः इध्मव्रश्चनः ॥

703. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word *yājaka* 'sacrificer' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As ब्राह्मणयाजकः 'a Brāhmana's sacrificer.'

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by II. 2. 15 S. 309 in the case of याजक &c. ; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition.

(याजकादि)

1. याजक ॥ 2. पूजक ॥ 3. परिचारक ॥ 4. परिवेषक ॥ 5. परिषेचक ॥
6. स्नापक or स्नातक ॥ 7. अभ्यापक ॥ 8. उत्साहक or उत्सादक ॥ 9. उद्धर्तक ॥
10. होतृ ॥ 11. भर्तृ ॥ 12. रथगणक ॥ 13. पत्तिगणक ॥ 14. पोतृ ॥ 15. हर्तृ ॥
16. वर्तक ॥

Vart:—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As ब्राह्मणवर्णः 'Brāhmana-caste,' चन्दनगन्धः 'sandal-scent,' कपित्थरसः 'the wood-apple juice.'

Vart:—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree ; and तर the sign of comparison is elided. Thus सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वतः 'the whitest of all.' सर्वेषां महत्तरः = सर्वमहान् 'the greatest among all.' This 'vārtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sūtra and the one after next, which prohibit composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus सर्वशुक्ला गोः 'a cow whitest among all.'

Vart—When a word takes the genitive case, because of its connection with a word ending in a kṛit affix ; that word may be compounded with such a kṛit word. Rule II. 3. 65 S. 623 states the conditions when a kṛit-formed word governs the genitive case. Thus इध्मव्रश्चनः 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter),

Why do we say so ? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by krit-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact, the genitive case ordained by any rule of Pāṇini, other than II. 3. 50, S. 606 is a 'pratipadaavidhāna' genitive ; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition ; see Vārtika under II. 2. 10 S. 704.

७०४ । न निर्धारणे । २ । २ । १० ॥

निर्धारणे या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते । नृणां द्विजः श्रेष्ठः ॥ प्रतिपदविधाना षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वाच्यम् ० ॥ सर्पिषा ज्ञानम् ॥

704. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhāraṇa).

As नृणां द्विजः श्रेष्ठः 'The twice born is the best amongst men.'

Note :—With this sūtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirdhāraṇa.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sūtra II. 3. 41. S. 638.

Vart :—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sūtra II. 3. 50 S. 606. is never compounded. Namely the genitives formed by rules like 612, 613, 614, &c are incapable of Samāsa. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्पिषाज्ञानम्, मधुनोज्ञानम् ॥

७०५ । पूरणगुणसुहितार्थसद्व्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन । २ । २ । ११ ॥

पूरणाद्यर्थैः सदादिभिश्च षष्ठी न समस्यते । पूरणे । सतां षष्ठः ।

गुणे । काकस्य काष्ण्यम् । ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लः । यदा प्रकरणादिना क्त्वा इति विशेष्यं ज्ञातं तदेवमुदाहरणम् । अनित्याऽयं गुणेन निषेधः । तद्विशेष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वादित्यादिनिर्देशात् । तेनार्थगौरवं बुद्धिमान्द्यमित्यादि सिद्धम् ।

सुहितार्थास्तृप्यर्थाः । फलानां सुहितः । तृतीयासमासस्तु स्यादेव । स्वरे विशेषः ।

सत् । द्विजस्य कुर्वन् कुर्वाणो वा । किंकर इत्यर्थः ।

अव्ययम् । ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा । पूर्वोत्तरसाहचर्यात्कृद्व्ययमेव गृह्यते । तेन तदुपरीत्यादि सिद्धमिति रक्षितः ।

तव्यः । ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् । तव्यता तु भवत्येव । स्वकर्तव्यम् । स्वरे भेदः ।

समानाधिकरणेन । तत्तकस्य सर्पस्य । विशेषणसमासस्त्विह बहुलग्रहणात् । गोर्धेनोरित्यादिषु षोडाशुवसीत्यादीनां विभक्त्यन्तरे चरितार्थानां परत्वाद्वाधकः षष्ठीसमासः प्राप्तः सोऽप्यनेन वार्यते ॥

705. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of (1) an ordinal, (2) an attribute, or (4) satisfaction, or (4) with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127 S. 3106) or (5) an indeclinable, or (3) ending with the affix tavya, or (7) with a word denoting the same object (i. e., when they are in apposition).

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) सत्तमवष्टः 'sixth amongst the goods'; (2) काकस्य काष्ठ्यम् 'the blackness of the crow,' ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लाः 'The Brāhmaṇa has white teeth.' This illustration is to be given when by context the word इन्ताः is understood.

The prohibition about guṇa-compounding, is however not universal: for we find Pāṇini himself making such a compound in the following sūtra तद्विशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् I. 2. 53 S. 1295. Here the word संज्ञाप्रमाणत्व is a guṇa-compound, the word प्रमाणत्वम् being guṇa. So the compounds अर्थगौरवं, बुद्धिमान्द्वयम् are valid.

(3) The word सुहित means तृप्त or satisfied. फलानां सुहितः 'satisfied of fruits'; फलानां तृप्तः The Instrumental compound however is not prohibited. As फलेन तृप्तः = फलतृप्तः ॥ The difference is in accent. It is ādyudātta, while a genitive compound would have been final udātta.

(4) ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् 'the servant of a Brāhmaṇa'; ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वाणः 'the servant of a Brāhmaṇa.'

(5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा 'being done of Brāhmaṇa,' ब्राह्मणस्य हुत्वा ॥

The word avyaya in the sūtra means the Kṛidanta Indeclinables only and not every Indeclinable. This we infer from the fact that the word avyaya here is associated with Kṛidanta words both before and behind. Namely सन् is a Kṛit affix and तव्य is also a kṛit affix, therefore अव्यय which is in the middle, must refer also to a kṛit-formed Indeclinable. Therefore, we can have a compound with Indeclinables other than kṛidanta, as तस्य उपरि = तदुपरि ॥ This is according to the grammarian Rakshita. According to others, namely Kaiyyata and Haradatta, the prohibition applies to every Indeclinable. But the latter opinion is not sound, as the former is supported by Patanjali, who uses the compound तदुपरि ॥

(6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् ॥ When however the affix is तव्यत् having the indicatory त् (III. 1. 96) there is compounding; as ब्राह्मणकर्तव्यं 'the Brāhmaṇa's duty.' स्वकर्तव्यम् 'One's duty.' The difference is in accent. (VI. 1. 185. S. 3729)

(7) राज्ञः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pāṭaliputraka' पाणिनिः सूत्रकारस्य 'of the sūtra composer Pāṇini.' So also सत्त्वकस्य सर्वस्य We can however form a compound like the following सूत्रकारपाणिनिः । Even by the general rule relating to words in apposition one qualifying the other, as contained in sūtra II. 1. 57 S. 736 the compound cannot be affected here, because of the word bahula used in that sūtra ; the difference between that sūtra and the present is as to the position of the words. In the genitive compound, the genitive word would have stood first if compounded ; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

In the case of तव्यन् the compounding takes place. The difference is in accent. तव्यन् is final svarita as it has an indicatory त् ॥ Thus कर्तव्यम् formed by तव्यन्, and कर्तव्यम् by तव्य ॥ In compounding with कर्तव्यम् the svarita will be retained by कृदुत्तरप्रकृतिस्वरः but had there been compounding with the second कर्तव्यम् the udātta would have remained in the middle.

In the phrase गोर्धेनोः, the गो is a jāti word, and धेनु is read in sūtra II. 1. 65 S. 744, and so there ought to be compounding : is it so ? Now the compounding is ordained by II. 1. 65 S. 744 which applies to all cases in general (including genitive) but that sūtra is set aside by the subsequent sūtra II. 2. 8. S. 702 ; which specifically applies to genitive cases. Therefore गोर्धेनोः should be compounded by II. 2. 8 S. 702. But this sūtra itself is set aside by the present sūtra, so there is no compounding in गोर्धेनोः either by II. 2. 8 S. 702, or II. 1. 65 S. 744. In fact, II. 1. 65 S. 744 finds its scope in all other cases than the sixth ; while the sixth case will be governed by the subsequent sūtra II. 2. 8. S. 702 ; which itself is limited by the present sūtra.

७०६ । केन च पूजायाम् । २ । २ । १२ ॥

मतिबुद्धीति सूत्रेण विहितो यः कस्तदन्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते । राज्ञां मनो बुद्धः पूजितो वा । राजपूजित इत्यादौ तु भूते कान्तेन सह तृतीयासमासः ॥

706. A word ending with a sixth case affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' 'inclination', and 'understanding.'

The affix क्त is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sūtra III. 2. 188. S. 3089. The present sūtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजाः and pūjā itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding.'

As राज्ञां नतः—बुद्धः—पूजितः 'the king wishes, understands or respects.'

But in राजपूजितः "honored by the king," the affix kta denotes past time, and it is an Instrumental compound and not a genitive compound.

७०७ । अधिकरणवाचिना च । २ । २ । १३ ॥

क्लृप्तं पट्टी न लनस्यते । इदमेवामासितं गतं भुक्तं वा ॥

707. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened.

As इदमेवामासितं गतं भुक्तं 'here they have sat, gone or eaten.'

Note:—When the affix क्त is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating,' it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots i. e., that the action is located by the agent in this or that site (III. 4. 76 S. 3087)

७०८ । कर्मणि च । २ । २ । १४ ॥

उभयप्राप्ते कर्मणीति या पट्टी सा न लनस्यते । आश्वर्यो गवां दौहोऽगोपेन ॥

708. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative under II. 3. 66 S. 624.

As आश्वर्यो गवां दौहोऽगोपेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder.'

Note:—The anuvṛtti of क्त does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies śaśt'hi. Sūtra II. 3. 66 S. 624 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed i. e., when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by क्त affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent.

७०९ । तुज्जकार्थ्यां कर्तरि । २ । २ । १५ ॥

कार्थेतुज्जकार्थ्यां पट्टया न लनातः । अगं लटा । वज्रस्य भर्ता । भोदनस्य पाचकः । कर्तरि निम्न । इष्टुणां भक्षणनिष्ठुमल्लिका । पत्यर्थमर्जुनस्य तु याजकारिष्वात्समासः । भूतार्ता । कथं तद्धि घटानां निर्मातुस्त्रिभुवनविधातुश्च कलह इति । शेषपट्टया समास इति कैयटः ॥

709. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka,' when

the force of the affixes is that of an agent.

As अर्पां सदा 'the creator of waters' वज्रस्य भर्ता 'the holder of thunder-bolt.'

Note:—The word 'kartari' qualifies the affixes trich and aka. The affix तृच् is taught in sūtra III. 1, 133, and the affix अक is not a single affix; all affixes that have an element व are अक; such as ण्वुज् or वुज् or वुज् (sūtra VII. 1. 1)

It might be suggested that the word भर्तृ being read in the class of व्याजक (II. 2. 9. S. 703) ought to be compounded. The word भर्तृ there means 'husband or lord,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.' Thus भूभर्ता "the lord of world." How do you explain the compound त्रिभुवनविधातुः in the sentence घटानां निर्मातुश्च त्रिभुवनविधातुश्च कलहः "The quarrel of the maker of pots and the ruler of the Three worlds." According to Kaiyāta it is compounded as shesha shashṭhi and it is not a pratipada vidhāna shashṭhi.

The above are examples of words formed by तृच्. Now we shall give examples of words formed by अक; thus गोहनस्य पाचकः 'the cooker of rice.'

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिकां भेधारयति.

७१० । कर्तरि च । २ । २ । १३ ॥

कर्तरि षष्ठ्या अकेन न समासः । भवतः शायिता । नेह वृजवृन्तो । तजोने कर्तुमिहितत्वेन कर्तृषष्ठ्या अभावान् ॥

710. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'aka' affix when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.

As भवतः शायिका 'your honors' repose.'

The word 'kartari' qualifies the Genitive case. The Genitive case has the force of an agent under II. 3. 65 S. 623. The anuvṛtti of तृच् is not to be read into this sūtra. Because a तृच् formed word always denotes an agent, and so a Genitive case used along with such a word can never denote an agent. Thus सदा is a word formed with तृच् affix. It means "creator," and in अर्पां सदा हरिः the agent हरिः can never take the Genitive case in connection with सदा denoting the agent. But with अक (ण्वुच् III. 3. 111 S. 3288) we have सज्जिका where हरिः can take the Genitive case; as हरेः सज्जिका "Hari's turn of creating."

७११ । नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः । २ । २ । १७ ॥

एतयोरर्थयोरकेन नित्यं षष्ठी समस्यते । उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका । क्रीडाविशेषस्य संज्ञा । संज्ञायामिति भावः ण्वुल् । जीविकायाम् । दन्तलेखकः । तत्र क्रीडायां विकल्पे जीविकायां वृजकाभ्यां कर्तरीति निषेधे प्राप्तं वचनम् ॥

711. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with *aka*, when this affix denotes a sport or a livelihood ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka (lasorā vernacular) flowers are broken or crushed.' Here ण्वुल् denotes mere action by III. 3. 109 S. 3286, and forms a Name. As an example of livelihood we have दन्तलेखकः "one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth." नखलेखकः 'a nail-painter by profession.'

Note :—This is a Nitya-samāsa incapable of analysis. The anuvṛtṭi of the word 'na' which began with II. 2. 10 S. 704, does not extend further. The affix वृच् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood ; the only examples possible are of 'aka.'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe आद्वय भोजकः.

उद्दालक पुष्पाणां भञ्जिका ॥ Here neither the ण्वुल् denotes the agent nor the genitive पुष्पाणां is a कर्तरि षष्ठी ॥ Therefore both the preceding two sūtras can not apply. Now the compounding will be the usual genitive compound by sūtra II. 2. 8 S. 702 which is optional, and to set aside that usual optional compounding, the present sūtra is ordained which makes the compounding compulsory. Similarly दन्तलेखकः ॥ In this the *aka* भक denoting the agent could not have been compounded with a genitive, by virtue of the prohibition of the preceding sūtra ; therefore, to accomplish both these objects in view, the sūtra-kāra has made this present sūtra, and so the compounding by this is *invariable*. In other words, the present sūtra sets aside the *option* of II. 2. 8. S. 702 in the case of उद्दालकपुष्प भञ्जिका, and the *prohibition* of II. 2. 15 S. 709 in the case of दन्तलेखकः ॥

७१२ । पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे । २ । २ । १ ॥

अवयविना सह पूर्वविद्यः समस्यन्ते एकत्वसंख्याविशिष्टधेयवयी । षष्ठीसमासापवादः । पूर्वैकत्वस्य पूर्वकायः । अपरकायः ॥

एकदेशिना किम् । पूर्व नामैः कायस्य । एकाधिकरणे किम् । पूर्वव्याख्यायाम् ।

सर्वोऽप्येकदेशोऽह्ना समस्यते संख्याविषायेति ज्ञापकात् । मध्याह्नः । सायाह्नः । केचित्तु सर्वोऽप्येकदेशः कालेन समस्यते न त्वद्वैव । ज्ञापकस्य सामान्यापत्तत्वात् । तेन मध्यरात्र । उपारताः पश्चिम-
रात्रगोचरा इत्यादि सिद्धमित्याहुः ॥

712. The words *pûrva* 'front,' *apara* 'near,' *adhara* 'lower,' and *uttara* 'upper,' are compounded when in construction with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Note:—The word 'ekâdhikarâṇa' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or qualifies the word 'ekadesin.' This debar the Genitive Tat-purusha compound ordained by II. 2. 9 S. 702 which would have placed the words '*pûrva*' &c, last in the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

This is an *apavâda* or exception to Genitive compounding under II. 2. 8 S. 702. Thus पूर्व + कायस्य = पूर्वकायः 'the front of the body'; अपरकायः 'the back of the body';

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe पूर्व नाभः कायस्य ॥ Why do we say 'distinguished numerically by unity'? Observe पूर्ववृद्धान्नाणाम् 'the fore-most of the pupils': because here the substratum (*adhikarâṇa*) is not unity (*eka*). But the compounds like मध्याह्नः 'noon'; सायाह्नः 'evening' are correct, because the word 'ahna' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, as we learn this by inference from *sûtra* VI. 3. 110 S. 238.

Some say the rule which we have inferred from the *Jñâpaka* of *sûtra* VI. 3. 110 S. 238 is not confined to अह्न only, but applies to all words denoting *time*: as the *jñâpaka* is general, and not merely limited to a particular word. As a result, we get compounds like मध्य रात्रः and पश्चिमरात्रः is the examples given in the text above.

७१३ । अर्धं नपुंसकम् । २ । २ । २ ॥

समांशवाच्यार्धशब्दो नित्यं क्लीबे स प्रायवत् । एकविभक्तावयववृत्तवचनम् * ॥ एकदेशिसमास-
विषयकोऽयमुपसर्जनसंज्ञानिवेधः । तेन पञ्चखट्वा इत्यादि सिद्धयति । अर्धं पिप्पलीयाः अर्धपिप्पली ।
क्लीबे किम् । यामार्धः । द्वयैक्य एव । अर्धं पिप्पलीनाम् ॥

713. The word अर्ध when it signifies 'exactly equal parts, i. e. halves,' is always neuter, and is compounded

with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart :—A word which has one fixed case, while the word compounded with it may vary its case, is an upasarjana, except when the case is a Genitive one. This is an exception to sūtra. I. 2. 44 S. 655. Therefore a Genitive noun denoting part, though fixed, will not be upasarjana. This prohibition of upasarjana relates to एकदेशिनः that is, to compounds denoting *parts* of a substance, and not to a Genitive case in general. Therefore in पंचानां खट्वानां समाहारः = पंचखट्वी ॥ Here खट्वा though in the Genitive case, gets upasarjana designation, and consequently it is shortened by गोस्त्रियो &c. I. 2. 48 S. 656 The result of which is that the compound gets ङीप् ॥

But in अर्धे पिप्पल्याः = अर्धपिप्पली the word पिप्पली in the Genitive does not get upasarjana designation, as the present vārtika applies to it, because it is ekadesī ; and so we have no shortening.

The word अर्द्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and इकाधिकरण are understood here. This sūtra also debars II. 29 ; as अर्द्धपिप्पल्याः = अर्द्धपिप्पली 'a half of the pepper'; अर्द्ध कोशातकी 'a half of the Kośātakī.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्द्धः 'half the village' नगरार्द्धः 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadesin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्द्धे पशोर्देवदत्तस्य 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekādlikaraṇa' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्द्धे पिप्पलीनाम् 'the half of the peppers.'

७१४ । द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्याण्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । २ । ३ ॥

एतान्येकदेशिना सह प्राप्तव्या । द्वितीयं भिन्नाया द्वितीयभिन्ना । एकदेशिना किम् । द्वितीयं भिन्नाया भिक्षुकस्य । अन्यतरस्यामहणसामर्थ्यात्पूरणमुपाति निबन्धं बाधित्वा पक्षे षष्ठीसमासः । । भिन्नाद्वितीयम् ॥

714. The word dvitīya, 'second,' tritīya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has

parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

Note:—This also debars II. 2. 9. By the force of the word ‘optionally’ used here, II. 2. 9. S. 703 also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. 705 as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयभिक्षायाः = द्वितीयभिक्षा ‘second begging.’ When we apply sūtra II. 2. 9 S. 703 we have भिक्षाद्वितीयं.

Why do we say “which signifies a thing that has parts?”

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sūtra, of the phrases द्वितीय भिक्षाया भिक्षुकस्य.

By force of the word अन्यतरस्याम् “optionally” read in this sūtra, though it was not necessary, as the same effect could have been got by the the great option (Mahāvibhāsa of sūtra II. 1. 11 S. 665), we infer that the sūtra II. 2. 11 S. 705 is set aside in the case of these words, and so we can form usual compounds also under sūtra II. 2. 8 S. 702. For these words are all ordinals, and so would have come under the prohibition of II. 2. 11 S. 705. Thus we have द्वितीयं भिक्षायाः = भिक्षाद्वितीयम् by II. 2. 8. S. 702 and by the present sūtra द्वितीयभिक्षा ॥ Thus there are two forms.

७१५ । प्राप्तपन्ने च द्वितीयया । २ । २ । ४ ॥

पक्षे द्वितीयाभ्रवति समानः । प्राप्तो जीविकां प्राप्तजीविकः । जीविकाप्राप्तः । आपन्नजीविकः । जीविकापन्नः । इह सूत्रे द्वितीयया अ इति क्त्विवा अकारोऽपि विधीयते । तत्र जीविकां प्राप्ता स्त्री प्राप्तजीविका । आपन्नजीविका ।

715. The words prāpta ‘obtained,’ and āpanna ‘obtained’ are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The anuvṛitti of the words ‘ekadesin’ and ‘ekādhikaraṇa’ does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24 S. 686. Thus we have प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्तो जीविकां) or जीविकाप्राप्तः ‘obtained his livelihood.’ So also आपन्नजीविकः or जीविकापन्नः.

In this sūtra, the word द्वितीयया is a compound of द्वितीयया + भ ; and the sūtra ordains अ substitution also, in case of feminine gender. Namely प्राप्ता and आपन्ना are shortened to प्राप्त and आपन्न ॥ In other words the sūtra

should be translated thus :—"The words प्राप्त and आपन्न are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case affix, and form Tat-purusha compound ; and there is the substitution of short अ for long आ if these words are in the feminine." Thus जीविकां प्राप्ता स्त्री = प्राप्तजीविका. Here प्राप्ता is not upasarjana, and no sūtra would have shortened this. Similarly आपन्नजीविका ॥ But if we compound it under sūtra II. 1. 24 S. 686, then we have जीविकां प्राप्ता स्त्री = जीविकाप्राप्ता ॥

७१६ । कालाःपरिमाणिना । २ । २ । ५ ॥

परिच्छेद्यवाचिना सुबन्तेन सह कालाः समस्यन्ते । मासो जातस्य यस्य स मासजातः । ब्रह्मजातः । द्वयोरद्वयोः समाहारो ब्रह्मः । ब्रह्मो जातस्य यस्य स इति विग्रहः ॥ उत्तरपदेन परिमाणिना द्विगोः सिद्धये बहूनां तत्पुरुषस्योपसंख्यानम् * ॥ द्वे बह्वनी जातस्य यस्य स ब्रह्मजातः । बह्वोऽद्वहति वक्ष्यमाणोऽद्वहतिः । पूर्वत्र तु न संख्यारोः समाहार इति निषेधः ॥

716. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मासो जातस्य = मासजातः 'month old' (born a month ago.) So also सवत्सरजातः 'a year old' and ब्रह्मजातः "Two days old." This is a compound of two words ब्रह्म and जात, as ब्रह्मो जातस्य यस्य = ब्रह्मजातः ॥ The word ब्रह्म itself is a Dvigu Aggregate Compound, and is thus formed द्वयोरद्वयोः समाहारः = ब्रह्मः ॥ Thus द्वि + बहन् + टच् (V. 4. 91 S. 788) = द्वि + बह् + अ (अन् is elided by VI. 4. 145 S. 789) ब्रह्मः ॥ Now this ब्रह्मः is *one* word and so is compounded with जातस्य ॥

But if the analysis be द्वे बह्वनी जातस्य यस्य सः, then the form will be ब्रह्मजातः; and here arises the difficulty of compounding more than *two* nouns at a time. For the rule is that *one* noun is compounded with *another* noun, and not that *three* nouns can be compounded simultaneously. To obviate this difficulty we have the following.

Vārtika :—Enumeration should be made of a Tat-purusha compound of more than two words, for the sake of accomplishing a Dvigu, with the third or last word denoting the thing measured. So we can compound द्वे बह्वनी जातस्य into ब्रह्मजातः ॥ The बहन् is changed to बह् by V. 4. 88 S. 790. But in the first case, we form a Samāhara compound, and so V. 4. 89 S. 793 applies, and we have no बह् substitution.

THE LOCATIVE TATPURUSHA

७१७ । सप्तमी शौण्डैः । २ । १ । ४० ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं शौण्डादिभिः प्राग्वद्वा । अक्षेषु शौण्डः अक्षशौण्डः । अधिशब्दोऽत्र पठ्यते । अष्ट्युत्तरपदार्थेति खः । ईश्वराधीनः ॥

717. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words *śaunḍa* 'skilled' &c. and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Note:—The word शौण्डैः in the sūtra being in the plural number indicates a class of words beginning with *śaunḍa*.

As अक्षेषु शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः 'skilled in dice.' A word ending with अधि will take the affix ख (ईन by V. 4. 7. S. 2079) and will be a तत्पुरुषं compound. Thus ईश्वराधीनः

The following is the list of शौण्डादि words:—1 शौण्ड, 2 धूर्त, 3 कितव, 4 व्याड, 5 प्रवीण, 6 संवीत, 7 अन्तर when meaning place, 8 अधि, 9 पट्ट, (or अधिपट्ट) 10 पण्डित, 11 कुशल, 12 अपल, 13 निपुण, 14 संव्याड, 15 भन्ध, and 16 समीर.

७१८ । सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धैश्च । २ । १ । ४१ ॥

एतैः सप्तम्यन्तं प्राग्वत् । सांकाश्यसिद्धः । आतपशुष्कः । स्थालीपक्वः । चक्रबन्धः ॥

718. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words *siddha* 'perfected,' *śushka* 'dried,' *pakva* 'cooked' and *bandha* 'bound,' and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, सांकाश्यसिद्धः 'perfect in *sānkāśya*.' आतपशुष्कः 'dried in the sun,' स्थालीपक्वः 'cooked in pot.' चक्रबन्धः 'bound on the wheel.'

७१९ । ध्वाङ्क्षणे क्षेपे । २ । १ । ४२ ॥

ध्वाङ्क्षवाचिना सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते निन्दायाम् । तीर्थे ध्वाङ्क्ष इव तीर्थे ध्वाङ्क्षः । तीर्थकाक इत्यर्थः ॥

719. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the word *dhvāṅksha*, 'a crow,' (and with synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, तीर्थध्वाङ्क्षः 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' i. e., a very greedy person; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long anywhere, so

a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a तीर्थकाकः or a तीर्थवायसः.

Note:—When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as तीर्थेष्वांक्षास्तिष्ठति. 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.'

७२० । कृत्यैर्द्धणे । २ । १ । ४३ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं कृत्यप्रत्ययान्तेः सह प्राग्बहवद्वयके । मासदेयम् कणम् । पूर्वार्द्धे गेयं साम ॥

720. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a kṛitya-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied.

Note:—This compound is confined to the words formed by the kṛitya affix यत् and not to every kṛitya-formed word.

As, मासदेनं 'a debt repayable within a month.' The case-affix is not elided optionally by VI. 3. 14. S. 972. Otherwise we have मासदेयं ॥

By using the word कण we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following case also:— पूर्वार्द्धे गेयं साम 'the Sâma that should be sung in the morning.'

७२१ । संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ४४ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं सुपा प्राग्वत् संज्ञायाम् । वाक्येन संज्ञानगभान्नित्यसमासोऽयम् । अरण्येतिलकाः । वने कशेरुकाः । हलन्तात्सप्तम्या इत्यलुक् ॥

721. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and it is called Tat-purusha samâsa.

A sanjñâ is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (nitya) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, अरण्ये तिलकाः 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil; any thing which does not answer to one's expectation. So also वने कशेरुकाः 'anything found unexpectedly.'

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance with sūtra

VI. 3. 9. S. 966. The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative.

७२२ । केनाहोरात्रावायवाः । २ । १ । ४५ ॥

अहो रात्रिश्चावयवाः सप्तम्यन्ताः कान्तेन सह प्राग्वत् । पूर्वाह्निकृतम् । अपररात्रकृतम् । अवयव-
ग्रहणं किम् । आह्नि दृष्टम् ॥

722. The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वाह्निकृतम् 'done in the morning.' अपररात्रकृतं 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe आह्नि दृष्टम् 'seen in day.'

७२३ । तत्र । २ । १ । ४६ ॥

तत्रेत्येतत्सप्तम्यन्तं कान्तेन सह प्राग्वत् । तत्रशुक्तम् ॥

723. The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 10S. 1957) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus तत्रशुक्तम् 'eaten there.'

Note :—By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sūtra II. 1. 25. S. 687 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

७२४ । क्षेपे । २ । १ । ४७ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं कान्तेन प्राग्वन्निन्वायम् । अवतप्ते नकुलस्थितं त एतत् ॥

724. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अवतप्तेनकुलस्थितं त एतत् 'thy this work is as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground' (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) चापलम् ॥

Note:—The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sūtra also. See sūtra VI. 3. 14.

७२५ । पात्रेसमिताद्यश्च । २ । १ । ४८ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते क्षेपे । पात्रेसमिताः । भोजनसमये एव संगता । नतु कार्ये । गेहेशूरः । गेहेनर्दी । आकृतिगणोऽयम् । अकारोऽवधारणार्थः । तेनैषा समासान्तरे घटकतया प्रवेशो न । परमाः पात्रेसमिताः ॥

725. The words like pâtre-samita 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c., are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied.

Note:—All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त); they could have been formed by the previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udātta on the beginning; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'युक्तारोह्यादि Class' treated of in sūtra VI. 2. 81.

Thus the following is the list of the words:—पात्रेसमिताः, 2 पात्रेबहुलाः 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner (time). 3 उदुम्बरमशकः, 4 उदुम्बरकृमिः, 5 उदुम्बरकृमिः, 6 कूपकच्छपः, 7 भवदकच्छपः, 8 कूपमण्डूकः, 9 कुम्भमण्डूकः, 10 उदपानमण्डूकः, 11 नगरकाकः, 12 नगरवायसः, 13 मातरिपुरुषः, 14 पिण्डीशूरः, 15 पितरिशूरः, 16 गेहेशूरः, 17 गेहेनर्दी, 18 गेहेक्षेत्री, 19 गेहेविजिती, 20 गेहेव्याडः, 21 गेहेमेही, 22 गेहेवाही, 23 गेहेवृषः, 24 गेहेधृष्टः, 25 गर्भेतृप्तः, 26 भाखनिकबकः, 27 गोष्ठेशूरः, 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेक्षेत्री, 30 गोष्ठेपटुः, 31 गोष्ठेपाण्डितः, 32 गोष्ठेप्रगल्भः, 33 कर्णेतिरिदिता, 34 कर्णेचुरचुरा ॥ The force of च in the sūtra is to restrict it to these very words. Therefore, we cannot compound परमाः पात्रेसमिताः, and it cannot form part of another compound.

७२६ । पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन । २ । १ । ४९ ॥

विशेषणं विशेष्येणेति सिद्धे पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं सूत्रम् । एकशब्दस्य विकसंख्ये संज्ञायामिति नियमबाधनार्थं च । पूर्वं ज्ञातः पश्चादनुज्ञितः ज्ञातातुलितः । एकनाथः । सर्वयाज्ञिकः । जरन्नेयाधिकाः पुराणमीमांसकाः । नवपाठकाः । केवलवैयाकरणाः ॥

726. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (pûrvakâla), and the words eka 'one,' sarva 'all,' jarat 'old,' purâṇa 'ancient,' nava 'new,' and kevala 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them; and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

Note.—These compounds could have been formed by the rule II. 1. 57 S. 736 but their especial enumeration here is for the sake of placing these words first in the compound. In the case of the word एक there is further object of precluding the prohibition of Sûtra II. 1. 50 S. 727.

The phrase सुप सुप is understood here, the whole sūtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकरणं) or abiding in a common substratum

In the present sūtra the word-form pūrva kâla is not to be taken (I. 1. 68 S. 25) but its significates; while of the rest एक &c., the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it.

As, ज्ञातानुलिप्तः 'bathed and perfumed.' कृष्टसमीकृतम् 'ploughed and levelled.' दग्धमरूढम् 'burnt and healed.' एकनाथः 'having one master.' एकभिक्षा 'begging once in a day.' सर्वयाज्ञिकाः "all the members of a sacrifice." सर्वमनुष्याः 'all men.' जरद्वस्ती 'old elephant.' जरन्वैयायिकाः 'old logician' जरवृत्तिः 'old occupation.' पुराणमिमंसाकाः old Mimansakas. पुराणावसथम् 'an old habitation.' So नवपाठकाः "New students." नवावसथम् ॥ केवल वैयाकरणाः "Only grammarians."

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe एकस्याः शारी 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhâraya Compounds (I. 2. 42.)

७२७ । दिक्संख्ये संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ५० ॥

समानाधिकरणेनेत्यापादपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारः । संज्ञायामेवेति नियमार्थं सूत्रम् । पूर्वेषुकामशशी । सप्तमर्थः । नेह । उत्तरा वृत्ताः । पञ्च ब्राह्मणाः ॥

727. The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (saṅkhyâ) enter into composition with the words correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sūtras up to the end of the chapter. This sūtra makes a niyama, namely these words are compounded only then, when the whole is a Name and Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukāmaśamī-in-the-east.' सप्तर्षयः 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear)

But not in उत्तरा वृक्षाः 'northern trees,' and पंच ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brahmanas,' because here the sense of the compounds is not that of an appellative. See IV. 2. 107.

७२८ । तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च । २ । १ । ५१ ॥

तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे च वाच्ये दिक्संख्ये प्राग्वद्वा । पूर्वस्यां शालायां भवः पौर्वशालः । समासे कृतं दिक्पूर्वपदसंज्ञायां अ इति अः ॥ सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुनश्चावः* ॥ आपरशालः । पूर्वा शाला प्रिया यस्येति त्रिपदं बहुव्रीहौ कृतं प्रियाशब्दे उत्तरपदे पूर्वयोस्तत्पुरुषः । तेन शालाशब्दे आकार उदात्तः । पूर्वशालाप्रियः । दिक्षु समाहारो नास्त्यनभिधानात् । संख्यायास्तद्धितार्थे । षण्णां मानुषामपत्यं षाण्मातुरः । पञ्च गावां धने यस्येति त्रिपदं बहुव्रीहौ वान्तरत्तत्पुरुषस्य विकल्पे प्राप्ते ॥ द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः उत्तरपदे नित्यसमासवचनम्* ॥

728. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be expressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्यां शालायां भवः 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) serves to represent the force of the Taddhita-affix अ) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patanjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have:—पूर्व + शाला + अ (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) = पौर्वशालः (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 and VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

Vart :—The sarvñāmans become Masculine when parts of a compound or a Taddhita. The vrittis are of five kinds; Krit, Taddhita, Samāsa, Ekshesha and Sānādyanta. Here two Vrittis only are to be taken. Similarly आपरशालः ॥

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarpade). As, पूर्व शालाप्रियः or अपरशालाप्रियः 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarpada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

If we make a Bahuvrīhi compound of the three words पूर्वा शाला प्रिया यस्य, where the word प्रिया is the uttarapada then the first two words (पूर्वा शाला) form a Tatpurusha पूर्वशाला ॥ Here the औ of शाला is udatta by VI. 1. 223 S. 3734, and this udatta will be retained in the Bahuvrīhi also, As पूर्वशालाप्रियः ॥ Had the शाला and प्रिया been compounded first, and then the compound शालाप्रिय further compounded with पूर्व as a Bahuvrīhi, then by VI. 2. 1. S. 3735, पूर्व would have retained its accent, and the compound would have been पूर्वशालाप्रियः ॥

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words) because the usage is against it.

The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as षण्मातुरः "a son of six mothers," a name of Kārtikeya. Here the Taddhita affix अण् is added by IV. 1. 115 S. 1118. In compounding पंचगावोधनं यस्य as a Bahuvrīhi of three words, when we take the intermediate Tatpurusha stage, as optional by the great option II. 1. 11. S. 665, and may so consider that the Tatpurusha compound need not take place, then the following vārtika applies:—

Vart :—The compounding is nitya when a Dvandva or a Tatpurusha is to be compounded with an uttarapada of more than two words. Therefore पंच and गावः must be necessarily compounded first as a samāhāra, there being no option possible here; and then the compound so formed, further compounded as a Bahuvrīhi with धनं ॥ The compound of पंच + गो gets the affix टच् by the following:—

७२९ । गोरतद्धितलुकि । ५ । ४ । ६२ ॥

गोन्तान्तत्पुरुषाटच् स्यात् समासान्तो न तद्धितलुकि । पञ्चगवधनः ॥

729. The affix तच् comes after गो standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, when no elision of a Taddhita affix has taken place in forming such compound.

Thus पंच + गो + टच् = पंचगवः ॥ पंचगवधनः ॥ The meaning is 'whose wealth consists of five cows.'

Note:—Why do we say "when no Taddhita affix has been elided in forming the compound"? Observe, पंचभिर्गोभिः क्रीतः = पंचगुः ॥ (Here the affix टक् V. 1. 37 S. 1702 is elided by V. 1. 28 S. 1693 and hence the samāsanta affix टच् is not added). So also द्वागुः ॥

Why do we say 'when there is elision'? Merely adding a Taddhita affix in forming a Tatpurusha, will not debar the samāsānta affix: as पंचभ्यो गोभ्य आ गते = पंचगो + टच् + रुच्य (the tach is added by this sūtra, and the taddhita रुच्य to denote तत् आगतः by IV. 3. 81 S. 1461) = पंचगौरुच्यम्, पंचगौमयम्, or दशगवुरुच्यम्, दशगवमयम् ॥

Thus we get above पंचगवधनः ॥ But if the option of II. 1. 11 S. 665 be applied, and पंच + गो be not compounded as a Tatpurusha, then there will be no samāsānta टच्, and the Bahuvrīhi will be पंचगोधनः ॥ This is on the view that the vārtika above given is not to be applied. Similarly with a द्वन्द्व compound, as वाक् च दृक् च मित्रे अस्य = वाग्दृक्मित्रिः ॥ So also छत्रोपानहमित्रिः ॥ Here वाक् and दृक् are *invariably* compounded as a Dvandva, before becoming the first member of a Bahuvrīhi compound, and therefore it takes *always* the samāsānta टच् by V. 4. 106 S. 930.

—:0:—

THE DVIGU COMPOUND.

७३० । संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः । २ । १ । ५२ ॥

तद्वितार्थे लोकोक्तः संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः स्यात् ॥

730. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix (तद्वितार्थे) or when an additional member comes after the compound (उत्तरपदे) or when an aggregate (समाहारे) is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or a Numeral Determinative compound.

The word taddhitārtha of sūtra II. 1. 51 S. 728 is understood here also. This defines a Dvigu compound, which is a class of Tatpurusha, where the first member is a numeral. The examples of it will be given below.

They are of three sorts, namely (1) Tadditārtha dvigu, as दशकपालः, "an offering prepared in ten cups, formed by the affix अण् of IV. 2. 16 which is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1217; 1080. (2) upapada dvigu, as, पंचनावमित्रिः, and (3) samāhara dvigu, as, पंचपत्नी ॥ The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

७३१ । द्विगुरेकवचनम् । २ । ४ । १ ॥

द्विग्वर्थः समाहार एकवत्स्यात् । स नपुंसकमिति नपुंसकत्वम् । पञ्चानां गवां समाहारः पञ्चगवम् ॥

731. The compound Dvigu (II. 1. 52 S. 730) is singular in number.

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat-purusha compound meaning 'the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samāhāra Dvigu *i. e.*, an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. This Samāhāra Dvigu is always Neuter by II. 4. 17 S. 821. As, पञ्चगवः 'an aggregate of five cows,' (IV. 1. 21.).

Why do we say "a Samāhāra Dvigu is singular"? When it is a Taddhitārtha Dvigu it is not singular. As पञ्चसु कपलिषु संस्कृताः = पञ्चकपालाः ; similarly पञ्चभिः गोभिः क्रीताः = पञ्चगवः पदाः ॥

७३२ । कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः । २ । १ । ५३ ॥

कुत्स्यमानानि कुत्सनैः सह प्राग्वत् । वैयाकरणखसूचिः । मीमांसकदुर्दुरुद्धः ॥

732. Case inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha.

As वैयाकरणखसूचिः "A bad grammarian, who does not know grammar, but contemplates the heaven (ख) when asked any question." So also मीमांसकदुर्दुरुद्धः "an evil conducted mimānsaka," From $\sqrt{\text{दुल}}$ बल्लिप्ते with the prefix दुर् and the Uṇādi कृट् ॥

Another example of such compounds is याज्ञिककितवः 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for, whom one ought not to perform sacrifices'

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobatory signification as such. Therefore, it is not in the following case. कुत्सितो ब्राह्मणः 'the bad Brāhmaṇa' &c.

७३३ । पापानके कुत्सितैः । २ । १ । ५४ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रापवादः । पापनापितः । भणककुलालः ॥

733. The case inflected words pāpa 'sin,' and anaka 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words पाप and भणक are words of contempt (कुत्सन); by the last sūtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present sūtra, however, is so framed with regard to sūtra I. 2. 43 S. 653 and II. 2. 30, S. 654 that they will stand as first. As पापनापितः or भणकनापितः 'a contemptible barber' पाप or भणक-कुलालः 'a contemptible potter,'

७३४ । उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः । २ । १ । ५५ ॥

घन इव श्यामो घनश्यामः । इह पूर्वपदं तत्सदृशे लाक्षणिकमिति सूचयितुं लौकिकविमोहे इव शब्दः प्रयुज्यते । पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं सूचय ॥

734. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is 'upamāna ; and the 'upameya' (the thing compared) is called सामान्य or 'common.' Thus घनश्यामः कृष्णः 'cloud-black Kṛiṣṇa' (Kṛiṣṇa black as a cloud). Here श्याम is a quality common to Krishna and cloud : therefore 'cloud' which is the उपमान is compounded with it. So also कुसुमश्वेती 'lily-white,' हंसगद्गदा 'Swan-sounding,' न्यग्रोध-परिमंडला 'globular as Nyagrodha tree.' For accent see VI. 2. 2.

But not so in देवदत्ता श्यामा 'black Devadattā' or फला इव तन्दुलाः 'the rice are like fruits,' पर्वता इव बलाहकाः 'clouds like mountains.'

In analysing the above compound घनश्यामः we must use the word इव, as घन इव श्यामः, and this shows that it is merely a simile or metaphorical use of the word. This sūtra is made in order to declare a niyama rule, so that the upamāna word should stand *first*.

७३५ । उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे । २ । १ । ५६ ॥

उपमेयं व्याघ्रादिभिः सह प्राग्वत्साधारणधर्मेस्याप्रयोगे सति । विशेष्यस्य पूर्वनिपातार्थं सूत्रम् । पुरुषव्याघ्रः । नृलोमः । व्याघ्रादिराकृतिगणः । सामान्याप्रयोगे किम् । पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव शूरः ॥

735. A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyâghra 'tiger,' &c., the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former ; and the compound is Tat-purusha ; provided that, any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of last sūtra 734 by which the substantive (upamāna) would have stood first ; by the present, the upameya or the qualified stands first. As पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्र इव = पुरुषव्याघ्रः 'a person-tiger' (in strength).

The words व्याघ्र &c. are आकृतिगणः i. e., this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, &

posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts *a priori*.

In the last sūtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपमित and certain उपमान words, but never with सामान्य बचन ॥ Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence :—पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव शूरः 'a man strong as a tiger.' Similarly मुखपद्मम्, मुखकमलम्, कराकिसलयम्, पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ॥

The following is the list of such words:—

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. सिंह = A lion. 3. भृश = A bear. 4. ऋषभ = A bull. 5. चन्दन = Sandal. 6. वृक = A wolf. 7. वृष = A bull. 8. वराह = A boar, hog. 9. हस्तिन् = An elephant. 10. तरु = A tree. 11. कुञ्जर = An elephant. 12. रुरु = A kind of deer. 13. पृषत = The spotted antelope. 14. पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower. 15. पलाश = A tree, Butea Frondosa. 16. कितव = A rogue, cheat.

आकृतिगणोऽम्

1. मुखपद्मम् } A lotus-like face.
2. मुखकमलम् }
3. कराकिसलयम् = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand. 4. पार्थिवचन्द्रः ॥

७३६ । विशेषण विशेष्येण बहुलम् । २ । १ । ५७ ॥

भेदकं समानाधिकरणेन भेदेन बहुलं प्राग्वत् । नीलमुत्पलं नीलोत्पलम् । बहुलग्रहणात्कचित्रि-
त्यम् । कृष्णसर्पः । कचित्र । रामो जामदग्न्यः ॥

736. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing there by qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Note—The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पलं 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पलं 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुल 'diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (तद्वत्समास) as कृष्णसर्पः 'a black snake,' and sometimes it is forbidden ; as, रामोजामदग्न्यः 'Rama called also Jāmadagnya' ('as being the son of Jamadagni) : भर्तुनः कार्तवीर्यः—and in some cases it is optional, नीलमुत्पलं or नीलोत्पलं ॥

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षकः सर्पः 'the Takshaka snake.' Why do we say 'qualified.' Observe लोहितस्तक्षकः 'the red Takshaka,

७३७ । पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च । २ । १ । ५८ ॥

पूर्वनिपातानियमार्थमिदम् । पूर्ववैयाकरणः । अपराध्यापकः ॥ अपरस्थार्धे पञ्चभावो वक्तव्यः * ॥ अपरश्चासावर्धश्च पञ्चार्धः । कथमेकवीर इति । पूर्वकालैकेति बाधित्वा परत्वात्नेन समासे वीरैक इति हिं स्यात् । बहुलमहणाद्भविष्यति ॥

737. The case-inflected words pūrva 'prior,' aparast, 'other,' prathama 'first,' charama 'last,' jaghanya 'hindmost samāna 'equal,' madhya 'middle,' madhyama 'middle,' and vīra 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them ; and the compound is Tat-puruhsa.

This sūtra is also a niyama rule, and made for the purpose of declaring that these words must stand first in the compound. Thus पूर्ववैयाकरणः ॥ अपराध्यापकः ॥

Vart—The word पञ्च is used for अपर when it is compounded with अर्ध ॥ As अपर+अर्धः=पञ्चार्धः ॥ How do you explain the word एकवीरः where vīra stands not first, for II. 1. 49 S. 726 with regard to eka is superseded by the present sūtra with regard to vīra, and the compound ought to be वीरैकः ॥ This is an illustration of the diversity of II. 1. 57 S. 736.

७३८ । श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः । २ । १ । ५९ ॥

श्रेण्यादिषु स्वार्थवचनं कर्तव्यम् * ॥ अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः श्रेणीकृताः ॥

738. The case-inflected words śreṇī 'class' &c., are compounded with words kṛita 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them ; and the compound is Tat-puruhsa.

Vart :—The words श्रेणि &c., for the purposes of this sūtra, are supposed to have the force of the affix चि (chvi). Thus अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः =श्रेणीकृताः 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

Note :—The class of words called कृतादि are âkṛiti-gaṇa and cannot be known a priori. This Samāsa is also an invariable Samāsa by reason of sūtra II. 2. 18, since all words that end in chvi (चि) are called gati (I. 4. 61.)

The aggregate of those who earn their livelihood by one art, or by selling one particular kind of commodity is called śreṇī or guild. The samāsa is nitya. As श्रेणीकृतम् The lengthening here is by VII. 4. 26 S. 2120.

७३६ । क्तेन नञ्चिशिष्टेनानञ् । २ । १ । ६० ॥

नञ्चिशिष्टेन क्तेनानञ् क्तेन समस्यते । कृतं च तत्कृतं च कृताकृतम् ॥ शाकपार्थिवानीं
सिद्धये उत्तरपदलोपस्थोपसंख्यानम् * ॥ शाकमियः पार्थिवः शाकपार्थिवः । देवब्राह्मणः ॥

739. A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment nañ, is compounded with the same word ending with the affix kta, but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment nañ ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus कृताकृतम् 'done and not done' i. e. partly done and partly not done.

Note :—The negative Past participle is compounded with the simple past participle, even when there is a slight difference in the forms, caused by लृट् and इट् augments.

As अशित + अनशित = अशितानशितम् ॥ So also क्लिष्टाक्लिशितम् ॥

Vart :—The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाकमियः पार्थिवः = शाकपार्थिवः 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' i. e. an era making king. So also देवब्राह्मणः = देवपूजको ब्राह्मणः "A Brāhmaṇa who worships any deva."

७४० । सन्महत्परमोत्कृष्टाः पूज्यमानैः । २ । १ । ६१ ॥

सद्देवः । वक्ष्यमाणेन महत् आकारः । महावैद्याकरणः । पूज्यमानैः किम् । उत्कृष्टो गौः । पक्कादुद्धृत इत्यर्थः ॥

740. The words sat 'good,' mahat 'great,' parama 'highest,' uttama 'best,' and utkrishṭa 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As सद्देवः 'a good physician. The महत् becomes महा as will be taught later on, as महापुरुषः 'a great man ;' परमपुरुषः 'the highest person ;' उत्तमपुरुषः 'the best person ;' उत्कृष्टपुरुषः 'the excellent person.'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect?' Observe उत्कृष्टोः गौः कर्षमान् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud.' Here उत्कृष्ट does not mean "excellent," but "pulled out."

७४१ । वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरेः पूज्यमानम् । २ । १ । ६२ ॥

गोवृन्दारकः ॥ व्याघ्रादेराकृतिगणत्वादेव सिद्धे सामान्यप्रयोगार्थं वचनम् ॥

741. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words vṛindâra-ka 'eminent,' nâga 'serpent or elephant,' kuñjara 'elephant,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोवृन्दारकः 'an excellent bull or cow.' The Vyâghrâdi class (II. 1. 56 S. 735) being an Akritigaṇa, the forms like go-vṛindâraka could well have been obtained under that sūtra, the making of it a separate sūtra is for the sake of making these general compounds, and not restricted by the conditions of II. 1. 56. S. 735.

७४२ । कतरकतमौ जातिपरिग्रहे । २ । ३ । ६३ ॥

कतरकठः । कतमकालापः । गोत्रं च चरणौः सहेति जातित्वम् ॥

742. The words katara 'which or who of two' and katama 'which, or who, of many,' when used in asking questions about the jâti (IV. 1. 63. S. 518) are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is Tatpurusha.

As कतरकठः and कतमकालापः 'which of the two is kâṭha, and which of these kâlâpa?' Here Gotra and charaṇa, are jâti, as defined previously in IV. 1. 63. S. 518.

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word जातिपरिग्रह in the aphorism; since the word कतम is especially employed in asking such questions; (see V. 3. 93) and the word कतर will get the same signification, by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase in the aphorism, shows that the word कतम has other meanings, besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining jâti; as कतरौ भवतैर्देवदत्तः 'which of you two, Sirs, is Devadatta.' and कतमौ भवतां देवदत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is Devadatta.' Here there is no questioning about jâti, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

७४३ । किं क्षेपे । २ । १ । ६४ ॥

कुत्सितो राजा किं राजा । यो न रक्षति ॥

743. The word kim 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As किं राजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his sub-

jects.' किं सखा योऽभिदुहति 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किं गौः यो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

The affix टच् (V. 4. 91 S. 788) does not come after this compound as in महाराजः, मद्राजः &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. S. 955 Otherwise the form would have been किंराज and not किंराजा ॥

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्यराजा = किंराजः 'whose king;' किंसखः ॥ Or कौ राजा पाटलिपुत्रे "who is king in Pataliputra?"

७४४ । पोदायुवतिस्तोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्वक्ष्यणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रिया-
भ्यापकधूर्तैर्जातिः । २ । १ । ६५ ॥

744. A case-inflected word denoting a jāti, is compounded with the words potâ 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' grishṭi 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenn 'milch-cow i. e. a cow which has calved recently,' vasâ 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayaṇi 'a cow that has a full grown calf,' pravakṭri 'an expounder,' śrotriya 'a learned Brâhmaṇa,' adhyâpaka 'a teacher,' and dhūrta 'a cunning fellow'; and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

For examples see under sūtra 746.

७४५ । तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः । १ । २ । ४२ ॥

745. A Tat-purusha compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhāraya* or *Appositional Determinative* compound.

Note :—"Karmadhāraya or Appositional Determinative compounds form a sub-division of the determinative compounds (Tat-purusha). In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in black-beetle, sky-blue." (Max Muller).

The compounds like नीलोत्पलं 'the blue lotus' परमात्मा 'the supreme spirit' &c. are examples of *karmadhāraya* compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (samānādhikarāṇa), whereas in other Tat-purushas, the preceding word is governed by the last."

As, परमराज्यम्, is a karmadhāraya compound meaning "the best Government." Had it not been a karmadhāraya compound, the udātta accent would have fallen on the syllable र by rule VI. 2. 130, S. 3864 (the word राज्यम् has udātta on the first syllable in Tat-purusha compounds, except in karmadhāraya).

Similarly पाचिका + वृन्दारिका = पाचकवृन्दारिका ॥ (VI. 3. 42. S. 746 the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the karmadhāraya) by the next sūtra :—

Note :—Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-purusha compound, it won't be karmadhāraya. As पाचिका + भार्या = पाचिकभार्या ॥ 'He who has a wife for a cook.' This is an example of a Bahuvrihi compound, and therefore the word पाचिका retains its gender sign.

७४६ । पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु । ६ । ३ । ४२ ॥

746. The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhāraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

कर्मधारये जातीयदेशीययोश्च परतो भाषितपुंस्कात्पर ऊङ्भावो यस्मिन्स्थाभूतं पूर्वं पुंवत् । पूरणीमियद्विष्वप्राप्तः पुंपङ्गावोऽनेन विधीयते । महानवमी । कृष्णचतुर्दशी । महाप्रिया । तथा कोपधादेः प्रतिषिद्धः पुंवङ्गावः कर्मधारयादौ प्रतिप्रसूयते । पाचकस्त्री । दत्तभार्या । पञ्चमभार्या । सौम्यभार्या । सुकेशभार्या । ब्राह्मणभार्या । एवं पाचकजातीया । पाचकदेशीयेत्यादि । इभपोटा । पोटा स्त्रीपुंसलक्षणा । इभयुवतिः । अग्निस्तोकः । उद्विष्यत्कतिपयम् । गृष्टिः सकृत्प्रसूता, गोगृष्टिः । धेनुर्वपसूतिका, गोधेनुः । वशा वन्ध्या, गोवशा । वेहन् गर्भघातिनी, गोवेहन् । बन्धकयणी तरुणवस्ता, गोवन्धकयणी । कठप्रवन्ता । कठश्रेष्ठियः । कठाध्यापकः । कठधूर्तः ॥

This sūtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sūtras (VI. 3. 40 S. 841 &c.) Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate क (VI. 3. 37 S. 838). Thus पाचकवृन्दारिका, पाचकजातीया, पाचकदेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38. S. 839 Thus दत्तवृन्दारिका, दत्तजातीया, दत्तदेशीया, पञ्चमवृन्दारिका, पञ्चमजातीया, पञ्चमदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39 : S. 840 सौम्यवृन्दारिका, सौम्यजातीया, सौम्यदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, S. 841 as श्लक्ष्णमुखवृन्दारिका, श्लक्ष्णमुखजातीया and श्लक्ष्णमुखदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 41, S. 842 as कठवृन्दारिका, कठजातीया, कठदेशीया ॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine. (भाषितपुंस्क), So the rule does not apply to खट्वावृन्दारिका, as खट्वा has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ऊ; as ब्रह्मबन्धूवृन्दारिका ॥

This sūtra ordains masculinisation, in cases where there would not have been this change because of the prohibition of the sūtras VI. 3. 34 S. 831 &c. (e. g. if the second word is an ordinal, प्रिय, &c). Thus the ordinal नवम becomes in the feminine नवमी ॥ महती चासौनवमी = महानवमी ॥ Here महती has become masculine, inspite of the prohibition of VI. 3. 34. so also कृष्णचतुर्दशी ॥ Similarly महाप्रिया ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 37 S. 838 declares "a feminine word having a penultimate क does not assume the Masculine form." The present sūtra is an exception to this prohibition also. Thus पाचकस्त्री ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 38 S. 839 teaches "the feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a name or an ordinal numeral." The present sūtra makes an exception to this also. As. इत्तभार्या, पंचमभार्या and not इत्ताभार्या &c. पंचमीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 39 S. 840 ordains "the feminine is not changed into masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the vṛddhi of the first syllable." The present sūtra is an exception to this also. As औन्नभार्या and not औन्नीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 40 S. 841 states "a feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of the body, does not become masculine." This sūtra makes exception to this also. As सुकेशभार्या and not सुकेसीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 41 S. 842 says "a feminine word expressing jāti does not become masculine." This sūtra makes exception to it also. As ब्राह्मणभार्या ॥

Similarly with the words जातीय and देशीय ॥ As, पाचकजातीया and पाचकदेशीया ॥

Now we shall give examples of sūtra II. 1. 65. S. 744.

As इभपोदा 'a young female elephant' पोदा is a female, having the marks of a male, such as whiskers &c. इभयुवति 'a female elephant.' So also अग्निस्तोकः 'a little fire' उदग्निन् कतिपयम् 'a little butter milk,' गोगृष्टिः, गोधेनुः, गोवशाः, गोवेहत, गोवृक्षयणी, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Kāṭha,' कठश्रोत्रिय, 'a Brāhmaṇa who has mastered the Kāṭha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठध्यापकः 'a teacher of the Kāṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe देवदत्तः प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder.'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here. Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brāhmaṇa well versed in the Kāṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

७४७ । प्रशंसावचनैश्च । २ । १ । ६६ ॥

एतैः सह जातिः प्राग्वत् । गोमतलिका । गोमचरिका । गोप्रकाण्डम् । गवोद्धः । गोतल्लजः । प्रशस्ता गौरित्यर्थः । मत्तल्लिकादयो नियतलिङ्गा न तु विशेष्यनिष्ठाः । जातिः किम् । कुमारी मतलिका ॥

747. A case-inflected word, denoting a jāti, is compounded with a word, denoting praise, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be *rādhī* (रूढ़ी) words like *मतल्लिका* &c., which retain their specific gender, though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as *गोप्रकाण्डम्* 'an excellent cow.' *गोमतल्लिका* 'an excellent cow' *गोमन्वर्धिका* 'an excellent cow.' *मन्वर्द्धः* and *गोतल्लजः* ॥ These words are generally used at the end of a compound, to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.' Words like *प्रशस्त*, *शोभिन*, *रमणीय* &c., which etymologically denote praise, or specific praise words like *शुचि*, *शुद्ध* &c., are not to be taken here. In *गो + तल्ल* there is *भवङ्* by VI. 1. 123.

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe *कुमारी मतल्लिका* 'an excellent virgin.' Here there is no compounding. "मतल्लिका, मन्वर्धिका, प्रकाण्डं, तल्लज, तल्लज are praise denoting words." (Āmarakosha).

७४८ । युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः । २ । १ । ६७ ॥

पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं सूचम् । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया युवतिशब्दोऽपि समस्यते । युवा खलतिः युवखलतिः । युवतिः खलती युवखलती । युवजरती । युवत्यामेव जरतीधर्मोपलम्भेन तद्वृत्तौपास्तानामाधिकरण्यम् ॥

748. The word *yuvā* 'young,' is compounded with the words *khalati*, 'bald headed,' *palita* 'grey-haired' *valina* 'wrinkled,' *jarati* 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is *Tat-puru-sha*.

The sūtra is made in order to declare a *niyama*, that these words should stand first in the compound.

Note :—The word *जरतीभिः* is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation *प्रतिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम्* ॥

'A *Prātipadika* denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, *युवा + खलति* = *युवखलति* ॥ So also *युवतिः खलती* = *युवखलती* in the feminine: 'bald in youth.' So *युवपलितः* fem. *युवपलिता*, 'grey-haired in youth' *युववलिनः* fem. *युववलिना* 'wrinkled in youth' *युवजरती* fem. *युवजरती* 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old).

७४९ । कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या । २ । १ । ६८ ॥

भोज्याण्यम् । तुल्यश्चेतः । सदृशतः । अजात्या क्रिय । भोज्य भोदनः । प्रतिषेधसामर्थ्याद्विशेषणसमासोऽपि न ॥

749. Words ending with a *kṛitya* affix, and the word *tulya* 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded

with words which do not denote jāti, being in the same case with them ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, भोज्योष्णम् 'hot food,' तुल्यश्वेतः 'equally white,' सहस्रश्वेतः 'equally white.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a jāti'? Observe भोज्य भोक्तृ- 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. 1. 57. S. 736.

७५० । वर्णो वर्णेन । २ । १ । ६६ ॥

समानाधिकरणेन सह प्राग्वत् । कृष्णसारङ्गः ॥

750. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णसारङ्गः 'spotted antelope.'

७५१ । कडाराः कर्मधारये । २ । २ । ३८ ॥

कडारादयः शब्दाः कर्मधारये वा पूर्वं प्रयोज्याः । कडारजैमिनिः । जैमिनिकडारः ॥

The words kadârah and the like, are optionally placed first in the karma-dhâraya.

Thus कडारजैमिनिः or जैमिनिकडारः Kaḍârjaiminiḥ or Jaiminikaḍârah. 'The tawny Jaimini.' So also गडुलशाण्डिल्यः or शाण्डिल्यगडुलः ॥

७५२ । कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः । २ । १ । ७० ॥

कुमारी श्रमणा कुमारश्रमणा । इह गणे श्रमणा प्रव्रजिता गर्भिणीत्यादयः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः पठ्यन्ते । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया एतदेव ज्ञापकं बोध्यम् ॥

752. The word kumâra 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words śramanâ 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, कुमारीश्रमणा कुमारश्रमणा "a virgin ascetic".

In this list of श्रमणा and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as श्रमणा, प्रव्रजिता, गर्भिणी, the word कुमार must also be in the feminine gender ; with the words which appear as masculine, e. g. अध्यापक, धामिरूपक, पांडित

the word कुमार must also be masculine, because 'a Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.' In fact, this is the sūtra from which we infer the existence (jñâpaka) of the above paribhâshâ of लिङ्गविशिष्ट &c.

श्रमणादिः ।

1. श्रमणा=Labouring, toiling. 2. प्रव्रजिता=Gone abroad or into exile. 3. कुलटा=An unchaste woman. 4. गर्भिणी=A pregnant female. 5. तापसी=A hermit, "devotee. 6. दासी=A female servant. 7. बन्धकी=An unchaste woman. 8. अध्यापक=A teacher. 9. अभिरूपक=Handsome. 10. पण्डित=Learned, wise 11. मृदु=Soft. 12. कुशल=Right, proper, good. 13. चपल=Shaking, trembling. 14. निपुण=Clever, sharp, skillful.

७५३ । चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या । २ । १ । ७१ ॥

चतुष्पादजातिवाचिनो गर्भिणीशब्देन सह प्राग्वत् ॥ गोगर्भिणी ॥ * चतुष्पाज् जतिरिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नेह । स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी ॥

753. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word garbhini, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोगर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow.' अजागर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat.'

Vart:—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here:—कालाक्षि गर्भिणी or स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called Kalâkshî or Svastimati.'

Note:—Why do we say 'quadrupeds?' Observe ब्राह्मणीगर्भिणी ॥

७५४ । मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च । २ । १ । ७२ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते । मयूरो व्यंसको मयूरव्यंसकः । व्यंसको धूर्तः । उदक्चावाक्च उच्चावचम् । निमित्तं च प्रचितं च अविप्रचम् । नास्ति किञ्चन यस्य सः अकिञ्चनः ॥ नास्ति कुतो भयं यस्य सोऽकुतोभयः । अन्यो राजा राजान्तरं । चिदेव चिन्मात्रम् ॥

आख्यातमाख्यतेन क्रियासातत्ये * ॥ अशीत पिबतयेव सततं यत्राभिधीयते सा अशीतपिबता । पञ्चतशुज्जता । खादतमादता ॥

एहीडाव्योऽन्यपदार्थे * ॥ एहीड इति यस्मिन्कर्मणि तवेहिडम् । एहिपचम् । उद्धर कोष्ठादुत्सृज रेहीति यस्यां क्रियायां सा उद्धरोत्सृजा । उद्धमविधमा । भसातत्यार्थमिह पाठः ॥

जहि कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ये कर्तारं चाभिधधाति । * ॥ जहीत्येत्कर्मणा बहुलं समस्यते आभीक्ष्ये गम्ये समासेन चेत्कर्ताऽभिधीयत इत्यर्थः ॥ जहिजोडः । जहिस्तम्बः ॥

754. And the words mayûra-vyamsakâ 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-purusha compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसकः is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परम मयूरव्यंसकः ॥ So also उक् च्वावच = उच्चावचम् । निश्चितं च प्रचितं च = निश्चप्रचितम् । नास्ति किञ्चन यस्य = भर्त्किञ्चनः ॥

The following is the list of such compounds :—

मयूरव्यंसकादयः ॥

1. मयूरव्यंसक ॥ 2. छात्र व्यंसक ॥ 3. कम्बोजमुण्ड ॥ 4. धवनमुण्ड ॥ 5. हस्तेगृह्य or हस्तगृह्य in the Vedas. 6. पार्वेगृह्य or पार्वगृह्य ॥ 7. लाङ्गूलेगृह्य or लाङ्गूलगृह्य ॥ 8. पुनर्वाय ॥

GAṆA SŪTRA एहीडादयोऽन्यपदार्थे ॥

- As, 1. एहीडं वर्तते ॥ 2. एहियं वर्तते ॥ 3. एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया) ॥ 4. अपेहिवाणिजा ॥ 5. प्रेहिवाणिजा ॥ 6. एहिस्वागता ॥ 7. अपेहिस्वागता ॥ 8. एहिद्वितीया ॥ 9. अपेहिद्वितीया ॥ 10. प्रेहिद्वितीया ॥ 11. एहिकटा ॥ 12. अपेहिकटा or अपोहकटा ॥ 13. प्रेहिकटा or प्रोहकटा ॥ 14. आहरकटा ॥ 15. प्रहिकर्दमा ॥ 16. प्रोहकर्दमा ॥ 17. विधमचूडा ॥ उद्धमचूडा ॥ 18. उद्धरचूडा ॥ 19. आहरचला ॥ 20. आहरवसना ॥ 21. (आहरसेना) ॥ 22. आहरवनिता ॥ 23. (आहरवितना) ॥ 24. कुन्तविचक्षणा ॥ 25. उद्धरोत्सृजा ॥ 26. उद्धरावसृजा ॥ 27. उद्धमविधमा ॥ 28. उत्पचनिपचा or विपचा ॥ 29. उत्पतनिपता ॥ 30. उच्चावचम् ॥ 31. उच्चनोचम् ॥ 32. आचोपचम् ॥ 33. आचपराचम् ॥ 34. नखप्रचम् ॥ 35. निश्चप्रचम् ॥ 36. भर्त्किञ्चन ॥ 37. आत्वाकालक ॥ 38. पीत्वास्थिरक ॥ 39. भुक्त्वास्तुहित ॥ 40. प्रोष्यपापीयान् ॥ 41. उत्पत्यपाकला or व्याकुला ॥ 42. निपत्यरोहिणी ॥ 43. निषण्णशयामा ॥ 44. अपेहिप्रवसा ॥ 45. एहिविघसा ॥ 46. इहपञ्चमी ॥ 47. इहद्वितीयौ ॥

G. S. जहिकर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति ॥

1. जाहजोडुः ॥ 2. जहजोडुम् ॥ 3. जहिस्तम्बम् ॥ 4. (जहिस्तम्बः) ॥ 5. उडजहिस्तम्बम् or वम्ब ॥

G. S. आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासातसे ॥

- I. अभीतपिबता ॥ 2. पचभृज्जता ॥ 3. खादतमोदता ॥ 4. खादतवमता ॥ 5. खादताचमेतौ ॥ 6. आहरनिवपा ॥ 7. आहरनिष्क्रिा ॥ 8. भावपनिष्क्रिा ॥ 9. उत्पचविपचा ॥ 10. भिन्धिलवणा ॥ 11. कुन्धिविचक्षणा ॥ 12. पचलवणा ॥ 13. पचप्रकुटा ॥

आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1. अकृतोऽभयः ॥ 2. कान्निष्कः ॥ 3. कन्विशीकः ॥ 4. आहोपुरुषिका ॥
5. अहमहमिका ॥ 6. बहच्छा ॥ 7. एहिरेवाहिरा ॥ 8. जन्धुजावधुजा ॥ 9. द्रव्यान्तरम् ॥
10. अवश्यकार्यम् ॥

Gana-sūtra :—A finite verb is compounded with another finite verb, when the continuity of the action denoted by the verbs is meant. As अशीतविता "the place where constantly is heard the cry "eat ye", "drink ye."—a feast where people are called to eat and drink. Similarly पचतधुञ्जता "cook-roast"—a kitchen. खातयोदता ॥

Gana-sūtra :—The compounds एहीडं &c. are formed when they refer to some other object. Thus एहीडं is the name of the sacrifice in which the words एहीडं are used. So also एहिपचम् ॥ So also उद्धरोत्सृजा meaning "उद्धरकाष्टाह हस्मृजेहि" इति यस्यां क्रियायां ॥ So also उद्धमविधमा ॥ These are words which do not denote "constant action".

Gana-sūtra :—The finite verb जहि is diversely compounded with its object, when repetition is denoted, and the whole compound refers to the agent. As जहिजोडः "He who constantly repeats jahi-joḍa." Similarly जहिस्तम्बः ॥

He who has fear from no one is अकृतोऽभयः; another kingship is राजान्तरम्; that which is purely Intelligence is called चिन्मात्रम् ॥

७५५ । ईषदकृता । २ । २ । ७ ॥

ईषत्पिङ्गलः ॥ ईषद्गुणवचनेनेति वाच्यम् * ॥

755. The word *īshat* 'a little,' is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a kṛit-affix; and the compound is Tatpuruṣa.

Vart :—It should be stated that the word ईषत् is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as ईषत्कङ्कारः 'a somewhat proud.' ईषत्पिङ्गलः 'a little brownish.' ईषत्किटः 'a little hideous.' ईषदुन्नतः 'a little raised.' ईषत् पीतम् 'a little yellow.' ईषद्भक्तम् 'a little red.'

Note :—Why do we say 'with words expressing qualities'? Observe ईषद्गार्ग्यः; there is no compounding here.

७५६ । नञ् । २ । २ । ६ ॥

नञ् सुपा सह समस्यते ॥

756. The negative word *nañ* is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tatpurusha.

As *ब्राह्मणः* = *अब्राह्मणः* 'who is not a Brāhmaṇa,' (though a man). The *न* of *न* is elided by VI. 3. 73 : which is given below.

७१७ । नलोपो नञः । ६ । ३ । ७३ ।

नञो नस्य लोपः स्यादुत्तरपदे । न ब्राह्मणः अब्राह्मणः ॥

757. The *न* of the Negative particle *नञ्*, is elided, when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus *अब्राह्मणः* ॥ But if the second term begins with a vowel, then a *न* is inserted after *अ* by the following :—

७५८ । तस्मान्नुडचि । ६ । ३ । ७४ ॥

सुप्तनकारान्नञ उत्तरपदस्याजादेर्नडागमः स्यात् । अनश्च । अर्थाभावेऽव्ययीभावेन सहार्थविकल्प्यते । रत्तोहागमलध्वसन्देहाः प्रयोजनमिति अद्भुताद्यामसंहितामिति च भाष्यवार्तिकप्रयोगात् । तेनानुपलब्धिरविवादोऽविग्रमित्यादि सिद्धम् ॥ नञो नलोपस्तिङि क्षेपे * ॥ अपचक्षि त्वं जात्स्न ॥ नैकधेत्यादौ तु नशब्देन सह सुप्सुपोति समासः ॥

758. After the above *न*-elided *नञ्* (i. e. after *अ*) is added the augment *नुद्*, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus *अनश्च* : 'an animal which is not a horse.' Why do we use *तस्मात्* "after such a *नञ्*" ? Otherwise *नुद्* would have been the augment of *नञ्* and not of the subsequent word, for the sūtra would have read thus *नुडचि* ॥ Adding *नुद्* to *नञ्* or rather to *अ*, we have *अन्* (granting that *नुद्* is not to be added *before* *अ* but *after* it, against I. 1, 46). Now *अन्* + *अजः* will be *अनजः* and not *अनञः* for VIII. 3. 32 S. 134 will cause the doubling of the final *न* of *अन्* ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, *नुद्* is ordained with the second member and not with regard to *अ* or *नञ्* ॥

When the force of *नञ्* is that of "absence," i. e. it expresses the "absence of the object denoted by the second term," then the compound resembles Avyayī bhāva. For in an Avyayībhāva, the sense of the first term is prominent ; in a Tatpurusha the sense of the Second member is predominant. Thus in the Mahābhāṣya, we find the compound *असन्देहाः* in the sentence *रत्तोहागमलध्वसन्देहाः प्रयोजनम्* where he gives the reasons for studying grammar ; similarly *असंहितं* in *अद्भुताद्यामसंहितं* a vārtika. On the analogy of these, we can form compounds like *अनुपलब्धिः*, *अविवादः*, *अविग्रहः* &c.

Var:—The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that reproach is implied, as अपचसि त्वं जातम् 'thou cookest very badly O knave.'

In the expression नैकधा &c. 'not at one time,' there is composition with the word न in accordance with II. 1. 4 S. 649.

७५६ । नभ्राणनपात्रवेदानासत्यानमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्र-
कृत्या । ६ । ३ । ७५ ॥

पादिति शचन्तः । वेदा इत्यमुन्नतः । न सत्या असत्याः न असत्या नासत्याः । न वुञ्चतीति नमुचिः । न कुलमस्य नकुलम् । न खमस्य नखम् । न स्त्री पुमान् नपुंसकम् स्त्री पुंसयोः पुंसकभावो निपातनात् । न क्षरतीति नक्षत्रम् । क्षीयतेः क्षरेतर्वा क्षत्रमिति निपात्यते । न क्रामतीति नक्रः । क्रमेर्ङः । न अक्रमस्मिन्निति नाकः ॥

759. The Negative particle remains unchanged in नभ्राज्, नपात्, नवेदस्, नासत्या (dual), नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र and नाक ॥

Upto नासत्या the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the sūtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative ! नभ्राजते = नभ्राद् "a dark cloud," formed by क्तिप् and नम् composition. न पाति = नपात् "a grand son." Formed by शतृ affix. न वेत्ति = नवेदा, formed by असुन् ॥ नसु साधवः = सत्याः, न सत्याः = असत्याः, न असत्याः = नासत्याः "Ashvins." न मुञ्चति = न मुचिः "a demon slain by Indra." formed by कित् इन् affix (Unâdi). नास्य कुलमस्ति = नकुलेः ॥ नास्य खमस्ति = नखम् ॥ न स्त्री न पुमान् = नपुंसकम् ॥ न क्षरते क्षीयते वा = नक्षत्रम् ॥ न क्रामति = नक्र by ङ affix. न अस्मिन् अकम् = नाकम् ॥

७६० । नगोऽप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ७७ ॥

नग इत्यत्र नञ् प्रकृत्या वा । नगाः अगाः पर्वताः । अप्राणिष्विति किम् । अगो वृषलः क्षीतेन । नित्यं क्रीडित्यता नित्यामित्यनुवर्तमाने ॥

760. The Negative particle is optionally retained unchanged in नग, when it does not mean a living animate being.

Thus नगाः or अगाः 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not move'. The affix ङ is added to नम् ॥ Why do we say when not referring to animate being. Observe अगो वृषलः क्षीतेन ॥ No alternative form is allowed here. See II. 1. 17, S. 711.

In the next sūtra, the word *nitya* should be read as understood. Its anuvritti comes from II. 2. 17 S. 711.

७६१ । कुगतिप्रादयः । २ । २ । १८ ॥

एते समर्थेन नित्यं समस्यन्ते । कुत्सितः पुरुषः कुपुरुषः । गतिश्चेत्यनुवर्तमाने ॥

761. The indeclinable word ku 'bad,' the particles called gati, and the prepositions pra, &c., are *invariably* compounded with other words with which they are in construction ; and the resulting compound is Tatpuruṣa.

The word ku means 'badness or sin'; as, कुपुरुषः 'a sinful man'; (2) Gati (I. 4. 60 S. 23.) as, उररीकृतं 'having asserted'; (I. 4. 61.) यदुरीकरोति ॥

Note.—So also with the words प्र &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'npasargas,' or 'gati'; as दुर् meaning 'bad,' in दुष्पुरुषः 'a bad man'; so also ह्र and अति meaning 'respect' in ह्रपुरुषः 'honorable man'; अतिपुरुषः 'excellent man'; आ means a 'little' as आपिङ्गलः 'brownish.'

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as कोष्णं or कदुष्णम्, कवोष्णम् 'tepid.' So also दुष्कृतम्, अतिस्तुतम् and आबद्धम् ॥

७६२ । ऊर्यादिच्चिडाचश्च । १ । ४ । ६१ ॥

एते क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञाः स्युः । ऊरीकृत्य । उररीकृत्य । शुक्लीकृत्य । पटपटाकृत्य ॥ कारिका-
शब्दस्योपसंख्यानम् * । कारिका क्रिया । कारिकाकृत्य ॥

762. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with dāch (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhû, kṛi or अस्) are called Gati.

In this sūtra the word gati is understood from I. 4. 60 S. 23.

The affixes chvi and dāch are ordained when the verb in composition is either कृ, भू or अस् (V. 4. 50 and 57 S. 2117 and 2128); ūri &c., being read along with chvi and dāch shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else, in order to entitle ऊरी to the name of gati.

The word ऊरी and उररी mean 'to assent and spread.' As ऊरीकृत्य (II. 2. 18 S. 761 and VII. 1 37 S. 3332).

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुक्लीकृत्य "having made white what was not white"

So also the words ending in डाच् as पटपटाकृत्य "having made the sound pat,"

Vārtika :—The word कारिका should also be included in the list of गति,

Thus कारिकाकृत्य ॥ Here kârikâ means "action."

७६३ । अनुकरणं चानितिपरम् । १ । ४ । ६२ ॥

खाङ्कृत्य । अनितिपरं किम् । खाङिति कृत्वा निरणीवत् ॥

763. A word imitative of a sound is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

Note :—The phrase अनितिपरम् is a Bahuvrīhi compound; अन्-इति-परम् = 'that which has not the word इति after it.'

As खाङ्कृत्य "having made the sound khât." खाङ्कृतम् (VI. 2. 49 S. 3783), यत्खाङ्करोति (VIII. 2. 71.)

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe खाङिति कृत्वा निरणीवत्.

७६४ । आदरानादरयोः सदसती । १ । ४ । ६३ ॥

सत्कृत्य । असत्कृत्य ॥

764. The words sat and asat, when in composition with a verb, are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference.'

As सत्कृत्य 'having honored' (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37 S. 761 and 3332) असत्कृत्य सत्कृतम् or असत्कृतम् (VI. 2, 49 S. 3783).

Note :—Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe सत्कृत्वा काण्डं गतः ॥

७६५ । भूषणोऽलम् । १ । ४ । ६४ ॥

अलंकृत्य । भूषणे किम् । अलं कृत्वौदनं गतः । पर्याप्तमित्यर्थः । अनुकरणमित्यादि त्रिसूत्री स्वभावात्कृत्वविषया ॥

765. The word alam, in composition with a verb, is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

As अलंकृत्य (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37 S. 761 and 3332). Why do we say 'when अलं means ornament'? Observe अलं कृत्वौदनं गतः 'he goes having eaten enough.'

This sūtra, with the two sūtras preceding it, naturally takes the auxiliary verb कृ after the words mentioned therein.

Note :—The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings :—‘prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.’ The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament.

७६६ । अन्तरपरिग्रहे । १ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अन्तर्हृत्य । मध्ये हृत्वेत्यर्थः । अपरिग्रहे किम् । अन्तर्हत्वा गतः । हतं परिगृह्य गत इत्यर्थः ॥

766. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of ‘non-accepting,’ in composition with a verb.

As अन्तर्हृत्य गृहंगतः “he went away having abandoned home.”

Note :—The word परिग्रह means ‘taking’ or ‘accepting,’ अपरिग्रह means, therefore, the opposite of this, namely ‘rejecting,’ ‘abandoning.’

Why do we say ‘when meaning to abandon’? Observe अन्तर्हत्वा शूषिकां द्येनोगतः “the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.”

७६७ । कणेशनसी अद्धाप्रतघाते । १ । ४ । ६६ ॥

कणेहृत्य पयः पिबति । मनोहृत्य । कणेशब्दः सप्तमीप्रतिरूपको निपातोऽभिलाषातिशये वर्तते । मनःशब्दोऽप्यत्रैव ॥

767. The words kane and manas are gati, when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of ‘reaction by satiation.’

The word अद्धा-प्रतीघात means ‘satisfaction of desire.’ As कणेहृत्य पयः पिबति “he drinks milk to his heart’s content or till he is satisfied” So also मनोहृत्य पयः पिबति. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (अद्धा) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense, we have कणे or मनोहत्वागतः “he went away with food or mind satisfied.” Here the word कण means the small particles of rice. The word कणे an apparently locative inflected noun, is really a particle, and denotes ‘eager desire.’ So also मनः ॥

७६८ । पुरोऽव्ययम् । १ । ४ । ६७ ॥

पुरस्कृत्य ॥

768. The word purah “in front of,” when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called gati.

As पुरस्कृत्य, पुरस्कृतम् and यत् पुरस्करोति ॥ When not an indeclinable, we have पुरः पुरो, पुरः कृत्वा काण्डगतः.

Note.—The pronoun पूर्व 'front' with the affix अस्ति forms पुरस्, and by I. 1. 38 S. 448 it becomes an Avyaya. (See V. 3. 39 pur being substituted for pūrva). The object of making it gati is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 S. 761 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 S. 3783 (3) to change the: ङ into स् by VIII. 3. 40 S. 154.

७६६ । अस्तं च । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अस्तमिति मान्तमव्ययं गतिसंज्ञं स्थानि । अस्तंगत्य ॥

769. And the indeclinable word astam 'at home,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb.

The word अस्तम् is an indeclinable as it ends in म् (I. 1. 39 S. 449); and means 'not visible.' As अस्तंगत्य सविता पुनरुदेति '(the sun) having set, rises again'; अस्तंगतानि धनानि 'riches that have vanished.' यदस्तं गच्छति, When not an indeclinable it is not gati, as अस्तं काण्डम् 'the arrow has been thrown.'

७७० । अच्छ गत्यर्थवदेषु । १ । ४ । ६९ ॥

अव्ययमित्येव । अच्छगत्य । अच्छोद्य । अभिमुखं गत्वा उक्त्वा चेत्यर्थः । अच्छं किम् । जलमच्छं गच्छति ॥

770. The indeclinable word achchha, meaning 'before, in the presence of,' is called gati, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb 'vad' to speak.

The word अच्छ is an indeclinable and has the force of the word अग्निः । As अच्छगत्य, and अच्छोद्य । Why do we say when an Avyaya,? Observe जलमच्छं गच्छति.

७७१ । अदोऽनुपदेशे । १ । ४ । ७० ॥

अदःकृत्य अदः कृतम् । परं प्रत्युपदेशे प्रत्युदाहरणम् । अदः कृत्वा । अदः कुरु ॥

771. The word adas 'that' is called gati, when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

As अदः कृत्य, अदः कृतम् ॥ When used as a demonstrative pronoun, we have, अदः कृत्वा, अदः कुरु.

Note :—The word upadesa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadesa. That is, when it is not a demonstrative pronoun.

७७२ । तिरोऽन्तर्द्धौ । १ । ४ । ७१ ॥

तिरोभूय ॥

772. The word *tiras* when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called *gati*, when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोभूय.

Note :—Why do we say when meaning disappearance ? Observe तिरो भूत्वास्थितः i. e., standing apart.

७७३ । विभाषा कृञि । १ । ४ । ७२ ॥

तिरःकृत्य । तिरस्कृत्य । तिरः कृत्वा ॥

773. The word *tiras* meaning 'disappearance,' is optionally called *gati*, when the verb *kri* follows.

This is an example of प्राप्त-विभाषा. As तिरः कृत्य or तिरस्कृत्य (VIII. 3. 42 S. 156): तिरः कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42 S. 156).

Note :—The change of visarga into स is optional VIII. 3. 42 S. 156. When not meaning disappearance, we have तिरः कृत्वा काष्ठं तिष्ठति 'he stands having laid aside the stick.'

७७४ । उपाजेऽन्वाजे । १ । ४ । ७३ ॥

एतौ कृञि वा गतिसंज्ञौ स्तः । उपाजेकृत्य । उपाजे कृत्वा । अन्वाजेकृत्य । अन्वाजे कृत्वा । दुर्बलस्य बलमाधायेत्यर्थः ॥

774. The words *upâje* and *anvâje* both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called *gati* when used along with the verb *kri*.

As उपाजे कृत्य or उपाजे कृत्वा 'having given support.' अन्वाजे कृत्य or अन्वाजे कृत्वा.

७७५ । साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि च । १ । ४ । ७४ ॥

कृञि वा गतिसंज्ञानि स्युः ॥ अन्वयार्थे इति वाच्यम् * ॥ साक्षात्कृत्य । साक्षात्कृत्वा । लवणकृत्य । लवणकृत्वा । नान्तत्वं निपातनात् ॥

775. The words sâkshât, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kri.

Vârt:—In the words साक्षात् &c. the force of the affix चि्व is understood, namely, making a thing what it was not before. As साक्षात् कृत्य or कृत्वा; लवणंकृत्य or लवणंकृत्वा "making evident what was concealed before." The व in लवणं &c. is an anomaly or nipâtana.

७७६ । अनत्याधान उरसिमनसी । १ । ४ । ७५ ॥

उरसिकृत्य । उरसि कृत्वा । अभ्युपगम्येत्यर्थः । मनसिकृत्य । मनसि कृत्वा । निश्चित्यर्थः । अत्याधानमुपश्लेषणं तत्र न । उरसि कृत्वा पाणिं शेते ॥

776. The word urasi, 'in the breast,' and manasi 'in the mind' are optionally gati, when the verb kri follows, provided that, they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As उरसिकृत्य or उरसि कृत्वा "having realised in the heart," मनसिकृत्य or मनसि कृत्वा. That is "having so determined in his mind." When it has the sense of "placing," we have उरसिकृत्वा पाणिं शेते "he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast," मनसिकृत्वा वचनं ध्यायति "he ponders having placed the word in his mind."

७७७ । मध्ये पदे निवचने च । १ । ४ । ७६ ॥

एते कृञि वा गतिसंज्ञाः स्युरनत्याधाने । मध्येकृत्य । मध्ये कृत्वा । पदेकृत्य । पदे कृत्वा । निवचनेकृत्य । निवचने कृत्वा । वाचं नियमित्यर्थः ॥

777. And the words madhye 'in the middle,' pade 'in the foot' and nivachane 'speechless' are optionally gati, when kri follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As मध्ये कृत्य or कृत्वा ; पदे कृत्य or कृत्वा ॥ निवचने कृत्य or कृत्वा. "Having controlled the speech."

Note:—But when it has the meaning of 'placing' we have हस्तिनः पदे कृत्वा शिरः शेते 'he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.'

७७८ । नित्यं हस्ते पाणौपयमने । १ । ४ । ७७ ॥

कृञि । उपयमनं विवाहः । स्वीकारमात्रमित्यन्ये । हस्तेकृत्य । पाणौकृत्य ॥

778. The word हस्ते 'in the hand,' pāṇau 'in the

hands ' are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kri,' in the sense of 'marriage.'

As पाणौ कृत्य or हस्ते कृत्य 'having married.'

Note:—But हस्ते कृत्वा कार्षापणं गतः 'he went out having taken in his hand a kârshâpana (a coin).

The word उपयमन means "marriage." According to others it means "merely acceptance."

७७९ । प्राध्वं बन्धने । १ । ४ । ७८ ॥

प्राध्वमित्यव्ययम् । प्राध्वंकृत्य । बन्धनेनानुकूलं कृतेत्यर्थः । प्रार्थनादिना त्वानुकूल्यकरणे । प्राध्वं कृत्वा ॥

779. The indeclinable word prâdhvam, followed by the verb kri, is always called gati, when used in the sense of "binding."

The word प्राध्वम् ends in म and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a gati: as, प्राध्वंकृत्य "having bound properly and so made agreeable." But when not meaning to bind, we have:—प्राध्वं कृत्वा "having made agreeable, by prayer &c."

७८० । जीविकोपनिषदावौपम्ये । १ । ४ । ७९ ॥

जीविकामिव कृत्वा जीविकाकृत्य । उपनिषदमिव कृत्वा उपनिषत्कृत्य । औपम्यं किम् । जीविकां कृत्वा ।

प्रादिग्रहणमगत्यर्थम् । सुपुरुषः । अत्र वार्तिकानि ॥

प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया* ॥ प्रगत आचार्यः ॥ प्राचार्यः ॥

अत्यायः प्रास्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया* ॥ अतिक्रान्तो गालामतिमालः ॥

अवाद्यः कृष्टाद्यर्थे तृतीयया* ॥ अवक्रुष्टः कोकिलया अवकोकिलः ॥

पर्यादयो गलानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थया* ॥ परिगलानोऽध्ययनाय पर्यध्ययनः ॥

निराद्यः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चमया* ॥ निष्क्रान्तः कौशाम्ब्या निष्कौशाम्बिः ॥

कर्मप्रवचनीयानां प्रतिषेधः* ॥ वृक्षं प्राति ॥

780. The words jîvikâ and upanishad, followed by the verb kri, are called gati, when used in the sense of 'likeness or resemblance.'

As जीविकाकृत्य "having made it, as if it was a means of living"; उपनिषत्कृत्य—"having made it like an upanishad." Why do we say in the sense of likeness or resemblance? Observe जीविकां कृत्वा "having made his livelihood."

PRÂDI SAMÂSA.

Having given above illustrations of gati-samâsas; we now take up compounds formed with the upasargas प्र &c. by II. 2. 18. S. 761. The प्र &c., as used in these examples are not gati. Thus सुपुरुषः ॥ Here सु is not gati, as it is not joined with any verb. We give the following vârtikas, which treat of Prâdi Samâsa :—

Vart :—The word प्र &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus प्राचार्यः 'a former teacher'; so also प्रपितामहः "who precedes the grand-father *i. e.* a great-grand-father." प्रमातामहः ॥

Vart :—The words अति &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case affix. As अतिक्रान्तः खट्वाय = आतिखट्टः (I. 2. 44 and 48 S. 655 and 656) 'without a bedstead,' अतिमालः 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.' So also अभिगुह्यः (= अभिगतो गुह्यं); उद्बैलः, प्रत्यक्षः ॥

Vart :—The words अव &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix; as अवकुकुटः कोकिलया = अव कोकिलः 'what is announced by the cuckoo' *i. e.*, the Spring. So also परिवीर्यः (= परिशुद्धो वीर्यधा), संवर्म (संनद्धो वर्मणा).

Vart :—The words परि &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix; as परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाय = पर्यध्ययनः 'weary of study.' अलङ्कुमारिः 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart :—The words निर् &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as निष्कौशाम्बिः 'who has gone beyond Kausâmbi'; So also निर्वीरायसिः ॥ So also उत्कूलः (= उत्क्रान्तः कुलात्) and निर्दण्डुलम् (निर्गतमण्डुलिभ्यः) ॥

Vart :—A word enters into composition with इव 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as वागर्थार्थिव इव 'like a word and its meaning,' वाससी इव 'like two garments.'

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated of प्र &c., when they are 'Karma-pravachaniya'; as वृत्तं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree.' साधु देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good towards his mother.'

UPAPADA-SAMĀSAS

UPAPADA DEFINED.

७८१ । तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् । ३ । १ । ६२ ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते परे कर्मणीत्यादौ वाच्यत्वेन स्थितं कुम्भादि तद्वाचकं पदमुपपदसंज्ञं स्यात्तास्मिन् सत्येव वक्ष्यमाणः प्रत्ययः ॥

781. Here (in this Third Book of Pāṇini's Grammar referring to verbal roots), the word implied 'in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependant word.

Thus in sūtra III. 2. 1. S. 2913 कर्मण्यन् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. (Thus कुम्भम् + कृ + अण् = कुम्भकारः 'a potter'; here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada.)

७८२ । उपपदमातिङ् । २ । २ । १६ ॥

उपपदं सुबन्तं समर्थेन निव्यं समस्यते । अतिङन्तश्चायं समासः । कुम्भं करोतीति कुम्भकारः । इह कुम्भ अस् कार इत्यलौकिकं प्रक्रियावाक्यम् । अतिङ् किम् । मा भवान् भून् । माडि लुङिति सप्तमीनिर्देशान्माडूपपदम् । अतिङ्महणं ज्ञापयति सुपेत्येतन्नेहातूर्वत इति । पूर्वसूत्रेऽपि गतिग्रहणं पृथक्कृत्यातिङ्महणं तत्रापकृत्यते । सुपेति च निवृत्तम् । तथा च ॥ गतिकरकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राकृत्युत्पत्तेरिति सिद्धम् ॥ व्याघ्री । अश्वक्रीती । कच्छपी ॥

782. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92 S. 781), which ends with a case-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction, and this compound is not one which ends with a tense-affix. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकारः 'one who makes pots,' नगरकारः 'one who makes cities.' The grammatical analysis will be कुम्भ + अस् (genitive) + कारः "the maker of pot;" for kṛit words govern Genitive. This is, of course, an analysis which cannot be used in actual speech.

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe मा भवान् भून् ॥ Here the word मा is an upapada, as it is exhibited in the locative case in III. 3. 175 S. 2219, by which rule it is added to the Aorist. Had there been compounding, भवान् could not have been placed between it and its second member भून् ॥

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant ; since the anuvṛitti of the words सुप् सुपा is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply, that we should infer that the words सुप् सुपा should not be read into this and the aphorism II. 2. 18 S. 761. The following Paribhāṣhā also arises from this sūtra.

गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्धिः सह समासबचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

“It should be stated that Gatis, Kāraṅkas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter.”

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sūtras III. 2. 18 and 19 S. 2932 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns, before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kāraṅkas also. Thus व्याघ्री ॥ The word व्याघ्र is formed by the affix क added under III. 1. 136 S. 2898 as qualified by the vārtika under III. 1. 137 S. 2899. The compounding of वि + भाङ् + ग्री is a Gati samāsa, for वि and भा are Gati with regard to the verb ग्रा ॥ Had this compounding taken place after ग्रा had become a noun ग्र and taken case-affixes, then on the parity of reasoning, the compounding would be suspended till ग्र had taken the feminine affix दाप् also, and it would not have taken डीप् ॥ Because the word ग्र by itself does not denote any jāti. So the feminine ग्रा will be used in the compound and as it does not end in short अ, it will not take jāti डीप् ॥ Though this result could have been obtained by the word उपपद् alone in the above Paribhāṣhā, yet the use of gati in it is not redundant. For when भा is compounded with the noun ग्र, we get भाग्र ; then for the compounding of व्याघ्र with वि, the employment of Gati is necessary. The affix क being added to the ग्रा when preceded by भा, the word भा may be treated as an upapada (and not gati), but the word वि cannot be treated as an upapada by any rule. So the word gati is properly used in the above Paribhāṣhā.

So also अश्वक्रीती ‘a female bought in exchange for a horse,’ is formed correctly. अश्वन क्रियते सा = अश्वक्रीती ; add डीप् (IV. 1. 50 S. 506) and we have अश्वक्रीती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix दाप् had been added to क्रीत previous to its composition with अश्व the form would have been अश्वक्रीता, and we should have had no base ending with short अ and in that case डीप् could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

This word अश्वक्रीती is an example of kāraṅka. The compounding takes place by कर्तृकरणे कृता &c., (II. 1. 32. S. 694),

As an example of Upapada, we have कच्छपी ॥ कच्छेन पिबति = कच्छपी ॥ The affix क is added by III. 2, 4. S. 2916, by Yoga-vibhāga. Here also, had the compounding depended upon the noun प taking the case-affixes, the feminine would have taken ङा and not ङीष् ; similarly as in व्याघ्री ॥

७८३ । अमैवाव्ययेन । २ । २ । २० ॥

अमैव तुल्यविधानं यदुपपदं तदेवाव्ययेन सह समस्यते । स्वादुङ्कारम् । नेह । कालसमयवेलासु तुषुम् । कालः समयो वेला वा भोक्तुम् । अमैवेति क्रिप् । अग्रे भोजम् । अग्रे भुक्त्वा । विभाषाग्रे प्रथमपूर्वेष्विति क्त्वाणमुलौ ॥ अमा चान्येन च तुल्यविधानमेतत् ॥

783. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम् (णमुल and खमुङ्).

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वादुङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet.' So also लवणंकारं 'having seasoned.' The avyayas ending in अम् are formed by the affix णमुल् (III. 4. 26) &c,

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in अम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating.' Here the avyaya ends in उम् of the affix तुषुम् added by rule III. 3. 167 S. 3179 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय, or वेला 'time.')

The force of the word "only" is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains अम् only, after any root, with regard to any upapada; so that no composition will take place where the affix अम्, as well as another affix, is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus sūtra III. 4. 24, S. 3345 declares: "the affixes क्त्वा and णमुल् come after a verb when the words अग्रे, प्रथम and पूर्व are upapadas." Here the अम् (affix णमुल्) is not the sole affix ordained; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it, namely क्त्वा. Therefore in अग्रेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition, because अग्रेभोजम् is not the only form we can have; for, अग्रेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense.

७८४ । तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्तरस्याम् । २ । २ । २१ ॥

उपदेशस्तृतीयायामित्यादीन्युपपदान्यमन्तेनाव्ययेन सह वा समस्यन्ते । मूलकेनोपदेशं भुङ्क्ते । मूलकोपदेशम् ॥

784. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47 S. 3368 &c.,) is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The term अम् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sūtra III. 4. 47. S. 3368 and the sūtras that follow. As मूलकोपदेशं मुङ्क्ते or मूलकेनोपदेशं मुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.

Note :—For upapadas ending with other cases, see sūtra III. 4. 52 &c S. 3373 This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhāna with the अम् ; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 S. 3381 where अम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्ता as well. This vibhāshā may therefore be called both प्राप्त and अप्राप्त vibhāshā. It is प्राप्त with regard to those rules where अम् is the only affix employed; and it is अप्राप्त with regard to those where अम् is not the only affix.

७८५ । क्त्वा च । २ । २ । २२ ॥

तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्त्युपदानि क्त्वान्तेन सह वा समस्यन्ते । उच्चैः कृत्य उच्चैः कृत्वा । अव्यये यथाभिप्रेतेति क्त्वा । तृतीयाप्रभृतीनीति किम् । अलं कृत्वा । खलु कृत्वा ॥

785. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix ktvā; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्ता which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have उच्चैः कृत्य or उच्चैः कृत्वा. Here the affix क्ता is added by sūtra III. 4. 59 S. 3381. In the case when there is composition, the क्ता is replaced by the substitute ल्यप्; other wise not, See VII. 1. 37.

Why do we say 'an upapada ending in the 3rd case-affix'? Observe &c.? अलं कृत्वा, or खलु कृत्वा. Where there is no composition.

७८६ । तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलेः संख्याव्ययादेः । ५ । ४ । ८६ ॥

संख्याव्ययादेरङ्गुल्यन्तस्य तत्पुरुषस्य समासान्तोऽच् स्यात् । द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्य द्व्यङ्गुलम् दारु । निर्गतमङ्गुलिभ्यो निरङ्गुलम् ॥

786. The affix ach comes after a Tatpurusha compound ending in the word āṅguli, when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes it.

Thus द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्य = द्व्यङ्गुलम् दारु ॥ So also, when an Indeclinable precedes it : as निर्गतमङ्गुलिभ्यो = निरङ्गुलम्, अव्यङ्गुलम् ॥

Note :—This compounding takes place by II. 1. 51. This is a Taddhitārtha compound, the taddhita affix नावच् being elided by the Vārtika प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्

“there is always the elision of the affix मात्रच् denoting measure when a Dvigu compound is formed”. See V. 2. 37 Vārt).

७८७ । अहःसर्वकदेशसंख्यातपुण्याश्च रात्रेः । ५ । ४ । ८७ ॥

अथो रात्रेरच् स्याच्चात्संख्याव्ययादेः । अहर्ग्रहणं द्वन्द्वार्थम् । अहश्च रात्रिश्चाहोरात्रः । सर्वा रात्रिः सर्वरात्रः । पूर्वं रात्रेः पूर्वरात्रः । संख्यातरात्रः । पुण्यारात्रः । द्वयो रात्र्योः समाहारो द्विरात्रम् । अतिक्रान्तो रात्रिमतिरात्रः ॥

787. The affix अच् comes after the word rātri, when preceded by ahan, or sarva, or a word denoting a portion of night, or saṅkhyāta or punya, when the compound is Tatpurusha, as well as when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes the word rātri.

The anuvritti of संख्याव्ययादेः is drawn in to this sūtra by force of the word च “and” of the sūtra. The word अहन् forms a Dvandva compound ; as अहश्च रात्रिश्च = अहोरात्रः “day and night.” So also सर्वरात्रः, पूर्वरात्रः ‘the first part of night’. These are formed by II. 2. 1. S. 712. So also संख्याता रात्रिः = संख्यातरात्रः ॥ This compound is formed by II. 1. 57 S. 736. So also पुण्यारात्रिः = पुण्यारात्रः ॥ So also when compounded with a Numeral or an Indeclinable : as, द्वयो रात्र्योः समाहारः = द्विरात्रः, अतिक्रान्तो रात्रिम् = अतिरात्रः ॥

७८८ । राजाहःसखिभ्यष्टच् । ५ । ४ । ८८ ॥

एतदन्तात्तत्पुरुषाङ्गच् स्यात् । परमराजः । अतिराजी । कृष्णसखः ॥

788. The affix ष्टच् is added to the words rājan, ahan, and sakhi, when standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound.

Thus परमराजः ; अतिराजी, कृष्णस्य सखा = कृष्णसखः, ॥

Note :—Why not so here मद्राणां राज्ञी = मद्रराज्ञी instead of मद्रराजी ॥ For according to the maxim “a pratipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, also such a nominal stem, as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender” (प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम्) ; the stem राजन् would denote the feminine also. To this we reply, that the construction of the sūtra shows that the feminine राज्ञी is not to be taken. Because अहन् being a prosodially lighter word than राजन् ought to have been placed first in the compound. Its not being so placed indicates that that form राजन् only is to be taken, whose final vowel becomes lengthened into आ in compounding with अहन् ; i. e. राजा + अहन् ; and not राज्ञी + अहन् ॥

In fact, the above Paribhāṣhā is anitya, not of universal application, and so we have मद्राज्ञी ॥ See also the next sūtra.

७८९ । अहृष्टखोरेव । ६ । ४ । १४५ ॥

एतयोरेवपरतोऽहृष्टि लोपः स्यान्नान्यत्र । उत्तमाहः । द्वे अहनी भृतो ब्याहीनः क्रतुः । तद्धितार्थे द्विष्टः । तमधीष्टइत्याधि कारे द्विगोर्वैत्यनुवृत्तौ रात्र्यहः संवत्सराच्चित्ते खः । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वान्निह । मद्राणां राज्ञी मद्रराज्ञी ॥

789. The अन् of अहन् is elided only before the affixes ट and ख ॥

Thus उत्तमाहः (V. 4. 91 S. 794 with टच्) ॥ द्वे अहनी अधीष्टो भृतो भृतो भावी वा = ब्याहीनः क्रतुः (with ख V. 1. 87 S. 1751).

Vart:—ख is added to अहन् in the sense of तस्य समूहः, when referring to a sacrifice. अह्नां समूहः क्रतुः = अहीनः (IV. 2. 42).

Though the अन् of अहन् would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes ट and ख, the present sūtra makes a restrictive rule: अहन् does not lose its final अन् before any other Taddhita affix, thus अह्ना निर्वृत्तम् = आह्निकम् (with टच् V. 1. 79 S. 1743). The word एव 'only' is for the sake of perspicuity. अहन् alone does not lose its final अन् before ट and ख, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of ātman and adhvan, before ख, in VI. 4 169 S. 1671.

In the sub-division of तमधीष्टः (V. 1. 80 S. 1744) reading the anuvritti of द्विगोर्वा (V. 1. 86. S. 1750) in the sūtra रात्र्यहः संवत्सराच्च (V. 1. 87. S. 1751), we get the affix ख ॥ The Paribhāṣhā relating to gender being anitya, (see 788 above) we have no टच् here in मद्राणां राज्ञी = मद्रराज्ञी ॥

७९० । अहोऽह एतेभ्यः । ५ । ४ । ८८ ॥

सर्वाद्विभ्यः परस्याहन्नाबरस्याह्नादेशः स्यात्समासान्ते परे ॥

790. For ahan is substituted ahna, when preceded by the words, mentioned in V. 4. 87 S. 787. (and taking the affix tach mentioned in V. 4. 91 S. 788).

Note :—When the affix टच् follows अहन्, and the latter is preceded by the words सर्व &c., then अह्ना is substituted for अहन् ॥ By the term एतेभ्यः "these words", is meant the numerals (with the exception of एक V. 4. 90 S. 794) the In declinables, the words सर्व, संख्यात and words denoting a part of a day, for these are the words mentioned in the sūtra. V. 4. 87 S. 787. The word अहन् is also mentioned therein, but it is not taken here, for there can be no Tatpurusha

compound of अहन् with अहन् ॥ The word पुण्य is also excluded by V. 4. 90, S. 794. Thus द्वयोरह्नोर्भवः = अहः, अहः, अहरतिक्रान्तः = अत्यहः, निरहः ॥ So also सर्वाह्णः, (VIII. 4. 7 S. 791) पूर्वाह्णः, अपराह्णः, संख्याताहः (according to some संख्याताहः V. 4. 90).

७६१ । अहोऽन्तात् । ८ । ४ । ७ ।

अहन्तपूर्वपदस्थान्निष्ठात्परस्याऽह्नादेशस्य नस्य णः स्यात् । सर्वाह्णः । पूर्वाह्णः । संख्याताहः । द्वयोरह्नोर्भवः । कालाह्णः । द्विगोर्लुङ्गनपत्य इति ङञो लुक् । अहः । अत्रियमहन्तत्वाद्वा । अह्नाह्ना । अहमियः । अत्यहः ।

791. The ण is the substitute of न of अहन् when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change (i. e. the letter र).

Thus सर्वाह्णः पूर्वाह्णः "fore-noon"; अपराह्णः "after-noon" But in संख्याताहः no change.

Why do we say "ending in अ"? Observe, निरहः, दुरहः ॥

The word अह् is substituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88 S. 790. The word अह् being used in the sūtra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus दीर्घाह्नी शरन् ॥ The word अहः in the sūtra in the the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthānins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वनं (VIII. 4. 4 S. 1039), वाहनं (VIII. 4. 8 S. 1052), यानं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1, then is added the samāsānta affix टच् (V. 4. 91 S. 788), and अह् substitution by V. 4. 88.

The word दीर्घाह्नी is a Bahuvrīhi compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix टच् does not apply to it. The feminine ङीप् is added by IV. I. 28, S. 462 there is elision of अ of अहन् by VI. 4. 134 S. 234.

Why do we say "when meaning a collective noun"? Observe द्वयोरह्नोर्भवो = अहः, ॥ This is a Tadditārtha Dvigu compound formed by II. 1. 51; S. 728 the affix ङञ् of कालाद् ङञ् (IV. 3. 11, S. 1381) is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080 and the final अन् of अहन् is elided by VI. 4. 145 S. 789.

In the Feminine, there will be टाप् as the base ends in short अ ॥ As अह्ना ॥ So also अहमियः and अत्यहः ॥

७६२ । शुभ्रादिषु च । ८ । ४ । ३६ ॥

एषु णञ् न स्यात् । दीर्घाह्नी प्रावृद्ध । एवं चैतदर्थमह् इत्यन्तात्तुकरणक्षेपो न कर्तव्यः । प्रातिपदिकान्तेति णत्ववारणाय शुभ्रादिषु पाठस्यावश्यकत्वात् । अहन्तादिति तपरकरणज्ञेह । परागतमहः पराहः ॥

792. The ण is not the substitute of न् in the words kshubhna &c.

Note:—The 'not' of sūtra VIII. 4. 34 S. 2840 is to be read into this. Thus क्षुभ्नाति, so also in क्षुभ्नीतः, क्षुभ्नन्ति, the substitutes of अच् being like the principal I. 1. 57. S. 50. So नृनमनः where the change was called for by VIII. 4. 3, S. 857 and VIII. 4. 26 S. 3648 नन्दिन्, नन्दन् and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिनन्दी, हरिनन्दनः, गिरिनगरः ॥ The word नृन् when taking the Intensive affix यङ्, as, नरीनृत्यते ॥ नृन्तु, नृभोति also belongs to this class. नर्तन, गहन, नन्दन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि and अनूप when used as second terms in a compound. As, परिनर्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 So परिनन्दनम् contrary to VIII. 4. 14 S. 2287 शरनिवेशः, शरनिवासः, शराग्निः, शर्मात्रयः ॥ All these are Names. After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यभोगीनः. अचार्यानी ॥ इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर and हरि and कर्मर followed by वन do not cause change in the न of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 क्षुभ्ना (क्षुभ्नाति), 2 नृनमनः, 3 नन्दिन्, 4 नन्दन, 5 नगर, एतान्युत्तरपदानि संज्ञायां प्रयोजयन्ति, 6 हरिनन्दी, 7 हरिनन्दन 8 गिरिनगरम्; 9 नृतिर्यङि प्रयोजयन्ति, नरीनृत्यते; 10 नर्तन, 11 गहन, 12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश, 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अनूप, एतान्युत्तरपदानि प्रयोजयन्ति, 17 परिनर्तनम्, 18 परिगहनम्, 19 परिनन्दनम्, 20 शरनिवेशः, 21 शरनिवासः, 22 शराग्निः 23 शर्मात्रयः, 24 आचार्यदण्डत्वं च आचार्यभोगीनः (आचार्यानी) ॥ क्षुभ्ना, 25 नृन्तु, नृनमन, 26 नरनगर, नन्दन-यङ् नृती, 27 गिरिनदी, 28 गृहनमन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि, अनूप, आचार्य-भोगीन, 29 चतुर्हयन, 30 इरिकादीनि वनोत्तरपदानि संज्ञायाम् । इरिका, तिमिर, समीरे, कुबेर, हरि कर्मर, आकृतिगणः ॥

Thus सीर्षाद्धी प्रावृद् ॥

This being so, there is no necessity of taking the trouble of making the substitute अह्ना *ahna* end in short अ for the purpose of this case. Because of the necessity of reading such examples in kshubhnādi class, in order to prevent the ण change required by VIII. 4. 11 S. 1055.

In the sūtra VIII. 4. 7 S. 791 we read "when preceded by a word ending in short अ"; therefore, when the preceding word ends in long आ, we have no ण change; as पराहः (परागतमहः) ॥

७९३ । न संख्यादैः समाहारे । ५ । ४ । ८६ ॥

समाहारे वर्तमानस्य संख्यादेशाद्देशो न स्यात् । संख्याशेरिति स्पष्टार्थम् । द्वयोरहोः समाहारो ब्रह्मः । इयहः ॥

793. This substitution of *ahna* for *ahan*, does not take place after a Numeral, when it forms a Collective noun, meaning a number of days taken as a unity.

* This substitution is prohibited in the case of Samāhāra-Tatpurusha. Thus द्वयोरहोः समाहारः = ब्रह्मः, so also इयहः ॥ Here rule V. 4. 91 applies.

There can be no samâhâra Tatpurusha compound, unless it is a Numeral compound. So the use of the word संख्यादेः in the sūtra is not absolutely necessary ; but it is employed merely for the sake of clearness.

७६४ । उत्तमैकाभ्यां च । ५ । ४ । २० ॥

आभ्यामद्वादेशो न । उत्तमशब्दोऽन्त्यार्थः । पुण्यशब्दमाह । पुण्यैकाभ्यामित्येव सूत्रयितुमुचितम् । पुण्याहम् । सुदिनाहम् । सुदिनशब्दः प्रशस्तवाची । एकाहः । उत्तमग्रहणद्वयस्यापि सम्प्रहारानित्यं संख्याताहः ॥

794. And also after the word that stands last in the above list (i, e. पुण्य) and eka, this substitution does not take place.

The word उत्तम means 'last' ; and refers to पुण्य which is the last word in V. 4. 87. S. 787. The word उत्तम 'last' is used instead of पुण्य as a वैचित्र्य ; the better draft would have been पुण्यैकाभ्याम् ॥ Thus पुण्याहम्, सुदिनाहम् ॥ The word सुदिन is a term of praise. एकाहः ॥ Some include the penultimate word संख्यात् also in the prohibition. According to them संख्याताहः is the proper form and not संख्याताहः ॥

७६५ । अग्राख्यायामुरसः । ५ । ४ । २३ ॥

दच् स्यात् । अश्वानामुर इव अश्वोरसम्, मुखयोऽश्व इत्यर्थः ॥

795. The affix tach comes after the word 'uras,' standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, when it has the sense of 'the most excellent of its kind'.

Thus अश्वानां उरः = अश्वोरसम् "the most excellent of horses".

Note :—The word अग्र means 'the principal' : as the word उरस् is the principal member of an animal, so by metonymy it has come to mean 'the principal'.

Why do we say "when meaning the most excellent". Observe देवदत्तोरः = देवदत्तोरः "the breast of Devadatta".

७६६ । अनोद्गमायः सरसां जातिसंज्ञयोः । ५ । ४ । २४ ॥

दक्ष्याज्जातो संज्ञायां च । उपानसम् । अमृताशमः । कालायसम् । मण्डूकसरसमिति जानिः । मशानसम् । पिण्डाशमः । लोहितायसम् । जलसरसमिति संज्ञा ॥

796. The affix tach comes after anas, asman, ayas, and saras, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, it denotes a jāti or a name.

Thus उपानसम्, अशुतारम्, कालायसम्, and मण्डूकसरसम्, are examples of जाति words, while महानसम्, पिण्डारम्, लोहितायसम्, and जलसरसम् are examples of संज्ञा ॥

Note—Why do we say “when meaning a jāti or a sañjñā? Observe सङ्गः, सङ्गमाः, सङ्गतरः ॥

७९७ । ग्रामकौटार्या च तक्षः । ५ । ४ । ९५ ॥

ग्रामस्य तक्षा ग्रामतक्षः । साधारण इत्यर्थः । कुत्र्या भवः कौटः स्वतन्त्रः । सचासौ तक्षा च कौटतक्षः ॥

797. The affix *ṭach* comes after *taksha*, when preceded by *grāma* and *kauṭa*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound.

The *anuvritti* of *jāti* and *sañjñā* does not run into this *sūtra*. Thus ग्रामस्य तक्षा = ग्रामतक्षः, बहूनां साधारणः ‘the public carpenter of all.’ कुत्र्या भवः = कौटः “independent.” कौटः तक्षा = कौटतक्षः meaning स्वतन्त्रः कर्मजीवी, न कस्यचिद्व्यातिबद्धः ‘and independent artisan, not particularly bound under engagement to any one’.

७९८ । अतेः शुनः । ५ । ४ । ९६ ॥

अतिश्वो वराहः । अतिश्वी सेना ॥

798. The affix *ṭach* comes after the word *śvan* preceded by *ati*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound.

Thus अतिक्रान्तः श्वानम् = अतिश्वो वराहः “the boar that surpasses the dog” i. e. जववान् “very swift”. So अतिश्वी सेना “the dog-surpassing soldier i. e. more devoted to his master than a dog” or “a servile army, as mean as a dog.”

७९९ । उपमानादप्राणिषु । ५ । ४ । ९७ ॥

अप्राणिविषयकोपमानवाचिनः शुनद्वयस्यान् । आकर्षः श्वेव आकर्षश्वः । अप्राणिषु किम् । वानरः श्वेव वानरश्वः ॥

799. The affix *ṭach* comes after the word *śvan* ending in a *Tatpurusha* compound, when another thing not being a living object is compared with it.

Thus आकर्षः श्वेव = आकर्षश्वः ‘a dog-like bow.’ This compounding takes place by II. I. 56. S. 735.

Why do we say “when the thing compared is not a living being”? Observe वानरः श्वेव = वानरश्वः “a dog-like monkey”.

८०० । उत्तरमृगपूर्वाच्च सकथनः । ५ । ४ । ९८ ॥

चादुपमानात् । उत्तरसक्यम् । दृगसक्यम् । पूर्वसक्यम् । फलकमिव सक्थि फलकसक्यम् ॥

800. The affix *tach* comes after *sakthi*, when preceded by *uttara*, *mṛiga*, and *pūrva*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound, as well as when a thing is compared with it.

By the force of the word च in the *sūtra*, we read in the word उपमानात् also. Thus उत्तरसक्यम्, दृगसक्यम्, पूर्वसक्यम् ॥ So also in फलकमिव सक्थि = फलकसक्यम् ॥

८०१ । नाचो द्विगोः । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

नौशब्दान्ताद्द्विगोष्टच् स्यान्न तु तद्धितलुकि । द्वाभ्यां नौभ्यामागतः द्विनावरूप्यः । द्विगोर्लुगनपस्थ इत्यत्र अचीत्यस्यापकर्षणाद्वलादेन लुक् । पञ्चनावप्रियः । द्विनावम् । त्रिनावम् । अतद्धितलुकीति किम् । पञ्चभिर्नौभिः क्रीतः पञ्चनौः ॥

801. The affix *tach* comes after the word *nau*, when at the end of a *Dvigu* compound, but not so, when the *Taddhita* affix is elided.

Thus द्वाभ्यां नौभ्यामागतं = द्विनावरूप्यम्, द्विनावमयम् (IV. 3. 81 S. 1461) The elision of IV. 1. 88 S. 1080 does not apply here, as that rule is restricted by the word अचि of IV. 1. 89 S. 1081 and so it does not apply to affixes beginning with a consonant.

So also द्वे नावौ समाहते = द्विनावम्, so also त्रिनावम् ॥ Thus द्विनावधनम्, पञ्चनावप्रियः are also formed.

Why do we say 'when in a *Dvigu* compound'? Observe राजनौ: "the king's ship". The phrase अतद्धितलुकि "when a *Taddhita* affix is not elided" of *sūtra* V. 4. 92 S. 729 applies here also. Therefore ढच् does not apply in पञ्चभिर् नौभिः क्रीतः = पञ्चनौः, दशनौः ॥

८०२ । अर्धाच्च । ५ । ४ । १०० ॥

अर्धात्रावष्टच् स्यात् । नावोऽर्धम् । अर्धनावम् । क्लीयत्वं लोकात् ॥

802. The affix *tach* comes after the word *nau*, when preceded by the word *ardha*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound.

Thus नावो अर्द्धं = अर्धनावम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 2, 2. S. 713. The compound is of neuter gender, and does not take the gender of the term, as required by II. 4. 26 S. 812; for gender is regulated by usage, more than any grammatical rules (लोकाश्रयत्वं लिंगस्य) ॥

८०३ । खार्थाः प्राचाम् । ५ । ४ । १०१ ॥

द्विगोर्धाच्च खार्थाष्टञ्वा स्यात् । द्विखारम् । द्विखारि । अर्धखारम् । अर्धखारि ॥

803. To the word khârî, at the end of a Dvigu compound, and to the same, when preceded by the word ardha, in a Tatpurusha compound, the affix tach is added, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians.

The words द्विगोः and अर्द्धात् are both understood here. Thus द्वे खार्था समाहते = द्विखारम् or द्विखारि ॥ So also अर्धे खार्थाः = अर्धखारम्-or अर्धखारि ॥

८०४ । द्वित्रिभ्यामञ्जलिः । ५ । ४ । १०२ ॥

दञ्वा स्यात् द्विगो । द्व्यञ्जलम् । द्व्यञ्जलिं । अतद्धितलुकीत्येव । द्वाभ्यामञ्जलिभ्यां क्रीतो द्व्यञ्जलिः ॥

804. The affix tach is added to the word añjali, when preceded by dvi or tri, in a Dvigu Tatpurusha compound.

Thus द्वावञ्जली समाहृतौ = द्व्यञ्जलम्, so also त्र्यञ्जलम् ॥ The word द्विगोः is understood here also, so that when the compound is not a Dvigu, the rule does not apply. Thus द्वयोरञ्जलिः = द्व्यञ्जलिः ॥ The phrase "when a Taddhita is not elided (V. 4. 92 S. 729)." is understood here also. Therefore the affix दच् does not apply here : द्वाभ्यामञ्जलिभ्यां क्रीतः = द्व्यञ्जलिः ॥ (V. 1. 28).

Note :—The phrase "according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians" V. 4. 101 S. 803 is to be read into this sūtra. Thus in the alternative we have द्व्यञ्जलिप्रियः ॥

८०५ । ब्रह्मणो जानपदाख्यायाम् । ५ । ४ । १०३ ॥

ब्रह्मान्तान्तत्पुरुषादृच् स्यात्समासेन जानपदत्वमाख्यायते चेत् । सुराष्ट्रे ब्रह्मा सुराष्ट्रब्रह्मः ॥

805. The affix tach comes after the word brahmaṇa in a Tatpurusha compound, when the compound denotes a person belonging to a certain country.

The word जानपदः is equivalent to जनपदेषु भवः 'belonging to a country.' This affix comes after that Tatpurusha, the first member of which is a word denoting a country. Thus सुराष्ट्रेषु ब्रह्मा = सुराष्ट्रब्रह्मः, and अवन्तिब्रह्मः "a Brāhmaṇa of Surashṭra or Avanti." This is an example of Locative Tatpurusha compound.

*Note:—*Why do we say “when referring to the name of a country”? Observe देवब्रह्मा नारदः ‘Narada the bard of the gods’.

८०६ । कुमहद्ब्रह्मामन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १०५ ॥

आभ्यां ब्रह्मणो वा टच् स्यात् तत्पुरुषे । कुत्सितो ब्रह्मा कुब्रह्मः । कुब्रह्मा ॥

806. The affix *tach* comes optionally after the word *brahman* preceded by the words *कु* and *महत्*, in a *Tatpuruṣa* compound.

Thus *कुब्रह्मः* or *कुब्रह्मा*, ‘a bad Brahmana’. The word *ब्रह्मन्* is a synonym of *ब्राह्मण* “a Brāhmaṇa”.

८०७ । आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः । ६ । ३ । ४६ ॥

महत आकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्समानाधिकरणे उत्तरपदे जातीये च परे । महाब्रह्मः । महाब्रह्मा । महादेवः । महाजातीयः । समानाधिकरणे किम् । महतः सेवा महत्सेवा । लक्षणिकं विहाय प्रतिपक्षोक्तः सन्महदिति समासो ग्रहीष्येत इति चेत् महाबाहुर्न स्यात् । तस्माल्लक्षणप्रतिपक्षोक्तयोः प्रतिपक्षोक्तस्योति परिभाषा नेह प्रवर्तते । समानाधिकरणग्रहणसामर्थ्यात् ।

आदिति योगविभागादात्वम् । प्रागेकादशभ्य इति निर्देशाद्धा । एकादश । महतीशब्दस्य पुंवत्कर्मधारयेति पुंवद्भावे कृते आत्वम् । महाजातीय ॥

महादात्वे चासकरविशिष्टरूपसंख्यानं पुंवद्भावश्च * ॥ असमानाधिकरण्यार्थमिदम् । महतो महत्या वा घासो महाघासः । महाकरः । महाविशिष्टः ॥

अष्टनः कपाले हविषि * ॥ अष्टाकपालः ॥

गवि च युक्ते * ॥ गोशब्दे परे युक्त इत्यर्थे गभ्येऽष्टन आत्वं वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ॥ अष्टागवं शकटम् । अच्यप्रत्ययवैत्यत्राजिति योगविभागाद्बहुव्रीहावप्यच् । अष्टानां गवां समाहारः अष्टगवम् । तद्युक्तत्वाच्छकटमष्टागवामिति वा ॥

807. For the final of *महत्* is substituted *आत्* (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before *जातीय* ॥

As *महाब्रह्मः* or *महाब्रह्मा*, *महादेवः*, *महाजातीयः* ॥ Why do we say ‘before a word which is in apposition with it’? Observe *महतः सेवा = महत्सेवा* “the service of the great man”: the two words are not in apposition. Obj. We shall explain the compound *महत्सेवा* by saying that the rule of *आ* substitution applies to those compounds only of *महत्* which are ordained specially by II. 1. 61 S. 740 and not to the general compounding of *महत्* with any noun.

And as *महतःसेवा* can not be compounded under II. 1. 61 S. 740 so there will be no *आ* substitution here.

Ans.—Not so ; for how then you explain the आ in महाबाहुः which is also not a compound under II. 1. 61 S. 740 but a Bahuvrīhi, and which according to your explanation ought to be महद्बाहुः ॥

Therefore, we come to this conclusion that the Pratipadokta Paribhāshā does not apply here, and this because the word समानाधिकरण is employed in the sūtra. Therefore, the present sūtra applies to all compounds of महन्, where it is in apposition with the second word.

How do you explain the lengthening in एकादश? Either by yoga-vibhāga, taking आत् as a separate sūtra ; or because Pāṇini himself uses it in V. 3. 49 S. 1995.

In महती + जातीया, the feminine महती is first changed into the masculine महन् by VI. 3. 42 S. 746 ; and then the त् is changed to आ by the present sūtra, and thus we get महाजातीया ॥

The compounding with महन् takes place under II. 1. 61 S. 740. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrīhis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाबाहुः ॥ In fact, this is the object of using the word samānādhikaraṇa in this sūtra. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipadokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpurusha compounds of mahat, taught under II. 1. 61 S. 740, but not to Bahuvrīhis like महाबाहुः ॥ In महद्भूतश्चन्द्रमा = अमहान् महान् संपन्नः, the long आ is not substituted, as the sense of महन् is here secondary.

Vārt:—आ is substituted for the final महन् before घास, कर and विशष्ट, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As महत्या घासः = महाघासः, महत्या करः = महाकरः, महत्याविशिष्टः = महाविशिष्टः ॥

Vārt:—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As अष्टाकपालं चरुं निर्वपेत् ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe अष्टकपालं ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

Vārt:—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before गौ, when the meaning is that of 'yoked.' As, अष्टागवेन शकटेन ॥ But अष्टगवं ब्राह्मणस्य, where 'yoking' is not meant. The त् in अत् is for the sake of distinctness.

The affix अच् of V. 4. 75 S. 943 is made applicable here by the method of yoga-vibhāga ; though the compound is Bahuvrīhi ; अष्टन् + गो = अष्टा + गो + अच् ॥ The aggregate of eight cows is अष्टगवम् (Samāhāra Dvandva). The chariot is also called अष्टगवम् because they are yoked there to.

८०८ । द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः । ६ । ३ । ४७ ॥

आत्स्यात् । द्वौ च दश च द्वादश । अधिका दशेति वा । द्वाविंशतिः । अष्टादश । अष्टाविंशतिः ।
अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः किम् । द्वित्राः । द्व्यशीतिः ॥ प्राक्शतादिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नेह । द्विशतम् । द्विसहस्रम् ॥

808. आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टन् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

Thus द्वादश (= द्वौ च दश च or द्वि अधिका दश). द्वाविंशतिः, द्वाविंशत्, अष्टादश, अष्टाविंशतिः, अष्टाविंशत् ॥

Why do we say 'not when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi, or the word अशीति follows'? Observe द्वित्राः, द्व्यशीतिः ॥

Vart:—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here, द्विशतम्, द्विसहस्रम्, अष्टशतम्, अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

८०९ । त्रैस्त्रयः । ६ । ३ । ४८ ॥

त्रिशब्दस्य त्रयस् स्यात्पूर्वनिषेधे । त्रयोदश । त्रयोविंशतिः । बहुव्रीहौ तु त्रिंश त्रिंशः । सुजर्थे बहुव्रीहिः । अशीतो तु त्र्यशीति । प्राक् शतादित्येव । त्रिशतम् । त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

809. For त्रि is substituted त्रयस् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

As, त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशतिः, त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ But not in त्रिंशः which is a Bahuvrīhi. (II. 2. 25 S. 843) त्र्यशीति ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred : not here, त्रिशतम्, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

८१० । विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम् । ६ । ३ । ४९ ॥

द्व्यष्टनास्त्रश्च प्रागुक्तं वा स्याच्चत्वारिंशदौ परे । द्विचत्वारिंशत् । द्वाचत्वारिंशत् । अष्टचत्वारिंशत् । अष्टाचत्वारिंशत् । त्रिचत्वारिंशत् । त्र्यचत्वारिंशत् । एवं पञ्चाशत्षष्ठिसप्ततिनवतिषु ॥

810. The above substitution in the case of all (द्वि, त्रि and अष्टन्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशत् and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus द्विचत्वारिंशत् or द्वाचत्वारिंशत्, त्रिपञ्चाशत् or त्रयः पञ्चाशत्, अष्टपञ्चाशत्, अष्टापञ्चाशत् ॥ This is also before hundred : as, द्विशतम् and अष्टशतम्, त्रिशतम् ॥

So also with पञ्चाशत्, षष्ठि, सप्तति and नवति ॥

८११ । एकादिश्रैकस्य चादुक् । ६ । ३ । ५० ॥

एकादिभिर्भू प्रकृत्या स्यादेकस्य च बहुवागमश्च । नमो विंशत्या सह समासे कृते एकशब्देन

सह तृतीयेति योगविभागास्तमासः । अनुनासिकाविकल्पः । एकेन नविंशतिः एकान्नविंशतिः । एका-
द्वविंशतिः । एकोनविंशतिरित्यर्थः ॥

षष् उत्वं इतुश्चासूतत्तरपशवेः दृष्ट्वं च धासु वेति वाच्यम् ॥ षोडन् । षोडश । षोढा ।
षड्धा ॥

811. The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with एक, and of this एक, there is the augment अदुक् (अद्).

Thus एकेन नविंशतिः = एकान्नविंशतिः, एकान्नविंशत् ॥ These are Instrumental compounds formed under II. 1. 30 S. 692 by the method of yoga-vibhāga taking तृतीया as a separate sūtra. The nasal is optional, so we have एकान्नविंशतिः also, meaning “nineteen.” The augment अदुक् is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एकान् न विंशतः and एकान् न विंशति by VIII. 4. 45. S. 116.

Vārt:—The final of षष् is changed to ड before इत्, इश, and धा (meaning ‘location’): and the first-letter of the second member is changed to ड or ढ ॥ Thus षड् वृत्ता अस्य = षोडन्; so षोडश; षड्धा or षोढा कुरु ॥ The addition of ड is optional here. The putting of धासु in the plural number indicates that धा has here the meaning of “in many parts or ways” (नानाधिकरण). In fact, it has the force of an affix here. The rule, therefore, does not apply to these:—षड् वधाति or धयति = षड्धा ॥

THE GENDER OF COMPOUNDS.

८१२ । परचल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः । २ । ४ । २६ ॥

एतयोः परपदस्थेव लिङ्गं स्यात् । कुक्कुटमशूयाविमे । मशूरीकुक्कुटाविमौ । अर्धपिप्पली ॥
हिगुप्राप्तापन्नान्तेपूर्वगतिसमासेषु प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः पञ्चकपालः पुरोडीशः ।
प्राप्तो जीविकां प्राप्तजीविकः । आपन्नजीविकः । अलं कुमार्यै अलंकुमारिः । अत एव ज्ञापकास्तमासः ।
निष्कौशाम्बिः ॥

812. The gender of a Dvandva or a Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to an Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction. As कुक्कुटमशूयाविमे ‘those two (fem.) the cock and the peahen’ मशूरीकुक्कुटाविमौ ‘those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock.’ The Samāhāra Dvandva is always neuter. So also in a Tat-purusha compound, not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism : As अर्धपिप्पल्याः, अर्द्धपिप्पली ‘half a pippali.’

Vârt :—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with प्राप्, आपन्न and, अलं. and (3) compounds with Gati words i. e. Prâdi compounds ; as, पंचकपालः 'Purodâsa prepared in five cups'; प्राप् जीविकः (प्राप् + जीविका) 'has obtained living.' आपन्नजीविकः ॥ अलंकुमारिः 'who is a suitable match for the girl.' There is no special rule of Pāṇini by which अलं can be so compounded. We *infer* such a rule, by the implication (jñāpa-ka) of this vârtika. निष्कौशान्त्रिः 'gone beyond Kauśambi.'

८१३ । पूर्ववदश्ववडवौ । २ । ४ । २७ ॥

द्विवचनमतन्त्रम् । अश्ववडवौ । अश्ववडवान् । अश्ववडवैः ॥

813. The gender of the compound of the word aśva 'horse' and vaḍava 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4, 12. S. 916, in that case it will be neuter. अश्ववडवाविनौ ; अश्ववडवान्, अश्ववडवैः &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

८१४ । रात्राह्नाहः पुंसि । २ । ४ । २९ ॥

एतदन्तौ द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषौ पुंस्त्वेव । अनन्तरत्वात्परवालिङ्गतापवादोऽप्ययं परत्वात्समहारनपुंसकतां बाधते । अहोरात्रः । रात्रिः पूर्वभागः पूर्वरान्त्रः । पूर्वाह्णः । द्यहः ॥ संख्यापूर्वं रात्रं क्लीबम् ॥ द्विरात्रम् । त्रिरात्रम् । गणरात्रम् ॥

814. The Dvandva and Tatpursha compound ending with rātra and ahna and aha are spoken of in the masculine.

This debars the neuter gender of Samāhāra even (II. 4. 17 S. 821) because it is a subsequent sūtra to that in the order of Pāṇini and thus it serves double purpose, being read immediately after II. 4. 26 S. 812 it debars the gender of the subsequent, and also the Neuter of II. 4. 17. S. 821. Thus अहोरात्रः ॥

These words refer to kṛit and Samasānta affixes. Thus the word रात्र is formed by रात्रि + अच् (V. 4. 87 S. 787) अह्ना is formed by V. 4. 88 S. 790 and अह by V. 4. 91. S. 788. The general rule II. 4. 26 S. 812 also does not apply here.

पूर्वरान्त्रः; द्विरात्रः त्रिरात्रः, 'A space of two or three nights' पूर्वाह्णः, अपराह्णः, मध्याह्णः 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon,' द्यहः 'two days' त्र्यहः, 'three days.'

Vārt.—The word राज् preceded by a numeral is always neuter, as द्विराजम् &c., गयाराजम् ॥ गयानां बहूनां राज्ञाणां समाहारः = गणराजम् ॥

८१५ । अपथं नपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । ३० ॥

तत्पुरुष इत्येव । अन्यत्र तु अपथो देशः । कृतसमासान्तनिर्देशाग्नेह । अपन्थाः ॥

815. The Tatpurusha word apatham 'a bad road' is neuter.

The word "Tat-purusha" only is understood in this sūtra and not Dvandva.

अपथमिदम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road.' But अपथोदेशः (masc.) 'a roadless country.' Here the compound being Bahuvrīhi, the word is masculine; so also अपन्थाः where the rule does not apply, because the sūtra has exhibited the form अपथम् with the samāsānta affix. So where there is no samāsānta affix, the form is अपन्थाः also. The samāsānta is optional by V. 4. 72 S. 957.

८१६ । अर्धर्चाः पुंसि च । २ । ४ । ३१ ॥

अर्धर्चादयः शक्ताः पुंसि क्लीबे च स्युः । अर्धर्चः । अर्धर्चम् । ध्वजः । ध्वजम् । एवं तीर्थं, शरीरं, मण्डः, पीयूषं, देहः, अङ्कुशः, कलश इत्यादि ॥

816. The words 'ardharcha' &c., may be masculine and neuter.

As अर्धर्चः and अर्धर्चम् 'half a verse,' ध्वजः or ध्वजम् 'a flag'. So also तीर्थः or तीर्थम् 'a place of pilgrimage'; शरीरः 'the body'; मण्डः 'a shed'; पीयूषः 'nectar'; देहः 'the body,' अङ्कुशः 'a goad for an elephant'; कलशः 'a jar' &c.

Note.—These twofold genders sometimes, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus पद्मः 'treasure,' पद्मः or पद्मम् 'lotus,' शंखः 'treasure,' and शंखम् or शंखः 'conch-shell,' भूतः or भूतम् 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सैन्धवः or सैन्धवम् 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सारः 'best' सारं 'compendium.' So धर्मः and धर्मम्.

८१७ । जात्याख्यायामेकास्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ५८ ॥

एकोऽप्यर्थो वा बहुवद्भवति । ब्राह्मणः पूज्यः ब्राह्मणः पूज्यः ॥

817. In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed.

Note :—The words of this sūtra require some detailed explanation. The name of a jāti or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number; by the present sūtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular. The anuvṛitti of asishyam does not go further ॥ Thus ब्राह्मणः पूज्याः or ब्राह्मणः पूज्यः

Note :—It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common noun, such as संपन्नः &c., agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus संपन्ना यवः or संपन्ना यवाः; “Full grown barley” पूर्ववया ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेयः or पूर्ववयो ब्राह्मणाः प्रत्युत्थेयाः ॥

Why have we used the word jāti in this sūtra? For this aphorism does not apply to proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्तः Devadatta, यज्ञदत्तः Yajñadatta. Why have we used the word आख्यायाम्? A word may be a class noun or jāti, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of kâsyapa may also be called kâsyapa; this is a class noun, but as it is not the appellation आख्या or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.

Why do we say ‘ekasmin’? When two or more class names are compounded as ब्रीहियवौ ‘the rice and barley,’ the rule does not apply.

An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको ब्रीहिः संपन्नः सुभिन्नं करोति.

८१८ । अस्मदो द्वयोश्च । १ । २ ५९ ॥

एकत्वे द्वित्वे च विवक्षितेऽस्मदो बहुवचनं वा स्यात् । वयं ब्रूमः । पक्षेऽहं ब्रवीमि । आवां ब्रूव इति वा ॥ सविशेषणस्य प्रतिषेधः * ॥ पदुरहं ब्रवीमि ॥

818. The plural of the pronoun asmad, ‘I’, is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus “I speak” or “we speak” (अहं ब्रवीमि or वयं ब्रूमः), may be spoken by one person, similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case, thus आवां ब्रूवः ‘we two speak’ or वयं ब्रूमः ‘we speak.’

Vart :—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute :—as पदुरहं ब्रवीमि. ‘I Patu am speaking.’ Here we cannot use the plural.

८१९ । फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे । १ । २ । ६० ॥

द्वित्वे बहुत्वप्रयुक्तं कार्यं वा स्यात् । पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ । पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः । पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे । पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः । नक्षत्रे किम् । फल्गुन्यौ माणविके ॥

819. And the dual of Phalgunī and Proshṭha-padā, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).

The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvṛitti of the word द्वयः from the last. Of the stars phalgunī and proshṭhapadā, the forms may be either dual or plural. As उदिते पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ (dual) ; or उदिताः पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः (plural.) So also पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे or पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः ॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunī and proshṭhapadā, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sūtra ordains plural optionally.

Why do we say 'when signifying asterisms'? Because if phalgunī and proshṭhapadā are not names of asterisms, they must have their proper number : as फल्गुन्यौ माणविके ॥

८२० । तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् । १ । २ । ६३ ॥

बहुत्वं द्वित्ववद्भवति । तिष्यश्च पुनर्वसू च तिष्यपुनर्वसू । तिष्येति किम् । विद्याखानुराधाः । नक्षत्रेति किम् । तिष्यपुनर्वस्वो माणवकाः ॥

820. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasū, the dual invariably comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasu (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus उदितौ तिष्यपुनर्वसूदृश्येते 'the Tishya and Punarvasu having risen are seen (dual).'

Why do we say 'Tishya, and 'Punarvasu'? Observe विद्याखानुराधाः 'the stars Visâkhâ and Anurâdhâ.' The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars, but are used in any other sense. As तिष्यपुनर्वस्वो माणवकाः, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasus.'

Note:—There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasu. As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number.

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sūtra, when the previous sūtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasū. As तिष्यपुनर्वसू, पुष्यपुनर्वसू सिद्धपुनर्वसू ॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus तिष्यपुनर्वसवः is an example of Bahuvrīhi compound meaning "persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasū."

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As तिष्यपुनर्वसु इक्षमिति.

This sūtra indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular"; for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sūtra would be superfluous.

The word 'invariably' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sūtra and does not extend further.

८२१ । स नपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । १७ ॥

समाहारे द्विगुर्द्वन्द्वश्च नपुंसकं स्यात् । परवलिङ्गापवादः । पञ्चगवम् । दन्तोष्ठम् ॥

अकारान्तोत्तरपदा द्विगुः स्त्रियामिष्टः * ॥ पञ्चमूली ॥

आबन्तो वा * ॥ पञ्चखट्वी । पञ्चखट्वम् ॥

अनो नलोपश्च वा द्विगुः स्त्रियाम् * ॥ पञ्चतल्ली । पञ्चतल्लम् ॥

पात्राद्यन्तस्य न * ॥ पञ्चपात्रम् । त्रिभुवनम् । अतुयुगम् ॥

पुण्यसुदिनाभ्यामहः क्लीबतेष्टा * ॥ पुण्याहम् । सुदिनाहम् ।

पथः संख्याव्ययादेः * ॥ संख्याव्ययादेः परः कृतसमासान्तः पथशब्दः क्लीबमित्यर्थः । त्रयाणां पन्थास्त्रिपथम् । विरूपः पन्थाः विपथम् । कृतसमासान्तनिर्देशान्नेह सुपन्थाः । अतिपन्थाः ।

सामान्ये नपुंसकम् * ॥ शृङ्ग पचति । प्रातः कमनीयम् ॥

821. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules (see II. 4. 1. S. 731 and II. 4. 2. S. 906) is always a neuter gender.

Note:—This sūtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26. S. 812.

As, पञ्चगवम् 'an aggregate of five cows,' दन्तोष्ठम् 'the teeth and lips' शिरोमूर्ध्वम् 'head and neck.'

Vari:—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short अ, is employed in the feminine gender only ; as पञ्चमूली.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in *आप्* affix, is optionally feminine ; as, पञ्चखट्वम् Or पञ्चखट्वा.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in *अन्*, is optionally feminine and the *न* is elided ; as, पञ्चतन्त्रम् Or पञ्चतन्त्री.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in *पान्न* &c., पञ्चपान्नम् ; चतुर्गम् ; त्रिभुवनम्.

Vart:—The Neuter gender is employed after the word *अह्* preceded by *पुण्य* or *सुदिन* ; as *पुण्याहम्* 'sacred day' ; *सुदिनाहम्* 'lucky day.'

Vart:—The word *पथ* ending with the *samāsānta* affix (V. 4. 72 S. 957) is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an *Avyaya* ; as *त्रिपथम्*, *चतुष्पथम्*, *विपथम्*, *सुपथम्*. But not so in *सुपन्था* and *अतिपन्था*: where the *samāsānta* has not been added, because of the prohibition of V. 4. 69 S. 954.

Vart:—The Neuter is employed when the application is general, and no particular gender is meant.

As *सुदु पचति* 'he cooks soft' (anything in general that he does cook), *प्रातः कमनीयम्* 'in the morning it is pleasant.'

—:0:—

८२२ । तत्पुरुषोऽनङ्कर्मधारयः । २ । ४ । १६ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

822. A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle *nañ*, and of the *Karmadhāraya* compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following *sūtras*.

Note:—This is a governing *sūtra* and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a Tat-purusha may be Neuter.

८२३ । संज्ञायां कन्थोऽशिनरेषु । २ । ४ । २० ॥

कन्थान्तस्तत्पुरुषः स्त्रीभिः स्यात्सा चेदुशीनरेदशोत्पन्नायाः कन्थायाः संज्ञा । सुशमस्यापत्यानि सौशमयः । तेषां कन्था सौशमिकन्थम् । संज्ञायां किम् । वीरणकन्था । उशीनरेषु किम् । शक्षिकन्था ॥

823. When denoting an appellative, a Tatpurusha compound ending with the word *kanthâ* 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that, it is the name of a town situated in the country of the *Uśīnaras*.

As, सौशमिकन्था 'the town of Sauśamis, the descendents of Śūshama."

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe वीरणकन्था. Why do we say 'if the town is situated in the country of the Uśīnaras? Observe दाक्षिकन्था.

Note:—This debars the rule (II. 4. 25. S. 828) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

८२४ । उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याचिख्यासायाम् । २ । ४ । २१ ॥

उपज्ञान्त उपक्रमान्तश्च तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात् तयोरुपज्ञायमानोपक्रम्यमाणयोरादिः प्राथम्यं चेदाख्यातुमिच्छते । पाणिनेरुपज्ञा पाणिनुपज्ञं ग्रन्थः । नन्वोपक्रमं द्रोणः ॥

824. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñâ' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work, which is first invented or commenced.

As, पाणिनुपज्ञग्रन्थः 'the book *i. e.* the grammar which is Pāṇini's invention'; नन्वोपक्रमं द्रोणः 'the measure Droṇa first introduced by the king Nanda.'

Note:—Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as देवदत्तोपज्ञो रथः 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' यज्ञदत्तोपक्रमो रथः 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used; as वाल्मीकिश्लोकाः 'the slokas invented by Valmiki.'

८२५ । छाया बाहुल्ये । २ । ४ । २२ ॥

छायान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात्पूर्ववदर्थबाहुल्ये । इक्षूणां छाया इक्षुच्छायम् । विभाषासेनोति विकल्पस्यायमपवादः । इक्षुच्छायानिषादिन्य इति तु भासमन्तानिषादिन्य इत्याहुप्रभलेषो बोध्यः ॥

825. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word chhâyâ 'shadow' is neuter in gender, when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, इक्षुच्छायम् 'the sugarcane shade *i. e.*, groves of sugarcane.'

The sūtra II. 4. 25 S. 828 gives *optional* neuter; this rule enjoins *invariable* neuter when chhâyâ has the sense of profuseness. In the sentence "इक्षुच्छायानिषादिन्यः" there is also shortening, there is आ between ikshuchâyâ and nishādinyah. Another reading is इक्षुच्छाय निषादिन्यः ॥

८२६ । सभा राजाऽमनुष्यपूर्वा । २ । ४ । २३ ॥

राजपर्यायपूर्वोऽमनुष्यपूर्वश्च सभान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात् । इनसभम् । ईश्वरसभम् ॥

पर्यायस्यैवेत्यते * ॥ नेह । राजसभा । चन्द्रगुप्तसभा ।

अमनुष्यशब्दो रुढ्या रक्षःपिशाचादीनाह । रक्षःसभम् । पिशाचसभम् ॥

826. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word sabhâ 'court' is neuter ; provided that, it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word Râjâ, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As इनसभम् 'the King's Court,' ईश्वरसभम् 'the Lord's Court.'

But in राजसभा 'the King's Court,' and चन्द्रगुप्तसभा the word is not neuter ; for synonyms of राजा are only to be taken and not the word-form राजा ; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68. S. 25.

So also रक्षःसभम् 'the Court of the Rakshasas,' पिशाचसभम् 'the Court of the Piśāchas.' The word is neuter. The word non-human has a technical significance meaning "a Rākshasa or a monster &c."

८२७ । अशाला च । २ । ४ । २४ ॥

संघातायो या सभा तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषः क्लीबं स्यात् । स्त्रीसभम् स्त्रीसंघात इत्यर्थः । अशाला किम् । धर्मसभा । धर्मशालेत्यर्थः ॥

827. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word sabhâ, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, स्त्रीसभम् 'the concourse of ladies.' Why do we say when it does not mean 'house.'? Observe धर्मसभा ; here सभा means a house or an institution.

८२८ । विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिशानाम् । २ । ४ । १५ ॥

एतदन्तस्तत्पुरुषः क्लीबं वा स्यात् । ब्राह्मणसेनम् । ब्राह्मणसेना । अवसुरम् । अवसुरा । कुक्ष्यच्छायम् । कुक्ष्यच्छाया । गोशालम् । गोशाला । श्वनिशम् । श्वनिशा । तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारय इत्यनुवृत्तेर्नेह । दृढसेनो राजा । भसेना । परमसेना ॥

828. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words senâ 'army,' surâ 'wine,' chhâyâ 'shadow,' śâlâ 'house' and nishâ 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of

that which is formed by the particle nañ (II. 2. 6) and the karmadhâraya compound.

As ब्राह्मणसेना, ब्राह्मणसेनस् 'the Brâhmaṇa army,' यवसुरम्, यवसुरा 'the barley wine,' कुडञ्चच्छायस्, कुडञ्चच्छाया 'the shadow of the wall,' गोशालम्, गोशाला 'the cow house,' इवनिशम् इवनिशा 'tomorrow night.' But हुडसेनोराजा । असेना 'non-army,' परमसेना good army,' the former being a negative and the latter a karmadhâraya compound. For II. 4. 19 S. 822 applies here also.

Here ends the Chapter on Tatpuruṣa Compounds.

अथ बहुव्रीहि समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIX.

BAHUVRĪHI COMPOUNDS.

८२६ । शेषो बहुव्रीहिः । २ । २ । २३ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । द्वितीयाश्रितेत्यादिना यस्य त्रिकस्य विशिष्य समासो नोक्तः सः शेषः प्रथमान्तमित्यर्थः ॥

829. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

Note :—A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above i. e. from S. 686 downwards will be Bahuvrīhi. This is a governing aphorism.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. A triad (of singular, dual and plural) whose compounding has not been taught in the previous sūtras 686 and the rest, is the śeṣha or “remainder.” Now the compounding of all the triads beginning with the Accusative and ending with the Locative have been taught in the preceding sūtras. The only case that remains is the Nominative. The compounding of nouns, both of which are in the Nominative case, is therefore governed by this sūtra, and gives rise to Bahuvrīhi.

Note :—Under sūtra I. 4. 79 S. 780 there is the vārtika प्राद्व्यो गत्याद्यर्थे प्रथमया ॥ It teaches the compounding with the Nominative case. But it is a vārtika and not a sūtra. Moreover according to Kāśikā, the śeṣha refers to “all where no other compounding is ordained, the words which do not give rise to compounds like avyayibhāva &c. will form Bahuvrīhis.”

The Bahuvrīhis like कण्ठेकालः are exceptional.

८३० । अनेकमन्यपदार्थे । २ । २ । २४ ॥

अनेकं प्रथमान्तमन्यस्य पदस्यार्थे वर्तमानं वा समस्यते स बहुव्रीहिः । अप्रथमाविभक्त्यर्थे बहुव्रीहिरिति समानाधिकरणानामिति च कलितम् । प्राप्तमुदकं यं प्राप्तोदको ग्रामः । ऊढरथोऽनङ्गान् । उपहृतपशु रुद्रः । उद्धृतौदना स्थाली । पीताम्बरं हरिः । वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः । प्रथमार्थे तु न । वृष्टे देवे गतः । व्यधिकरणानामपि न । पञ्चभिर्भुक्तमस्य ॥

प्राद्व्यो धातुजस्य वाच्यो वा चोत्तरपदलोपः * ॥ प्रपतितपर्णः । प्रपणैः ॥

नञोऽस्त्यर्थानां वाच्यो वा चोत्तरपदलोपः * ॥ अविद्यमानपुत्रः । अपुत्रः ॥

अस्तीति विभक्तिप्रतिरूपकमव्ययम् । अस्तिचीरा गौः ॥

830. Two or more words, ending in the First case-affix, form a compound, denoting, another new thing, not connoted by those words individually ; and the compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

The Bahuvrīhi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first ; as प्राप्तमुदकं ग्रामं = प्राप्तोदको ग्रामः 'a water-reached village.' ऊढरथोऽनङ्गान् 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn.' उपहतपशुरुद्रः 'Rudra to whom cattle is offered.' उद्भृतादिना स्थाली 'a vessel in which rice is placed,' पीताम्बरोद्दरिः 'Hari wearing yellow garments.' वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः 'a village possessed of heroic men.'

The Bahuvrīhi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As वृष्टे ह्ये गतः 'gone when it had rained.'

The Bahuvrīhi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded ; as पञ्चभिर्भुक्तमस्य ॥

Vart :—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after प्र &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As प्रपतितं पर्णमस्य = प्रपर्णः 'a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.'

Vart :—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नञ् should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As अविद्यमान पुत्रो यस्य = अपुत्रः 'childless.' So also अभाष्यः wifeless.'

Compounds like अस्तिक्षीरा should be stated as Bahuvrīhi. As अस्तिक्षीरा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhmaṇi having milk.' These words are indeclinables. The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.

Note :—Why have we used the word "anya" in the sūtra ? So that the difference of the scopes of the Tatpurusha and the Bahuvrīhi may be indicated. A Tatpurusha denotes the very thing or object expressed by the words of the compound, (स्वपदार्थे हि सावकाशं तत्पुरुषं) ; while a Bahuvrīhi always denotes another object, not denoted by the words of the compound.

८३१ । स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु । ६ । ३ । ३४ ॥

भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् ऊङोऽभावो यस्यामिति बहुव्रीहिः निपातनात्पञ्चम्या अलुक् । षष्ठ्याश्च लुक् । तुल्ये प्रवृत्तिनिमित्ते यदुक्तपुंस्कं तस्मात्पर ऊङोऽभावो यत्र तथाभूतस्य स्त्रीवाचकशब्दस्य पुंवाचकस्यैव रूपं स्यात्समानाधिकरणे स्त्रीलिङ्गे उत्तरपदे । ननु पूरण्यां प्रियादौ च परतः । गोस्त्रियोरिति ह्रस्वः ।

चित्रा गावो यस्येति लौकिकविग्रहे चित्रा अस् गो अस् इत्यलौकिकविग्रहे । चित्रयुः । रूपव-
ज्ञार्थः । चित्रा जरती गौर्यस्येति विग्रहे अनेकोक्तेर्बहूनामपि बहुव्रीहिः ।

अत्र केचित् । चित्राजरतीयुः । जरतीयुचित्रायुर्वा । एवं दीर्घातन्वीजङ्घः । तन्वीदीर्घाजङ्घः ।
त्रिपदे बहुव्रीहौ प्रथमे न पुंवत् । उत्तरपदस्य मध्यमेन व्यवधानात् । द्वितीयमपि न पुंवत् । पूर्वपदत्वाभावात् ।
उत्तरपदशब्दो हि समासस्य चरमावयवे रूढः । पूर्वपदशब्दस्तु प्रथमावयवे रूढ इति वदन्ति ।

वस्तुतस्तु नेह पूर्वपदमाक्षिप्यते । आनङ् कृत इत्यत्र यथा । तेनोपात्तस्य पुंवदेव ।
चित्राजरदुरित्यादि । अत एव चित्राजरत्यौ गावौ यस्येति द्वन्द्वगर्भेऽपि चित्राजरदुरिति भाष्यम् ।
कर्मधारयपूर्वपदे तु द्वयोरपि पुंवत् । जरच्चित्रयुः । कर्मधारयोत्तरपदे तु चित्रजरद्वीकः ।

स्त्रियाः किम् । ग्रामाणि कुलं दृष्टिरस्य ग्रामणिदृष्टिः ।

भाषितपुंस्कात्किम् । गङ्गाभार्यः ।

अनूङ् किम् । वामोरुभार्यः ।

समानाधिकरणे किम् । कल्याण्याः माता कल्याणीमाता ।

स्त्रियां किम् । कल्याणी प्रधानं यस्य स कल्याणीप्रधानः । पूरण्यां तु ॥

831. In the room of a feminine word there is substituted an equivalent and uniform masculine form, when it is a word which has an actual corresponding masculine, and does not end in the feminine affix ऊङ् and is followed by another feminine word in the relation of apposition with it ; but not when such subsequent word is an ordinal numeral, nor प्रिय &c. (see under 835 for the list of Priyâdi words).

Note :—The words of this sūtra require some analysis for better comprehension. स्त्रियाः ‘for a feminine word’, पुंवद् “like the masculine,” i. e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word. भाषितपुंस्कात् = भाषितपुमान्येन, by which a masculine is spoken of i. e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspondence must be in the *form* (आकृति) and the *connotation* (व्यापार) of the two words ; that is when both the words are coextensive in their denotation, applying to the same objects, but of different genders. A word which has not the affix ऊङ् is called अनूङ् ॥ That feminine word which does not end in ऊङ् and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् स्त्रीशब्दः ॥ The word भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् is a Bahuvrihi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously, while the whole compound is in the genitive case, the affix being elided anomalously, Of such a भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine form. Provided that, the second member is a समानाधिकरण i. e. a word in apposition with the first, and (स्त्रियाश्च) of the feminine gender : with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (पूरण) and of प्रिय &c.

Thus चित्रशुः "He who has brindled cows." Here गो is shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656. The ordinary analysis of this word is चित्रागावो यस्य; while its grammatical analysis is चित्रा + अस (Pl) + गो + अस् (Pl). Here चित्रा becomes masculine चित्र; and गो is shortened to शु ॥ Similarly रूपवद्भायः ॥

Similarly there may be compounding of more than two words as चित्रा जरती गौर्यस्य ॥ Here according to some we have either चित्रा-जरतीशुः or जरतीचित्राशुः ॥ So also दर्शान्वीजङ्घुः or तन्वीर्दर्शजङ्घुः ॥ "The first member retains its gender in a Bahuvrīhi of three words, because the first word is separated from the last by an intermediate word. The second word also does not become masculine, because it is not the *first* word in the compound. The word उत्तरपद 'last word' is the technical name of the last member of a compound; while पूर्वपद "first word," is similarly confined to the first member of a compound. Therefore in a compound of three words or more, the second term though an uttarapada in relation to the first, is not called uttarapada; similarly this second term though a pūrva-pada with relation to the third, is not called purva-pada" Thus say some grammarians.

But as a matter of fact, there is not in the sūtra any such word as pūrva-pada; and the word should not be inserted in it. For if पूर्वपद qualified this sūtra, it would similarly qualify VI. 3. 25 S. 921, and therefore though we could form होतापातारौ by आनङ्; we could not form होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातारः, but नेष्टृ + उद्गातारः ॥ But in the Mahābhāṣya we find नेष्टोद्गातारः ॥ Therefore, the penultimate word will become masculine; and the proper form is चित्राजरदुः &c. Therefore in चित्राजरत्यौ गावौ यस्य "he who has one brindled and one old cow" though it is a portion of a dwandva compound, we have चित्राजरदुः only. This is in the Mahābhāṣya. But when the first member is a Karmadhāraya compound, then both terms become masculine, as जरच्चित्रशुः 'He who has an old brindled cow.' The compounding here is by II. 1. 49 S. 726. But when the last term is a Karmadhāraya compound, we have चित्रजरद्वीकः ॥ First we combine जरती and गौ in a karmadhāraya compound, जरती चातौ गौश्च = जरद्वी which is formed by adding the feminine affix डीप् to the word जरद्व formed by the samāsānta affix दच् (V. 4. 92 S. 729). Then we form the Bahuvrīhi चित्रा and जरद्वी यस्य = चित्राजरद्वीकः the affix कप् is added by V. 4. 153 S. 833.

So also दर्शनीयभार्यः (= दर्शनीयाभार्या यस्य) Here दर्शनीया is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, दर्शनीयः, moreover this feminine does not end in the affix ऊङ्, but in the affix ञा; it is followed by another feminine word भार्या which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the द्विधादि class; hence this

word दर्शनीया is changed to the corresponding masculine word दर्शनीय ॥ So also श्लक्ष्णचूडः, दीर्घजङ्घः ॥

Why do we say स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word'? Observe ग्रामाणि ब्राह्मणकुलदृष्टिरस्य = ग्रामणिदृष्टिः ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine भाषितपुंस्कः)? Observe गङ्गाभार्यः ॥ There is no corresponding masculine of गङ्गा ॥ Why do we say "of the same connotation and form समानायमाकृतौ"? Observe द्वौणीभार्यः, the masculine word द्वौण has not the same significance as द्वौणी ॥ The words गर्भिभार्यः, प्रसूतभार्यः, and प्रजातभार्यः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in ऊङ्? Observe वानौरुभार्यः ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याण्यमाता = कल्याणीमाता "the mother of Kalyāṇi." Why do we say स्त्रियाम् 'followed by a feminine word'? Observe कल्याणी प्रधानः यस्य स = कल्याणीप्रधानः ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word. Why do we say 'not being an ordinal Numeral'? The next sūtra applies to ordinals.

८३२ । अप्पूरणीप्रमाणयोः । ५ । ४ । ११६ ॥

पूरणार्थप्रत्ययान्तं यत् स्त्रीलिङ्गं तदन्तात्प्रमाप्यन्ताच्च बहुव्रीहरेप् स्यात् । कल्याणी पञ्चमी यासां रात्रीणां ताः कल्याणीपञ्चमा रात्रयः । स्त्री प्रमाणी यस्य स स्त्रीप्रमाणः । पुंवद्भावप्रतिषेधोऽप्यत्ययश्च प्रधानपूरण्यमेव । रात्रिः पूरणी वाच्या चेत्युक्तोदाहरणे मुख्या । अन्यत्र तु ॥

832. The affix ap comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound, ending in a feminine ordinal Numeral or in the word pramāṇī.

The word पूरणी means words in the feminine gender ending in an ordinal affix (V. 2. 48 S. 1849 &c). प्रमाणी means 'a witness, ' a principal'. Thus कल्याणी पञ्चमी आसां रात्रीणां = कल्याणीपञ्चमा रात्रयः "the nights, the fifth of which is auspicious." कल्याणीदशमा रात्रयः ॥ So also स्त्रीप्रमाणी एषा = स्त्रीप्रमाणाः कुटुम्बिनः meaning भार्याप्रधानाः "having a woman for authority".

The affix अप् and the prohibition of masculine substitution apply when the Ordinal Numeral is the principal (pradhāna) member in a compound. When the Ordinal enters fully into another object, and is not merely wrapped up as it were in another object in a secondary way, there the Ordinal is the principal. The prohibition of puṁvad-bhāva—the change of feminine into masculine ordained by VI. 3. 34 S. 831—, applies also to the Ordinal when it is pradhāna. Therefore, the affix is not added here. कल्याणपञ्चमीकः पक्षः = कल्याणी पञ्चमी अस्मिन् पक्षे ॥

But when it is not so ; then instead of अप् we have कप् as by the next sūtra.

८३३ । नद्युतश्च । ५ । ४ । १५३ ॥

नद्युत्तरपदादन्तोत्तरपदाच्च बहुव्रीहेः कप्स्यात् । पुंवद्भावः ॥

833. The affix कप् is added to a Bahuvrīhi, the last member of which is a (feminine word ending in long ई or ऊ defined as a) nadi word, or which ends in a short ऋ ॥

Note :—The word नदी is defined in I. 4 3. S. 266. Thus बहुकुमारीको देशः (बह्व्यः कुमार्योऽस्मिन्देशे), बहुब्रह्मबन्धूकः ॥ बहुकर्तृकः ॥ The त in कन्त् is for the sake of euphony.

There is puṃvad-bhāva (masculine substitution) in such compounds.

Thus कल्याणी + पंचमी + कप् ॥ Now at this stage, the next sūtra requires that the long ई be shortened.

८३४ । केऽणः । ७ । ४ । १३ ॥

के परेऽणो ह्रस्वः स्यात् । इति प्राप्ते ॥

834. Before the affix क, the preceding आ, ई and ऊ are shortened.

Note :—As लका, (VII. 3. 47 S. 466) कुमारिका, किशोरिका, ब्रह्मबन्धुका ॥ Why आ, ई and ऊ only ? Observe गौका, नौका ॥ The words राका, धाका are irregular being formed by Unādi diversity. with the affix क added to रा and धा (Un III. 40)

By the following sūtra, the rule does not apply to the affix कप् ; it therefore implies that कन्त् is governed by this rule, though it has the anubandha न् ॥ Kātyāyana would confine this rule to the Taddhita क, and not the kṛit क of the Unādi, as राका, धाका ; but Unādi words are not derivatives (उणादयोऽन्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि), and hence no necessity of reading Taddhita into the sūtra.

Therefore कल्याणी + पंचमी + कप् = कल्याणी + पंचमि + कप् ॥ But the shortening is prevented by the next sūtra.

८३५ । न कपि । ७ । ४ । १४ ॥

कपि परे ह्रस्वो न स्यात् । कल्याणपंचमीकः पक्षः । अत्र तिरोहितावयवभेदस्य पक्षस्यान्यपरा-
र्थतया रात्रिप्रधानम् । बहुकर्तृकः । अप्रियादिषु किम् । कल्याणीप्रियः ।
प्रिया । मनोज्ञा । कल्याणी । सुभगा । दुर्भगा । भक्तिः । सचिवा । स्वसा । कान्ता । क्षान्ता । समा ।
चपला । दुहिता । वामा । अबला । तनाया ॥

सामान्ये नपुंसकम् ॥ दृढं भक्तिर्यस्य स दृढभक्तिः । स्त्रीत्वविवक्षायां तु दृढभक्तिः ॥

835. * But before the samāsanta affix कप् coming after Bahuvrīhi compounds, the अण् vowels are not shortened.

As कल्याणपञ्चमीकः पञ्चः ॥ बहुकुमारीकः, बहुवृषलीकः, बहुलक्ष्मीकः ॥ The shortening ordained by I. 2. 48 S. 656 even does not operate when कप् follows. Here रात्रिः is not principal, but secondary; because पञ्च is another thing altogether in which all distinctions of members (such as nights that constitute a paksha) have disappeared.

Note :—For had there been upasarjana shortening (I. 2. 43), the present sūtra would be useless. Therefore, the very existence of this sūtra debars every sort of shortening. Obj. The present sūtra would not be useless, for it will find scope where there is no shortening of the upasarjana by I. 2. 48 S. 656; namely before non-feminine affixes, as बहुयवाशूकः; but there should be shortening in feminine affixes. Ans. The shortening of I. 2. 48 will not take place before कप् affix. Because the affix कप् will first be added to the second member in the sense of the compound, and then the word so ending in कप् will be compounded with the first member. So there is no prātipadika left which ends in a feminine affix, and therefore I. 2. 48, S. 656 does not apply, because the pratipadika now left is one ending in the affix कप् and not in a feminine affix.

Similarly बहुकर्तृकः ॥

The ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणपञ्चमीकः पञ्चः ॥ The samāsanta affix अप् (V. 4. 116) also applies to an Ordinal which is a Principal and not what is used as secondary word: and therefore the above compound does not take अप् ॥ Why do we say not before प्रिय &c. Observe कल्याणीप्रियः ॥

1 प्रिया, 2 मनोज्ञा, 3 कल्याणी, 4 सुभगा, 5 दुर्भगा, 6 भक्ति, 7 सचिवा, 8 स्वा (स्वसा), 9 कान्ता, 10 चान्ता, 11 सना, 12 चपला, 13 दुहिता, 14 वामना (वमा) 15 तनया, 16 अम्बा ॥ The compound दृढभक्तिः is anomalous.

When the word दृढ is used without any reference to its gender, but merely to denote want of weakness then it is Neuter, as दृढं भक्तिर्यस्य = दृढभक्तिः ॥ But when feminine nature is intended to be expressed then we have दृढभक्तिः ॥ And therefore भक्ति is read in this list,

८३६ । तसिलादिस्वाकृत्वसुचः । ६ । ३ । ३५ ॥

तसिलादिषुआकृत्वसु जन्तेषु परेषु स्त्रियाः पुंवत्स्यात् । परिगणनं कर्तव्यम् । अव्याप्यातिव्याप्ति-
परिहाराय । व्रतसौ । तरुणसौ । चरद्विजातीयरौ । कल्पवृक्षीयरौ । रूपपाशपौ । धात् । तिलधनौ
बह्वीष बह्वच । बहुतः । दर्शनीयतरा । दर्शनीयतमा

वरूपेति वक्ष्यमाणो ह्रस्वः परत्वात्पुंवद्भावं बाधते । पङ्क्तिरा । पङ्क्तिमा । पङ्चरी । पङ्जातीया । दर्शनीयकल्पा । दर्शनीयवैशीया । दर्शनीयरूपा । दर्शनीयपाशा । बहुया । प्रशस्ता वृकी वृकतिः । अजाभ्यो हिता अजथ्या ॥

शसि बहुलपार्थस्य पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः * ॥ वह्नीभ्यो रेहि बहुशः । अल्पाभ्यो रेहि अल्पशः ॥ त्वतलोऽयुगवचनस्य * ॥ शुक्राया भावः शुक्रत्वम् । शुक्रता । गुणवचनस्य किम् । कर्त्र्या भावः कर्त्रीत्वम् । शरद्ः कृतार्थतत्थादौ तु सामान्ये नपुंसकम् ॥

अस्थाढे तद्धिते * ॥ इस्तिनीनां समूहो हास्तिकम् । अढे किम् । रौहिणेशः । स्त्रीभ्यो ढगिति ढोऽत्र गृह्यते । अग्नेर्ढगिति ढकि तु पुंवदेव । अग्रायी देवताऽस्य स्थालीपाकस्याग्नेयः । सपत्नीशब्दश्चिधा । शत्रुपर्यायात्सपत्नशब्दश्च्छाज्ज्वादिवात् ङग्न्येकः । समानः पतिर्यस्या इति विग्रहे विवाहनिबन्धनं पतिशब्दमाश्रित्य नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गो द्वितीयः । स्वामिपर्यायपतिशब्देन भाषितपुंस्कस्तृतीयः । आद्ययोः शिवाद्यण् । सपत्न्या अपत्यं सापत्नः । तृतीयाच्चु लिङ्गविशिष्टपारिभाषया पत्युत्तरपदलक्षणो ण्य एव । न त्वण् । शिवादौ रूढयोरिव मख्यात् । सापत्यः ।

ठक्छलोश्च * ॥ भवत्याश्छात्रा भावत्काः भवशीयाः ।

एतद्व्यतिक्रमेकताद्धिते चेति सञ्च च न कर्तव्यम् । सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंवद्भाव इति भाष्यकारेष्टया गतार्थत्वात् । सर्वकाम्यति । सर्विकार्या यस्य स सर्वकभार्यः । सर्वप्रिय इत्यादि । पूर्वस्यैवेदम् । भस्त्रैषाद्वेति लिङ्गात् । तेनाकचि एकशेषवृत्तौ च न । सर्विका । सर्वाः ॥

कुक्कुट्यादीनामण्डादिषु * ॥ कुक्कुट्या अण्डं कुक्कुटाण्डम् । घृग्याः पदं घृगपदम् । घृगक्षीरम् । काकशावः ॥

836. A feminine word not ending in the affix ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed to such masculine form, before the affixes beginning with तसिल् &c. (V. 3. 7. S. 1953) and ending with क्त्वसुच् (V. 4. 17. S. 2085).

We must enumerate these affixes, lest we should include too many or too few. The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine : च and तस्, तरप्, and तमप्, चरद्, जानीयर्, कल्पप्, (देश्य), वैशीयर्, रूपप्, पाशप्, (यम), थाल्, (हा and हर्ल), तिल्, थ्यन् (तातिल) ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender.

Thus (1) च=बहुच, (2) तस्=बहुतः both with the force of locative बहुषु ॥ (3—4) तरप् and तमप्, as दर्शनीयतरा and दर्शनीयतमा ॥ These affixes are called च and so the rule VI. 3. 43 S. 985 causes shortening and this shortening being subsequent prevents the masculine substitution even. Thus not पङ्तरा and पङ्तमा, (as given in some texts); but पङ्क्तिरा and पङ्क्तिमा ॥ (5) चरद् (V. 3. 53. S. 1999) as पङ्चरी ॥ (6) जानीयर् (V. 3. 69 S. 2024) as पङ्जातीया ॥ (7) कल्पप्, as दर्शनीयकल्पा ॥ (8) वैशीयर् as दर्शनीयवैशीया ॥ (9) रूपप् (V. 3. 66 S. 2021) as दर्शनीयरूपा ॥ (10) पाशप् (V. 3. 47. S. 1993) as दर्शनीयपाशा ॥ (11) थाल् (V. 3. 23 S. 1971) as बहुया ॥ (12) तिल् (V. 4. 41 S. 3505) as वृकतिः (=प्रशस्ता वृकी) ॥ (13) थ्यन् (V. 1. 8. S. 1669) as, अजथ्या (=अजाभ्योहिताः) ॥

Vart :—The feminine of बहु and अल्प and their synonyms are changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix शस् :—as बहुभ्यो देहि = बहुशो देहि ; अल्पाभ्यो देहि = अल्पशो देहि ॥ See V. 4. 42. S. 2109.

Vart :—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine, before the affixes त्व and तल् ॥ शुक्लाया भावः = शुक्लत्वम् so also शुक्लता ॥ Why do we say 'an adjective'? Observe कर्त्र्या भावः = कर्त्रीत्वम् ॥ In the example "निरीक्ष्य मेने शरदः कृतार्थता," the word कृतार्थ is Neuter in the generic significance. For though शरद् is feminine, the word is not कृतार्थता ॥

Vart :—The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes, except ढ, when the word gets the designation of म् ॥ Thus हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् by ठक् (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256). Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनी having lost its ई (VI. 4. 148 S. 311.) the word न् of हस्तिन् would not be elided before the Taddhita affix, because the lopa-elision being asiddha (VI. 4. 22. S. 2183) and also by I. 1. 57 S. 50 sthānivat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI. 4. 144 S. 679 ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So the form would have been something like हास्तिनिकम् instead of हास्तिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of ढ'? Observe रौहिनेयः the masculine being रोहित ॥ To रोहित is added डीप् and त् changed to न by IV. 1. 39 S. 496 and we have रोहिणी ॥ Had there been puṇvad bhāva, रौहितेयः would have been the form. The ढ taken here is the ढ of the sūtra IV. 1. 120 S. 1123 and not the ढक् of IV. 2. 33 S. 1236. Thus आग्नेयः (= अग्रायी देवता अस्य स्थालीपाकस्य) ॥

The word सपत्नी has three meanings. (1) Formed by adding डीन् under शार्ङ्गखादि class to सपत्न meaning 'an enemy.' सपत्नी 'a female enemy.' (2) a co-wife, समानः पतिर्यस्याः। It shows marital relation, and is always feminine, having no corresponding masculine. (3) where पति means 'lord' (not husband): and that सपत्नी has a corresponding masculine. It means a female servant of the same master. The first two take the अण् of शिवादि As सपत्न्या अपत्यं = सापन्नः 'the son of a female-enemy or of a co-wife.' In the case of the third, the affix will be ण्य, and not अण् because शिवादि अण् applies to rudhi words only, and not to the yougika word. Its form will be सापत्यः ॥

Vart :—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes ठक् and छस् ॥ As भवत्या श्लाघा = भावत्काः, भवतीयाः ॥ This Vārtika and the sūtra एकतद्धितेषु (VI. 3. 62 S. 1000) need not have been made. Because the result obtained by these could be got by the general rule (ishti) of the Bhāsyakāra (Patanjali): "there is masculation of sarvanamans whenever they take part in any grammatical function." As (1) सर्वमयः (2) सर्वकाम्यति, (3) सर्विकामार्थं यस्य स = सर्विकामार्थः In spite of VI. 3. 37 S. 838. (4) सर्वमित्रः &c. In the first the

affix is मयद् which is not included in Tasilādi class of this sūtra, and yet it causes masculation. The third would not have become masculine by VI. 3. 34 because VI. 3. 37 S. 838 would have prevented it.

So also सर्वप्रियः in spite of the exception of VI. 3. 34 S. 881 with regard to प्रिय &c. That exception finds its scope in examples like रूपवतीप्रियः &c

If a sarvanāman always becomes masculine in every grammatical function, it ought to be so when it stands as a second member of a compound, as in तदितरा and तदन्या ॥ Here इतरा and अन्या ought to become masculine. But it is not so, because the rule applies to the first (pūrva) member of the compound. When a pronominal is a first member of a compound then it becomes masculine and not when it is the last term. This we infer from the implication of VII. 3. 47 S. 466. That sūtra contains two pronominals एषा and ह्य and if they were to become masculine even in Taddihta function (i. e. when क is added), there would have been no scope for the इ of that sūtra. Hence there is this inference that a sarvanāma does not necessarily become masculine before अकच् or in ekasesha; as सर्विका with akach; and सर्वाः plural being eka-śesha.

Vārt:—The words कुक्कुटी &c. become masculine before अण्ड &c: as, कुक्कुट्या अण्डं = कुक्कुटाण्डम् ॥ वृग्याः पदं = वृगपदम्, वृग्याः क्षीरं = वृगक्षीरम्, काक्याः शावः = काकशावः ॥ This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

८३७ । क्यङ्मानिनोश्च । ६ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एतयोः परतः पुंवत् । एनीवाचरति एतायते । श्येनीवाचरति श्येतायते । स्वभिन्नां काञ्चिदृशं नीयां मन्यते दर्शनीयमानिनी । दर्शनीयां स्त्रियं मन्यते दर्शनीयमानिनी चैव ॥

837. A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed in to masculine before the Denominative क्यङ् and the affix मानिन् ॥

Thus from एनी—एतायते, श्येनी—श्येतायते ॥ मानिनः—दर्शनीयमानिनी अयमस्याः “He esteems her as handsome”. दर्शनीयमानिनीयमस्याः (इयम् अस्याः) “She esteems her (some one else other than herself) as handsome.” The word मानिन् is employed for the sake of non-feminine and non-appositional words. Thus non-feminine words:—दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तां = दर्शनीयमानिनी अयमस्याः ॥ For non-appositional words:—as, दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तां यज्ञदत्ता = दर्शनीयमानिनी इयमस्याः ॥

Note:—The affix क्यङ् is added under III. 1. 11 S. 2665. Thus in एनीवाचरति, श्येनीवाचरति, the feminine words एनी and श्येनी become एत and श्येत ॥ The lengthening takes place by VII. 4. 25 S. 2298. and we have एता and श्येता ॥

The word मानिन् is separately used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the rule applies even to non appositional words, and non-feminine (masculine) words ; which was not the case under the last sūtra.

८३८ । न कोपधायाः । ६ । ३ । ३७ ॥

कोपधायाः स्त्रियाः न पुंवत् । पाचिकाभार्यः । रसिकाभार्यः । मद्विकायते । मद्विकामानिनी ॥
कोपधप्रतिषेधे तद्धित दुप्रहणम् * नेह । पाका भार्या यस्य स पाकभार्यः ॥

838. A Feminine word having a penultimate क्, does not assume the Masculine form.

Thus पाचिकाभार्यः, रसिकाभार्यः, मद्विकायते, मद्विकामानिनी ॥ This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36: and not only to VI. 3. 34.

Vart:—The rule applies to the क् of the affix वु and the Taddhita क् and not to every क् ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाकभार्यः (पाकाभार्या यस्य) ॥ The word पाका means “young” and is formed by the Uṇādi affix क् (Uṇ V. 53). This is neither a Taddhita क् nor a क् of वु affix.

८३९ । संज्ञापूरण्यश्च । ६ । ३ । ३८ ॥

भनयोर्न पुंवत् । दत्ताभार्यः । दत्तामानिनी । दानक्रियानिमित्तः स्त्रियां पुंसि च संज्ञाभूततोऽयमिति भाषितपुंस्त्वमस्ति । पञ्चमीभार्यः । पञ्चमीपाशा ॥

839. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus दत्ताभार्यः । दत्तामानिनी ॥ The word दत्ता is a Bhāshita punsa word, for both men and women can become objects, of the verb दा ‘to give’; so दत्ता has a corresponding masculine noun दत्त; though both may be proper Names. So also पञ्चमीभार्यः and पञ्चमीपाशा ॥ Here the affix पाशाप् is added by व्याघ्रपाशाप् (V. 3. 47 S. 1993).

८४० । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे । ६ । ३ । ३९ ॥

वृद्धिशब्देन विहिता या वृद्धिस्तद्धेतुयस्तद्धिताऽरक्तविकारार्थस्तदन्ता स्त्री न पुंवत् । सौग्रीभार्यः । माथुरीयते । माथुरीमानिनी । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य किम् । मध्यमभार्यः । तद्धितस्य किम् । काण्डलावभार्यः । वृद्धिशब्देन किम् । तावज्भार्यः ॥ रक्ते तु ॥ काषायी पन्था अस्य स काषायपन्थः । विकारे तु हैमी छट्टिका यस्येति हैमछट्टिकः । वृद्धिशब्देन वृद्धिं प्रति फलोफलोपधानाभावादिह पुंवत् । वैयाकरणभार्यः । सौवश्वभार्यः ॥

840. The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the

Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, by its own force by the employment of the term Vṛiddhi, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning 'colored therewith', and 'made there of'.

Thus सौश्रीभार्यः, माथुरीयते, and माथुरीमानिनी ॥

Why do we say 'which causes Vṛiddhi'? Observe मध्यमभार्यः ॥ मध्ये भवा = मध्यमा formed by the affix म IV. 3. 8. S. 1378 which does not cause Vṛiddhi. Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe काण्डलावभार्यः (काण्डं लुनाति = काण्डलावी with अण् (कर्म्मण्यण्) and डीप् ॥ Why do we say when not meaning 'colored there with' or 'made there of'? Observe. कषायेण रक्ता = काषायी, काषायी कन्या यस्य = काषायकन्यः, हेमस्य विकारोहैमी, हैमीमुद्रिका = हैममुद्रिकः (IV. 3. 140 S. 1520). What do we mean "by the phrase by the employment of the term वृद्धि"? The word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi, and not a Tatpurusha, i. e. a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like ण् or झ् or क् &c which causes Vṛiddhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to तावज्जार्यः (तावती भार्या यस्य) ॥ Here the affix वतुप् V. 2. 39 S. 1840 added to तद् does not cause Vṛiddhi by using the word Vṛiddhi, but by VI. 3. 91. S. 430 which says "आ is substituted for the final of a pronoun before वत्" ॥ Though आ is a Vṛiddhi letter, it is ordained here not by employing the term Vṛiddhi, but simply as आ ॥

But in वैयाकरणभार्यः "He whose wife is a grammarian", and सौवश्वभार्यः "whose wife is the daughter of a good horseman." there is masculine substitution, because there is absence of the result of Vṛiddhi by using the word Vṛiddhi. The word निमित्त in the sūtra denotes "causing or producing the result or fruit." Now when तदधीते तद्वेदं अण् (IV. 2. 59 S. 1269) is added to व्याकरण, and तस्यापत्यं अण् (IV 1. 92 S. 1088) is added to स्वश्व, there would be Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, but that is debarred by VII. 3. 3 S. 1098 which says :—"Before a Taddhita affix having an indicative झ्, ण् or क् the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows श् or द्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before the semivowels." Thus though the Taddhita अण् would cause Vṛiddhi, the fruit is not actually produced, hence the rule does not apply in वैयाकरणी भार्या यस्य, and सौवश्वी भार्या यस्य ॥

८४१ । स्वाङ्गाच्चेतः । ६ । ३ । ४० ॥

स्वाङ्गाद्य ईकारस्तदन्ता स्त्री न पुंवत् । सुकेशीभार्यः । स्वाङ्गात्किम् । पटुभार्यः । ईतः किम् । अकेशभार्यः ॥ अमानिनीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सुकेशमानिनी ॥

841. A feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine.

Thus सुकेशीभार्यः । Why do we say 'the name of a part of body'? Observe पटुभार्यः (पटु not denoting any bodily member). Why do we say 'a feminine in ई'? Observe अकेशभार्यः (अकेश भार्या, not ending in long ई) ॥

Vārtika :—There is an exception when the word मानिन follows. Thus सुकेशमानिनी ॥

८४२ । जातेश्च । ६ । ३ । ४१ ॥

जातेः परो यः स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्तदन्तं न पुंवत् । शूद्राभार्यः । ब्राह्मणी भार्यः ॥ सौचस्यैवायं निषेधः । तेन हस्तिनीनां समूहो हास्तिकमित्यत्र + भस्याडे—इति तु भवत्येव ॥

842. A feminine noun expressing jāti (and ending in a feminine affix) does not become masculine.

Thus शूद्राभार्यः, ब्राह्मणीभार्यः ॥

The exception does not apply to हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् for the prohibition applies to the feminines formed by affixes, and not to Taddhitas. Here the vārtika भस्याडे given under VI. 3. 35 S. 836. will apply of course.

८४३ । संख्यायाऽव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये । २ । २ । २५ ॥

संख्येयार्थया संख्ययाऽव्ययादयः समस्यन्ते स बहुव्रीहिः । दशानां समीपे ये सन्ति ते उपदशाः । नव एकादश वेत्यर्थः । बहुव्रीहौ संख्येयेति वक्ष्यमाणो ङच् ॥

843. Indeclinable words and the words āsanna 'near,' adūra 'near,' adhika 'more' and the words called saṅkhyâ (Numerals) are compounded with another saṅkhyâ word, when the sense is that of a numeral or saṅkhyâ. The compound is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus उपदशाः (V. 4. 73 S. 851) those who are near ten i. e. nine or eleven.' Similarly उपविंशः 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI. 4. 142 S. 844).

By V. 4. 73. S. 851, the affix इच् comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound denoting numeral.

८४४ । ति विंशतेर्ङिति । ६ । ४ । १४२ ॥

विंशतेर्भस्य त्रिंशदस्य लोपः स्याद्विति । आसन्नाविंशाः । विंशतेरासन्ना इत्यर्थः । अदूरविंशा । अधिकचत्वारिंशाः । द्वौ वा त्रयो वा द्विंशः । द्विरावृत्ता दश द्विंशाः । विंशतिरित्यर्थः ॥

844. Of the Bha stem विंशति, before an affix having an indicatory ङ, the ति is elided.

Thus आसन्नविंशः 'nineteen or twentyone'; अद्वारविंशः 'twenty-nine or thirty one'; अधिकचत्वारिंशः 'forty-one.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, द्वित्रिः 'two or 'three.' द्विंशः 'twenty.'

८४५ । दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले । २ । २ । २६ ॥

दिशो नामान्यन्तराले वाच्ये प्राग्वत् । दक्षिणस्याः पूर्वस्याश्च दिशोऽन्तरालं दक्षिणपूर्वा । नाममहणा-
द्यौगिकानां न । ऐन्द्राश्च कौबेर्याश्चान्तरालं द्विक् ॥

845 Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वादिक् dakṣiṇa-pūrvā, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वोत्तरा 'north-east.'

The word नाम is introduced in the sūtra in order to indicate that no compounding takes place, when the words denoting direction are derivative words, whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; as ऐन्द्राश्चकौबेर्याश्च दिशोऽर्थान्तरालम् 'the point between east and north.' Here the words ऐद्री 'east' and कौबेरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.

८४६ । तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे । २ । २ । २७ ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते ग्रहणविषये सरूपे परे तृतीयान्ते च प्रहरणविषये इदं शुद्धं प्रवृत्तमित्यर्थे समस्येते
कर्मव्यतिहारे बोधे स षड्व्रीहिः । इतिशब्दादयं विषयविशेषो लभ्यते ॥

846. Two homonymous words both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case, are compounded, the sense being 'this happens, therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

The word तत्र means 'a word in the locative case,' and तेन 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word सरूप or 'similar form' applies to both. The word इति indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by इति ॥ The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of *seizing*; and the word is exhibited

in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of *striking*; the word indicated by the word इदमिति is युद्धः ॥ Now applies the following sūtra :—

८४६ क । अन्येषामपि दृश्यते । ६ । ३ । १३७ ॥

रीर्य इत्यनुवर्तते । इचि कर्मव्यतिहरि बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वपदान्तस्य रीर्यः । इच् समासान्तो वक्ष्यते । तिष्ठद्युप्रभृतिविचप्रत्ययस्य पाठादव्ययीभावस्त्वमव्ययत्वं च । केशेषु केशेषु गृहीत्वेवं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं केशाकेशि । दण्डैर्दण्डैश्च ग्रह्येवं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं दण्डादण्डि । मुष्टीमुष्टि ॥

846 A. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

(This sūtra is taught in S. 3539 also).

The word *dirgha* is understood in this sūtra from the preceding *Ashtādhyāyī* sūtra VI. 3. 111. The final of the prior member in a *Bahuvrīhi* compound is lengthened, before the *samāsānta* affix इच् when reciprocity of action is meant. The *samāsānta* इच् will be taught later on (V. 4. 127 S. 866). The इच् affix is read in the *Tiṣṭhadga* class (II. 1.17. S. 671) and so these compounds are *Avyayībhāvas* and *Indeclinables*.

As केशेषुकेशेषु च गृहीत्वा इदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं = केशाकेशि 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair' ; दण्डैश्च दण्डैश्च ग्रह्य इदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं = दण्डादण्डि 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave ;' so also मुष्टी मुष्टि ॥

८४७ । ओर्गुणः । ६ । ४ । १४६ ॥

उवर्णान्तस्य भस्य गुणः स्यात्तद्धिते । भवादेशः । बाहूबाहवि । ओरोरिति वक्तव्ये गुणोक्तिः संज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनित्य इति ज्ञापयितुम् । तेन स्वायम्भुवमित्यादि सिद्धम् । सरूपे इति किम् । हलेन सुसलेन ॥

847. For उ or ऊ of a *bha* stem, there is substituted *Guṇa*, before a *Taddhita* affix.

Thus बाहूबाहवि "hand to hand." Instead of making the sūtra simpler by saying ओरोर् 'let ओ be substituted for उ or ऊ', the employment of the technical phrase गुणः in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनित्यः "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term". The present sūtra is, therefore, *anitya*, and we have forms like स्वायम्भुवः from स्वयम्भू without *guṇa*. See VII. 4. 30 also.

Why do we say in the preceding sūtra S. 846 सरूपे 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following : हलैश्च सुसलैश्च ग्रह्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तम् ॥

८४८ । तेन सहति तुल्ययोगे । २२ । २८ ॥

तुल्ययोगे वर्तमाने सहिते तृतीयात्तेन प्राग्वत् ॥

848. The word saha 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrīhi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.

Thus सह+पुत्रेण ॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which सह is changed to स ॥

८४९ । वोपसर्जनस्य । १ । ३ । ८२ ॥

बहुव्रीह्यवयवस्य सहस्य सः स्याद्वा । पुत्रेण सह सपुत्रः सहपुत्रो वा भागंतः । तुल्ययोगवचनं प्रायिकम् । सकर्मकः । सलोमकः ॥

849. स is optionally the substitute of सह, when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi.

That compound in which all members are secondary—वोपसर्जन—is a सर्वोपसर्जन, and the Bahuvrīhi is such a compound; because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood; Thus पुत्रेणसह = सपुत्रः or सहपुत्रः, भागंतः ॥

Note:—Why do we say of a Bahuvrīhi? Observe सहयुध्वा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrīhi like सहकृत्वप्रियः or सहयुद्धप्रियः ॥

How do we get the forms like सकर्मकः, सलोमकः, सपक्षकः &c., in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (तुल्य योगवचनं प्रायिकं) ॥

Note:—Thus सह पुत्रेणागतः = सपुत्रः (VI. 3. 82, सह changed to स) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. सच्छात्रः 'accompanied by the pupil.' सकर्मकरः 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness सहैव दशाभिः पुत्रैर्भारं वहति गर्दभी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons.'

८५० । प्रकृत्याशेषि । १ । ३ । ८३ ॥

सहस्रवदः प्रकृत्या स्यादाशिषि । स्वस्ति राज्ञे सहपुत्राय सहामात्याय ॥ भर्गोवत्सहलेष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ सगवः । सवत्साय । सहलाय ॥

850. The word सह retains its original form, when the sentence denotes benediction.

Thus स्वस्ति राज्ञे सहपुत्राय, सहामात्याय ॥

Vārtika :—But optionally so when it is गो, वत्स or हलः—as, स्वस्ति भवते सहगवे or सगव, सहवत्साय or सहवत्सायं, सहहलाय, or सहलाय ॥

८५१ । बहुव्रीहौ संख्येये डजबहुगणात् । ५ । ४ । ७३ ॥

संख्येये यो बहुव्रीहिस्तस्माद्धिच् स्यात् । उपदशाः । अबहुगणात्किम् । उपबहवः । उपगणाः । अत्र स्वेर विशेयः ॥ संख्यायास्तत्पुरुषस्य वाच्यः * ॥ निर्गतानि त्रिंशतो निस्त्रिंशानि वर्षाणि चैत्रस्य । निर्गतस्त्रिंशतोऽङ्गुलिभ्या निस्त्रिंशः खड्गः ॥

851. The affix ḍach comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound denoting numeral, except when the last term of such compound is bahu and gaṇa.

This Bahuvrīhi is formed by rule II. 2. 25. S. 843. Thus उपदशाः ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'denoting a numeral' ? Observe चित्रगुः, शबलगुः ॥

Why do we say 'not after bahu and gaṇa' ? Observe, उपबहवः, उपगणाः ॥ The difference here is in the accent, for had डच् been added, it would have made the final of उपगण acute by चित् accent (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710) but it not being so, the first member retains its accent, namely acute on the first.

Vārt :—The Tatpuruṣa compounds of numerals like निस्त्रिंशः &c, take also the affix डच् ॥ Thus निर्गतानि त्रिंशतः = निस्त्रिंशानि वर्षाणि चैत्रस्य 'Chaitra is more than thirty years old' निर्गतस्त्रिंशताङ्गुलिभ्यः = निस्त्रिंशः खड्गः 'the sword is more than thirty fingers long.'

८५२ । बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यक्ष्णोः स्वाङ्गात्पच् । ५ । ४ । ११३ ॥

व्यत्ययेन षष्ठी । स्वाङ्गवाचिसक्थ्यक्ष्यन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेः पच् स्यात् । दीर्घे सक्थ्यनी यस्य स दीर्घसक्थः । जलजाक्षी । स्वाङ्गात्किम् । दीर्घसक्थि शकटम् । स्थूलाक्ष्णो वगुर्थाष्टः । अक्ष्णोऽदर्शनादित्यच् ॥

852. The affix shach comes after the words sakthi and akshi, final in a Bahuvrīhi compound and denoting a portion of one's body.

Thus दीर्घे सक्थ्यनी यस्य = दीर्घसक्थः, so also जलजाक्षी Why do we say "when denoting a part of the body ?" Observe दीर्घसक्थि शकटम् । स्थूलाक्ष्णो वगुर्थाष्टः ॥ The affix अच् is added by V 4. 76 S. 944.

Note :—The word सकथ्यत्तुः is genitive dual, while it ought to be ablative. Why do we say “in a Bahuvrīhi compound”? Observe परमसक्थिः, परमाक्षिः ॥ Why do we say “after sakthi and akshi? Observe दीर्घज्ञानुः, सुबाहुः ॥

The new affix षच् is employed instead of दच् for the sake of the accent. Thus चक्रसक्थी स्त्री, दीर्घसक्थी स्त्री ॥ By sūtra IV. I. 41, S. 498 the feminine of words ending in an affix having an indicative दच् is formed by डीप् and not डीप् ॥ Had the affix here been दच्, then the feminine would have been formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470), which is anudatta (III. 1. 4). Now by rule VI. 2.198 S. 3932 the second term ‘saktha’ has *optionally* udatta accent, on the final in a Bahuvrīhi. When therefore, it is not oxytone, then by adding डीप् the final of दीर्घसक्थी would have been anudatta, so that the feminine in one case would be oxytone. in the other not, which would be anomalous. But when डीप् is added, it is *always* udatta, which is desired: and removes the anomaly. The anuvritti of Bahuvrīhi extends up to the end of the chapter.

८५३। अङ्गुलेर्दारुणि । ५ । ४ । ११४ ॥

अङ्गुल्यन्त। बृहद्रीहिः षच् स्याद्दारुण्यर्थे । पञ्चाङ्गुलयो यस्य तत्पञ्चाङ्गुलं दारु । अङ्गु-
लिसदृशवयवं धान्यादिविक्षेपणकाष्ठमुच्यते । बृहद्रीहिः किम् । द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्या अङ्गुला यष्टिः ।
सद्वितार्थे तत्पुरुषे तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलेरित्यच् । दारुणि किम् । पञ्चाङ्गुलिर्हस्तः ॥

853. The affix shach comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word anguli, when the compound means “a piece of wood.”

Thus पञ्चाङ्गुलं दारु ॥ This is the name of a wooden fork, of the figure of five fingers by which barley &c are scattered.

Why do we say “in a Bahuvrīhi”? Observe अङ्गुलायष्टिः = द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्या ॥ It is a Tatpurusha compound formed by V. 4. 86 S. 786 by adding अच् as samāsanta affix, the anguli meaning here *size* and not *figure*. Why do we say “when meaning a wood”? Observe पञ्चाङ्गुलिर्हस्तः ॥

८५४। द्वित्रिभ्यां ष मूर्द्धन् । ५ । ४ । ११५ ॥

आभ्यां मूर्द्धन् षः स्याद्बृहद्रीहौ । द्विमूर्द्धन् । त्रिमूर्द्धन् ॥ नेतुर्नक्षत्रे अद्वक्तव्यः * मृगो नेता यासौ
ताः मृगनेत्रा राक्षसाः । पुण्यनेत्राः ॥

854. The affix sha comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in mūrdhan, and preceded by dvi and tri.

Thus द्विमूर्द्धन् । त्रिमूर्द्धन् ॥ The feminine is formed by स्त्रीप् and the accent is regulated by VI. 2. 197.

Note :—Why do we say “ preceded by dvi and tri ? ” Observe द्वौर्ध्वार्धं ॥

Vart :—The affix अप् comes after नेत् when preceded by a word denoting asterism, As मृगनेत्रा रात्रयः = मृगो नेता आसां रात्रीणां “ the night whose leader is the asterism mriga ” ; so also पुष्यनेत्राः ॥

Note—Why do we say “ an asterism ” ? Observe देवदत्तनेतृकाः ॥

८५५ । अन्तर्बहिर्भ्यां च लोमः । ५ । ४ । ११७ ॥

आभ्यां लोमोऽप्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । अन्तर्लोमः । बहिर्लोमः ॥

855. The affix अप् comes after a Bahuvrīhi ending in loman and preceded by antar and bahis.

Thus अन्तर्गतानि लोमास्तस्य = अन्तर्लोमः प्रावारः ‘ a cloak having the hairy surface inside ’, Similarly बहिर्लोमः पटः ॥

८५६ । अञ् नासिकायाः संज्ञायां नसं चास्थूलात् । ५ । ४ । ११८ ॥

नासिकान्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरञ् स्यात् नासिकाचब्दश्च नसं प्राप्नोति नतु स्थूलपूर्वात् ॥

856. The affix अच् is added to the word nāsikā final in a Bahuvrīhi, when it expresses a Name, where by nas is substituted for nāsikā, but not so when the word sthūla precedes the word nāsikā.

Thus दु + नासिका = दु + नासिका + अच् = दु + नस् + अच् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra by which न् is changed to ण ॥

८५७ । पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः । ८ । ४ । ३ ॥

पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य नस्य णः स्यात्संज्ञायां नतु गकारव्यवधाने । द्रुवि नासिकाऽस्य द्रुणसः । खरणसः । अगः किम् । ऋचामयनं ऋणयनम् । अण्णयनादिभ्य इति निपातनात् णत्वाभावमाश्रित्य अग इति प्रत्याख्यातं भाष्ये । अस्थूलात्किम् स्थूलनासिकः । खुरखराभ्यां वा नस् * ॥ खुरणसः । खरणाः । पञ्च अजपीव्यते ॥ खुरणसः खरणसः ॥

857. So also, न् is replaced by ण्, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that, the first member does not end with the letter ग ॥

Thus द्रुव नासिकाऽस्य = द्रुणसः । खरणसः ॥

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, चर्मनासिकः ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न्' ? Observe ;
कृगयनम् ॥

In the Mahābhāshya, Patanjali has shown that the word अस् is superfluous in the sūtra, for the non-change of न् to ण् in कृगयनं can be established by the nipātana of IV. 3. 73. S. 1452, where Pāṇini himself has used the word कृगयन showing that न् is not changed to ण् ॥

Why do we say in 856 'not after स्थूल' ? Observe स्थूलनासिको वराहः ॥

Vart. :—After the words खुर, and खर ; for नासिका is substituted तस् but no affix is added : as, खुरणाः, खरणाः ॥

Vārtika :—In the alternative affix अच् is added, as खुरणसः, खरणसः ॥

Iṣhti :—The forms क्षित्तिनाः, अर्चनाः and आहिनाः are valid in the Revelation (the Vedas).

८५८ । उपसर्गाच्च । ५ । ४ । ११९ ॥

प्रादेश्यो नासिकाशब्दस्तदन्ताद्बह्वीरेष् नासिकाया नसादेशश्च । असंज्ञार्थं वचनम् । उन्नता नासिका यस्य स उन्नतः । उपसर्गादनोत्पर इति सूत्रं तदङ्गत्वा भाष्यकार आह ॥

858. The affix ach comes after the word nāsikā final in a Bahuvrīhi, when an upasarga precedes it, and तस् is substituted for नासिका ॥

This rule applies where the word is not a sañjñā, as it was in the last. Thus उन्नता नासिकाऽस्य = उन्नतः ॥

The next sūtra is not the sūtra as given by Pāṇini. His sūtra is उपसर्गादनोत्परः "after an Upasarga, the न् of तस् when not preceded by or followed by an ओ, is changed into ण्" ॥ There being several objections to this rule, the following is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahābhāshya,

Note :—For ओत्परः may have two meanings :—(1) ओत्कारान्तरः, that which comes after ओ ; (2) ओत्कारः परोऽस्मात् that which is followed by ओ ॥ In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ण् change would be required in मनो मुञ्चतं ; in the second case, there should be no ण् change in प्रणोवर्तिदेवता ॥

In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रणः as well as प्रनः, so also प्रणो as well as प्रनो ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment.

८५६ । उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् । ८ । ४ । २८ ॥

उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य नसो नस्य णः स्याद्बहुलम् । प्रणसः ॥ वेप्रो वक्तव्यः * ॥ विगतानासिकाऽस्य विघ्नः ॥ ख्यश्च * ॥ विख्यः । कथं तर्हि विनसा हतबान्धवेति भट्टिः । विगतया नासिकयो-
पलक्षितं व्याख्ययम् ॥

859 The न of नस् is changed diversely into ण, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रणसः

Vart:—The प्र is substituted for नासिका when वि precedes it, As, विगतानासिकाऽस्य = विघ्नः ॥ *Vart*:—So also विख्यः in the same sense.

How do you explain the form विनसा in the following line of Bhaṭṭi:—
“ विनसा हतबान्धवाः ” It should be explained as विगतया नासिकयोपलक्षिता ॥ Here विनसा is not in the Nominative case, but is Instrumental singular of विनस् where नस् is substituted for नासिका by VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

Thus प्रणसः प्रणो राजा ॥ The change does not sometime take place, as, प्र नो सुञ्चतम् ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also, as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus प्रणसं मुखं ॥ The word छन्दसि does not govern this sūtra.

In प्रणसं मुखम्, the word नस् is the substitute for नासिका and means ‘nose.’ See V. 4. 119. S. 858.

८६० । सुप्रातसुश्वसुदिवशारिकुक्षचतुरश्रैणीपदाजपदप्रोष्ठपदाः । ५ ।
४ । १२० ॥

एते बहुव्रीहावच्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते । शोभनं प्रातरस्य सुप्रातः । शोभनं श्वोऽस्य सुश्वः । शोभनं दिवाऽस्य सुदिवः । शाररिव कुक्षिरस्य शारिकुक्षः । चतस्रोऽश्वयोऽस्य चतुरश्रः । एण्या इव, एणावस्य एणीपदः । अजपदः । प्रोष्ठा गोः तस्यैव पादावस्य प्रोष्ठपदः ॥

860. The following Bahuvr̥this are irregularly formed by adding ach:—su-prāta, su-śva, sudiva, śārikuk-
sha, chaturaśra, eṇi-pada, aja-pada, and prosthā-pada.

In some of the above compounds the हि (syllable) is elided. शोभनं प्रातरस्य = सुप्रातः, शोभनं श्वाऽस्य = सुश्वः, शोभनं दिवाऽस्य = सुदिवः ॥ शारिरिव कुक्षिरस्य = शारिकुक्षिः, चतस्रोऽश्वयोऽस्य = चतुरश्वः, एण्या इव पादावस्य = एणीपदः, So अजंपदः, घोष्ठा means 'cow' तस्यैव पादावस्य = घोष्ठपदः "whose feet are like cows."

८६१ । नञ्दुःसुभयो हलिसंक्थयोरन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १२१ ॥

अञ्च् स्यात् । अहलः । अहलिः । असक्थः । असक्थिः । एवं दुःसुभ्याम् । संक्थयोरिति पाठान्तरम् । अशक्तः । अशक्तिः ॥

861. The affix ach comes optionally after the words hali and sakthi, final in a Bahuvrīhi, when preceded by a Negative particle or by the words dus and su.

Thus अविद्यमाना हलिरस्य = अहलः or अहलिः, दुर्हलः or दुर्हलिः, सुहलः or सुहलिः ॥ So also असक्थः, असक्थिः, दुःसक्थः or दुःसक्थिः, सुसक्थः or सुसक्थिः ॥

Some read the text as हलिसंक्थोः ॥ According to this reading we have अशक्तिः or अशक्तः, दुःशक्तिः or दुःशक्तः (विरूपा शक्तिरस्य), सुशक्तिः or सुशक्तः ॥

८६२ । नित्यमसिच् प्रजामेधयोः । ५ । ४ । १२२ ॥

नञ्दुःसुभ्य इत्येव । अम्रजाः । दुष्प्रजाः । सुप्रजाः । अमेधाः । दुर्मेधाः । सुमेधाः ॥

862. The affix asich (अस्) comes invariably after prajā and medhâ, final in a Bahuvrīhi, when the above particles नञ्, सु and दुस् precede them.

Thus अविद्यमाना प्रजाऽस्य = अम्रजाः, so also दुष्प्रजाः, सुप्रजाः, अमेधाः, दुर्मेधाः, सुमेधाः ॥

Note :—The word "invariably" (नित्य) shows that the anuvṛitti of the word "optionally" of the last sūtra does not run here. The word nitya also indicates that the affix ach comes after prajā and medhâ even when preceded by other words. As the word अल्पमेधसः in the following.

श्रोत्रियस्येव ते राजन्मन्त्रकस्याल्पमेधसः ।

अनुवाकहता बुद्धिर्नैवा तत्स्वार्थदर्शिनी ॥

Note :—The अ of असिच् is for the sake of pronunciation and to make the stem before it अ ॥ Therefore in सुप्रजसौ the आ is elided by यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148. S. 311). According to Kâśka the base is अम्रजस्, &c.

६३३. धर्मादनिच्छैवलात् । ५ । ४ । १२४ ॥

केवलात्पूर्वपदात्परो यो धर्मशब्दस्तैवन्ती बह्व्रीहोरेति च स्यात् । कल्याणधर्मा । केवलात्किम् । परमः स्वो धर्मो यस्येति विपरे बह्व्रीहो ना भूत् । स्वशब्दो हीह न केवलं पूर्वपदं किंतु मध्यमत्वावपेक्षिकम् । संदिग्धसाध्यधर्मयोश्च तु कर्मधारयपूर्वपदो बह्व्रीहिः । एवं तु परमस्वधर्मोऽपि साधवेव । निवृत्तिधर्मा अनुच्छित्तिधर्मोऽपि विवत् । पूर्वपदं तु बह्व्रीहिणाक्षिप्यते ॥

863. The affix anich (अन्) comes after the word dharma, when it is the last member of a Bahuvrīhi compound, and (is itself the only word without any other word joined with it or) when the first member is a single word.

Thus कल्याणो धर्मोऽस्य = कल्याणधर्मन् nom. sin. कल्याणधर्मा ॥ Why do we say केवलात् "when it alone is the last member"? Observe परमः स्वो धर्मोऽस्य = परमस्वधर्मः ॥ Here the word स्व is not alone a pūrvapada but a middle term; also it is not an independent word; it is not a pūrvapada and pūrvapada only, but something else also. The word केवलात् according to some qualifies the word पूर्वपदं and according to others the uttarapada also. That is the first member must be *one* word though a compound word, and they explain such forms as संदिग्धसाध्यधर्मा; निवृत्तिधर्मा; अंनुच्छित्तिधर्मा (e. g. अविनाशी वा अरस्यमात्मनऽनुच्छित्तिधर्मा) as valid. According to Kaumudī the pūrvapadas like संदिग्धसाध्य are Karmadhāraya. In this view परमस्वधर्मा is also valid and correct, like the words निवृत्तिधर्मा, अनुच्छित्तिधर्मा ॥ According to Prasādakāra केवलात् qualifies both the words धर्मात् and पूर्वपदात् ॥

Note :—The necessity of अ in अनिच् is not very apparent. The affix निच् would have served the purpose equally well: for धर्म + निच् = धर्मन् ॥ But others say, that the word is not धर्म ending with a vowel, but धर्मे ending with a consonant. It is formed by adding the affix क्तिप् to the Denominative of the root derived from the noun धर्म by तत्करोति &c. S. 2573 $\sqrt{\text{कत्र}}$ ॥ Therefore परमो धर्म यस्य सः परमधर्मा ॥ The word धर्मे though defective in one limb, is the same as धर्म for grammatical purposes, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्थानन्यत्वात् ॥ When in a Bahuvrīhi compound, the last member is धर्म and the first member is a single word, then the affix अनिच् is added. The word केवलात् qualifies the first member. But the ancient Grammarians have made the last term also qualified by केवलात् ॥ The author of Prasāda also has explained Kevalât as an adjective qualifying both the word dharma and the pūrvapada or the first member. But both these are very problematic: for there is no proof that the word kevalât should be so repeated as to qualify both the first term and the word dharma. Moreover there is no necessity that the word dharma should be qualified by this term Kevalât. For it cannot

be said that the word *kevalât* should qualify *Dharma*, in order to prevent the last term from being a compound word *emling* in *dharma*. For in such a case, the word *dharma* does not stand as a member of a *Bahuvrîhi* compound. Therefore the word *kevalât* qualifies the *purvapada* only. The *purvapada* must be a *single word*: and not two or more words. Therefore in परमःस्वो धर्मो यस्य the *Bahuvrîhi* will not be governed by this rule. Because the word स्व is not here the only *pûrva-pada*, but being in the middle is relative.

८६४ । जम्भा सुहरिततृणसोमेभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १२५ ॥

जम्भोति कृतसमासान्तं निपात्यते । जम्भो भक्ष्ये ण्ते च । शोभनो जम्भोऽस्य सुजम्भा । हरितजम्भा । तृणं भक्ष्यं यस्य तृणमिव ण्ता यस्येति वा तृणजम्भा । सोमजम्भा । स्वादिभ्यः किम् । पतितजम्भः ॥

864. The word “jambhan” stands at the end of a *Bahuvrîhi*, when preceded by *su*, *harita*, *trîṇa*, and *soma*.

The जम्भन् is a word that has already taken the *sanâsanta* affix ण् irregularly, and means ‘food’ or ‘tooth.’ Thus सुजम्भन्, as (शोभनो जम्भोऽस्य), सुजम्भा देवदत्तः so also हरितजम्भा, तृणजम्भा, (तृणं भक्ष्यं यस्य) सोमजम्भा ॥ When it means ‘tooth,’ the compound should be analysed as, तृणमिव or सोममिव जम्भोऽस्य ॥ Why do we say when preceded by *su* &c.? Observe पतितजम्भः ॥

८६५ । दक्षिणेर्मा लुब्धयोगे । ५ । ४ । १२६ ॥

दक्षिणे ईमे त्रणं यस्य दक्षिणेर्मा मृगः । व्याधेन कृतत्रण इत्यर्थः ॥

865. The form “dakshinerman” is an irregularly formed *Bahuvrîhi*, when used in conjunction with a hunter.

The word लुब्ध means व्याध or a fowler, a hunter. Thus दक्षिणेर्मीर्ममस्य = दक्षिणेर्मा मृगः ‘a stag wounded by the hunter on the right flank.’

Note:—But in the following verse:—बाली हेमाब्जनाली गुणनिधिरिषुणानिर्मितो दक्षिणेर्मा, it denotes merely hunting. The word ईमेम् means ‘a wound.’ Why do we say ‘in reference to a hunter’? Observe दक्षिणेर्मेम् शकटम् ॥

८६६ । इच् कर्मव्यतिहारे । ५ । ४ । १२७ ॥

कर्मव्यतिहारे यो बहुव्रीहिस्तस्मादिच् स्यात्समासान्तः । केशकोशि । सुसलासुसलि ॥

866. The affix इच् comes after a *Bahuvrîhi* when the compound denotes the reciprocity of an action.

The compound denoting reciprocity of action is formed by II. 2. 27. S. 684 Thus केशकोशि = केशेऽनु केशेषु गृहीत्वा इदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं ॥ So also सुसलासुसलि ॥

The affix इच् forms also avyayibhāva compounds, as it occurs in the list of तिष्ठद्गु words II. i. 17. S. 671.

८६७। द्विदण्डादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । १२८ ॥

तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थेऽपि । एषां सिद्धयर्थमिच् प्रत्ययः स्यात् । द्वौ दण्डौ यस्मिन्प्रहरणे तद् द्विदण्डि प्रहरणम् । द्विदुसलि । उभाहस्ति । उभयाहस्ति ॥

867. The words dvidanḍi &c., are valid forms in ich.

The word द्विदण्ड्यादिभ्यः is in the dative case, and not the Ablative case. The dative here has the force of "for the purpose of that" (II. i. 37 S. 698). This word is therefore equal to द्विदण्ड्यर्थमिच् प्रत्ययो भवति "the affix इच् comes for the sake of the words dvidanḍi &c," i. e. it comes in such a way, as to form the words dvidanḍi &c. These words are used in fixed senses. Thus द्विदण्डि प्रहरति, द्विदुसलि प्रहरति, but not here, द्विदण्डा बाला ॥

Note:—Though the context is that of Bahuvrīhi, yet some of these words are Tatpurusha: as निकुच्य कर्णेऽधावति = निकुच्यकर्णि धावति ॥ ग्राह्यग्राहो हस्तिनं बाहयति = ग्राह्यपादि हस्तिनं बाहयति ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 72.

1 द्विदण्डि, 2 द्विदुसलि, 3 उभाऊजलि, 4 उभयाऊजलि, 5 उभाहन्ति, 6 उभयाहन्ति, 7 उभाहस्ति, 8 उभयाहस्ति, 9 उभाकर्णि, 10 उभयाकर्णि, 11 उभापाणि, 12 उभयापाणि, 13 उभाबाहु, 14 उभयाबाहु, 15 एकपदि, 16 ग्राह्यपदि, 17 आह्वयपदि, (आह्वयपदि), 18 सपदि, 19 निकुच्यकर्णि, 20 संहतपुच्छि, 21 अन्तर्वासि ॥

८६८। प्रसंज्ञयां जानुनोक्तुः । ५ । ४ । १२९ ॥

आभ्यां पर्योर्जानुसम्बन्धोर्लुपदेशः स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । प्रगते जानुनी यस्य प्रजुः । सजुः ॥

868 After the words pra and sam, there is the substitution of jñu for jānu, when forming the Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus प्रगते जानुनी यस्य = प्रजुः, So also सजुः ॥

८६९। ऊर्ध्वाद्विभाषा । ५ । ४ । १३० ॥

ऊर्ध्वजुः । ऊर्ध्वजानुः ॥

869. The substitution of jñu for jānu is optional, when the word ūrdhva precedes it.

Thus ऊर्ध्वे जानुनी अस्य = ऊर्ध्वजानुः or ऊर्ध्वजुः ॥

८७०। धनुषश्च । ५ । ४ । १३१ ॥

धनुरन्तस्य बहुव्रीहेरनङादेशः स्यात् । शार्ङ्गधन्वा ॥

870. The 'anan' is the substitute of the final of 'dhanus' in a Bahuvrīhi.

As शार्ङ्ग धनुरस्य = शार्ङ्गधन्वन् nom. s. शार्ङ्गधन्वा ॥

८७१ । वा संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १३३ ॥

शतधन्वा । शतधनुः ॥

871. The substitution of शतङ् does not optionally take place when the Bahuvrīhi is a Name.

This declares an option, where the last sūtra had made the substitution compulsory. As शतधनुः or शतधन्वा, दृढधनुः or दृढधन्वा ॥

८७२ । जायाया निङ् । ५ । ४ । १३४ ॥

जायान्तस्य बहुव्रीहेर्निङादेशः स्यात् ॥

872. For the final of जाया is substituted निङ् in a Bahuvrīhi.

Thus युवति जायाऽस्य = युवति + जाया = युवति + जाश् + नि ॥ Now applies the following sūtra, by which य is elided before नि ॥

८७३ । लोपो व्योर्वलि । ६ । १ । ६६ ॥

वकारयकारयोर्लोपः स्याद्वलि । पुंवद्भावः । युवतिर्जाया यस्य युवजानिः ॥

873. There is lopa-substitution (elision) of the व् and य् when followed by any consonant except य् ॥

Thus युवतिर्जाया यस्य = युवजानिः (जाया + निङ् = जाश् + निङ् = जा + नि, the य् being elided by the present rule.) So also वृद्धजानिः ॥ There is punvad-bhāva also by which युवति (feminine) is changed to युव (masculine).

Note:—The final व् or य् of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c., beginning with a बल् consonant i. e. any consonant except य् ॥ Thus दिव् + वस् (III. 2. 107) = दिव् + दिव् + वस् = दिदिवस् nom. singular दिदिवान्, दिदिवंसौ, दिदिवंसः ॥ Thus उय् + त = ऊत, 'spun,' कृय् + त = कृत 'made a noise.' So also the affix हक् comes after गोधा in forming patronymic (IV. 1. 129 S. 1135). Of the affix हक्, ह is replaced by एय् (VII. 1. 2 S. 475). Thus गोधा + एय् + र = गोधेरः (the य् of the affix being even elided before र) ॥ So also in पचेरन् the य् of लिङ् (III. 4. 102 S. 2255) is elided before रन् (III. 4. 105 S. 2256). So also व् is elided in the following:—from जीव—जौरवानुः (by Unādi affix जीवे रानुक्) from लिङ्—अस्त्रमाणम् formed by the Unādi

affix मनिन् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Unādi affixes (III. 3. 1 S. 3169), there is not ऊद् substitution for व् as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say "before any consonant except य?" Observe ऊय्यते, कूय्यते when य् is not elided. Why the word लोप is placed first? The elision of व् and ल् should take place prior to the elision of the aprikta व् taught in the next sūtra. Thus कण्डूय + क्रिप् = कण्डूय् and व् (VI. 4. 48 S. 2308) = कण्डू + व् = कण्डूः ॥ So लोळ्य × विवप् = लोळः ॥ Why व् of व्रश्च is not elided before र् which is a वल् consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of व् been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रश्च instead of व्रश्च ॥ If you say the व् is taught for the sake of forms like वृश्चति by samprasāraṇa, and व्रश्च by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule, while samprasāraṇa, and the elision of र् by हलादेशः are Bahiranga.

८७४ । गन्धस्येदुत्पूतिसुरभिः । ५ । ४ । १३५ ॥

एभ्यो गन्धस्य इकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात् । उद्गन्धिः । पूतिगन्धिः । सुगन्धिः । सुरभिगन्धिः ॥ गन्धस्येवे तदेकान्तप्रहयम् * ॥ एकान्त एकदेश इव अविभागेन लक्षणाय इत्यर्थः । सुगन्धि पुंस् सलिलं च । सुगन्धिवर्तुः । नेह :—शोभना गन्धाः द्रव्याण्यस्य सुगन्ध आपणिकः ॥

874. For the final of गन्ध is substituted इ, when preceded by उत्, पूति, सु and सुरभि in a Bahuvrīhi.

Thus the अ of गन्ध is replaced by इ, as उद्गन्धिः, पूतिगन्धिः, सुगन्धिः, सुरभि-गन्धिः ॥

Note :—Why after these only? Observe तीव्रगन्धा वातः ॥

Vart :—The word गन्ध is a material noun as गन्धान् पिनटि, and an adjective, as चन्दनगन्धः 'having the scent of sandal.' The rule of substitution applies when it is used as an attribute. सुगन्धि पुंस् सलिलं च, सुगन्धिवर्तुः ॥ But, not here, शोभना गन्धाद्रव्याणि अस्य = सुगन्ध आपणिकः 'a shopkeeper having many sweet perfumes for sale.'

Note :—The त् of इत् is for the sake of pronunciation only. Some hold that इत् is an affix, and not a substitute (ādeśa). In this view the final of गन्ध will be elided by यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). The word *ekānta* in the vārtika means "a portion," in short the rule applies when gandha is an attributive and not when it is a substantive. Some explain *ekānta* by "natural;" i. e. when an object naturally possesses scent, and not when artificially scented. Therefore not here : आत्रायि वान् गन्धवहः सुगन्धः ॥

८७५ । अल्पाख्यायाम् । ५ । ४ । १३६ ॥

सूपस्य गन्धो लघो यस्मिस्तत् सूपगन्धि भोजनम् । घृतगन्धि । गन्धो गन्धक आनेदि लेशे संबन्धगर्वयोरिति विश्वः ॥

875. The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound, when गन्ध means 'a little.'

Thus सूपोऽल्पोऽस्मिन् = सूपगन्धि भोजनम् "food with a little broth." So घृतगन्धि "food with a little—a mere scent-of ghee." Here गन्ध is a synonym of अल्प ॥

According to Viśwakosha, Gandha means 'sulphur,' 'delight' (i. e. scent), 'a little particle,' 'connection or relationship,' and 'pride' or 'arrogance.'

८७६ । उपमानाच्च । ५ । ४ । १३७ ॥

पद्मस्येव गन्धोऽस्य पद्मगन्धिः ॥

876. The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrīhi, when preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared.

As पद्मस्येव गन्धोऽस्य = पद्मगन्धिः, उत्पलगन्धिः ; करीषगन्धिः ॥

८७७ । पादस्य लोपोऽहस्यादिभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १३८ ॥

हस्यादिवाज्जैतादुपमानात्परस्य पादस्य लोपः स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । स्यान्निहुरिणाय समसान्तः । व्याघ्रस्येव पादावस्य व्याघ्रपात् । अहस्यादिभ्यः क्तिप् । हस्तिपादः । कुसूलपादः ॥

877. The final अ of पाद is elided when it is at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound, preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared, but not so when such word is हस्ति &c.

The word उपमानात् is understood here. The लोप substitution is a samāsānta affix in a way. Thus व्याघ्रस्येव पादावस्य = व्याघ्रपात्, Why do we say not so when such a word is हस्ति ? Observe हस्तिपादः, कुसूलपादः ॥

1 हस्तिन्, 2 कुडाल*, 3 अश्व*, 4 कश्चिक*, 5 कुरुत, 6 कडोल, 7 कडोलक*, 8 गण्डोल, 9 गण्डोलक, 10 कण्डोल*, 11 कण्डोलक*, 12 अज*, 13 कर्पोत*, 14 जाल*, 15 गण्ड*, 16 महेला, (महिला), 17 दासी, 18 गणिका, 19 कुसूल. ॥

Note :—This elision is a samāsānta. For if it were not a samāsānta, then by the rule आदेः परस्य (I. 1. 54 S. 44) the elision would have been of the first letter of the word पाद, namely, of प. ॥ Moreover there would have been added the śaishika कप् ॥

८७८ । कुम्भपदीषु च । ५ । ४ । १३९ ॥

कुम्भपद्यादिषु पादस्य लोपो ङीप् च निपात्यते स्त्रियाम् ॥ पादः पत् ॥ कुम्भपदी । स्त्रियां किम् ।
कुम्भपादः ॥

878. The words kumbhapadî &c., have been formed by the similar elision of the अ of पाद्, in the Feminine.

The forms कुम्भपदी &c, are formed by eliding the final अ of पाद् and then substituting प् for पात् before the feminine affix ई by VI. 4. 130. S. 414. Why do we say 'that this substitution takes place only before the feminine affix ङीप्, and no where else.'? Observe कुम्भपादः ॥

Note :—Those words in the list, the first members of which denote an object of comparison or a numeral, would have elided अ by V. 4. 138 or V. 4. 140. In their case, this sūtra teaches the invariable affixing of ङीप् to such words ; so that the optional rule IV. 1. 8 S. 457 does not apply to them.

1 कुम्भपदी, 2 एकपदी, 3 जालपदी, 4 शूलपदी, * 5 मुनिपदि, 6 गुणपदी, * 7 शतपदी, 8 सूत्रपदी, 9 गोधापदी*, 10 कलशीपदी, 11 विपदी, * 12 तुणपदी*, 13 द्विपदी, 14 त्रिपदी*, 15 षट्पदी*, 16 दशपदी 17 शितिपदी*, 18 विष्णुपदी*, 19 सुपदी, 20 निष्पदी, 21 आर्द्धपदी, 22 कुण्णिपदी, (कुणपदी), 23 कृष्णपदी, 24 शुचिपदी*, 25 द्वाणपदी. (द्वाणीपदी), 26 द्रुपदी, 27 सूकरपदी, 28 शकृत्पदी, 29 अष्टापदी; 30 स्थूलपदी. (स्थूलपदी), 31 अपदी*, 32 सूचीपदी, 33 मालापदी, 34 गोपदी, 35 घृतपदी, 36 सूपपदी, 37 पञ्चपदी, 38 अर्धपदी, 39 स्तनपदी, 40 कलहंसपदी, 41 विषपदी ॥

८७६ । संख्यासुपूर्वस्य । ५ । ४ । १४० ॥

पादस्य लोपः स्यात्समासान्तो बहुव्रीहौ । द्विपात् । सुपात् ॥

879. The final अ of पाद् is elided by samâsânta lopa, also when a Numeral or the word सु precedes it, in a Bahuvrîhi.

Thus द्वौ पादावस्य = द्विपात्, त्रिपात्, so also शोभनौ पादावस्य = सुपात् ॥

८८० । वयसि दन्तस्य दत् । ५ । ४ । १४१ ॥

संख्यासुपूर्वस्य दन्तस्य दत् इत्यादिशः स्याद्वयसि । द्विदन् । चतुर्दन् । षट् दन्ता अस्य षोडन् । सुदन् । सुदती । वयसि किम् । द्विदन्तः करी । सुदन्तः नटः ॥

880. For दन्त is substituted दत् as a samâsânta in a Bahuvrîhi, when a Numeral or सु precedes it, and the whole word expresses a stage of life i. e. an age.

Thus द्वौ दन्तावस्य = द्विदन् "a child of the age in which two teeth have appeared." So also त्रिदन्, चतुर्दन् षोडन् । See vârtika under VI. 3. 76 S. 881 for

बौडन् ॥ शोभनादन्ताभस्य समस्ता जाताः = सुदन् कुमारः “a boy of the age in which all his teeth have appeared beautifully.” So also सुदन्ती. Why do we say denoting ‘age’? Observe द्विदन्तः करी । सुदन्तो नदः ॥

Note:—The ऋ of दन् is indicatory, making rule VII. 1. 70 S. 361 applicable, by which a nasal is added before त् in declining these words in sarvanāmasthāna cases : and rule IV. 1. 6 S. 455 also applies to them. All rules relating to उगित् apply to these.

८८१ । स्त्रियां संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १४३ ॥

दन्तस्य दन् स्यात्समासान्तो बहुव्रीहौ अयोदन्ती । फालदन्ती । संज्ञायां किम् । समदन्ती ॥

881. For danta is substituted “dat” as a samâ-sânta in a Bahuvrîhi, when it is in the feminine gender, denoting a name.

Thus अयोदन्ती, फालदन्ती ॥ Why do we say “when denoting a Name”? Observe समदन्ती, स्निग्धदन्ती ॥

८८२ । विभाषा श्यावारोकाभ्याम् । ५ । ४ । १४४ ॥

दन्तस्य दन् वा बहुव्रीहौ । श्यावदन् । । श्यावदन्तः । अरोकदन् । अरोकदन्तः ॥

882. Optionally “dat” is substituted for “danta,” in a Bahuvrîhi compound, when it is preceded by the words śyâva and aroka.

Thus श्यावदन्तः or श्यावदन्, अरोकदन्तः or अरोकदन् ॥ अरोक means ‘dark,’ “without holes or spaces.”

Note:—The word संज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra governs this also, so that when the compound is not a Name, the substitution does not take place ; as श्यावदन्तः, अरोकदन्तः ॥

८८३ । अग्रान्तशुद्धशुभ्रवृषवराहेभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । १४५ ॥

एभ्यो दन्तस्य दन् वा । कुङ्मलाग्रदन् । कुङ्मलाग्रदन्तः ॥

883. The substitution of “dat” for “danta” is optional in a Bahuvrîhi, when it is preceded by a word ending in अग्र or by शुद्ध, शुभ्र, वृष and वराह ॥

The word “optionally” is understood here also. Thus कुङ्मलाग्रदन्, or कुङ्मलाग्रदन्तः, so also शुद्धदन्तः or शुद्धदन् ; शुभ्रदन्तः or शुभ्रदन् ; वृषदन्त or वृषदन्, वराहदन्त or वराहदन् ॥

Note:—The च् of the sūtra indicates that the substitution optionally takes place in other cases not enumerated : as अहिदन्तः or अहिदन्, मूषिकदन्त or मूषिकदन्ः, गर्भदन्तः or गर्भदन्, शिखरदन्तः or शिखरदन् ॥

८८४ । ककुदस्यावस्थायां लोपः । ५ । ४ । १४६ ॥

अजातककुत् । पूर्णककुत् ॥

884. The final letter of kakuda is dropped in a Bahuvrīhi, when it denotes age or condition of animals.

The word अवस्था means the changes which things undergo by lapse of time, such as age &c. Thus अजातं ककुदमस्य = अजातककुत् = बालः “the young of an animal.” पूर्णककुत् = मध्यमवया “middle—aged animal” : उन्नतककुत् = वृद्धवया “old” ; स्थूलककुत् बलवान् ‘strong,’ यष्टिककुत् = नातिस्थूलो नातिकृशः ॥

Note:—Why do we say when denoting a condition ? Observe श्वेतककुरः ॥

८८५ । त्रिककुत्पर्वते । ५ । ४ । १४७ ॥

त्रीणि क्रकुरान्यस्य त्रिककुत् । संज्ञेया पर्वतविशेषस्य । त्रिककुरोऽस्यः ॥

885. The Bahuvrīhi word Trikakud, formed by the elision of the final अ of kakuda, is the name of a mountain.

त्रीणिककुरान्यस्य = त्रिककुत् “a three-peaked hill, the peaks having the shape of a hump.” All three-peaked hills are not so called, it is the name of a particular hill. When not denoting a hill we have त्रिककुरः ॥

८८६ । उद्विभ्यां काकुदस्य । ५ । ४ । १४८ ॥

लोपः स्यात् । उल्काकुत् । विककुत् । काकुदं तालु ॥

886. After ut and vi, the final of kākuda is elided in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus उद्गतं काकुदमस्य = उल्काकुत्, so also विककुत् ॥ The word काकुर means ‘palate.’

८८७ । पूर्णाद्विभाषा । ५ । ४ । १४९ ॥

पूर्णकाकुत् । पूर्णकाकुरः ॥

887. After pūrṇa, the final of kākuda is optionally elided in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus पूर्णं काकुदमस्य = पूर्णकाकुत् or पूर्णकाकुरः ॥

८८८ । सुहृद्दुर्हृदौ मित्रामित्रयोः । ५ । ४ । १५० ॥

सुदुःखो हृदयस्य हृद्भावो निपात्यते । सुहृन्मित्रम् । दुर्हृदमित्रः । अन्यत्र सुहृदयः । दुर्हृदयः ॥

888. The words suhṛit and durhṛit are irregularly formed Bahuvrīhi compounds, denoting "a friend" and "a foe" respectively.

The word सुहृन् is derived from सु + हृदय, the अय of हृदय being elided in the Bahuvrīhi. It means one whose heart is favourably disposed towards another. So also दुर्हृन् is derived from दुर् + हृदय, he whose heart is evil.

Why do we say "when meaning a friend and a foe respectively"? Observe सुहृदयः कारुणिकः 'the kind-hearted, merciful,' दुर्हृदयश्चोरः "the evil heart-ed thief."

८८९ । उरः प्रभृतिभ्यः कप् । ५ । ४ । १५१ ॥

व्यूढोरस्कः । प्रियसर्पिष्कः । इह पुमान्, अनङ्गान्, पयः, नौः, लक्ष्मीरिति एकवचनान्तानि पठ्यन्ते । द्विवचनबहुवचनान्तेभ्यस्तु शेषाद्विभाषा इति विकल्पेन कप् । द्विपुमान् । द्विपुंस्कः ॥ अर्थात्रिजः* ॥ अनर्थकम् । नञः किम् । अपार्थम् । अपार्थकम् ॥

889. The affix कप् comes "after uras &c., final in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus व्यूढोरस्कः = व्यूढपुरोऽस्य (VIII. 3. 38 S. 152). So also प्रियसर्पिष्कः (VIII. 3. 39 S. 153) अवसुक्तोपानत्कः ॥

The words पुमान्, अनङ्गान्, पयः, नौः and लक्ष्मीः are exhibited in the list of Urasādi words as nominative singular, and not in their crude-forms as is the case with other words. The reason of this is, that the singular number of these words take the affix कप्, and not their dual and plural numbers. With regard to the dual and plural of these, the affix कप् is optionally added by force of sūtra V. 4. 154 S. 891. Thus द्विपुमान् or द्विपुंस्कः, बहुपुमान् or बहुपुंस्कः ॥

1 उरस्, 2 सर्पिस्, 3 उपानह्, 4 पुमान्, 5 अनङ्गान्, 6 पयस्, 7 नौः, 8 लक्ष्मीः, 9 शधि 10 मधु, 11 शालि, 12 अर्थात्रिजः ॥ (The affix कप् is added to अर्थ when preceded by the Negative particle नञ्, as अनर्थकम्) । Why do we say when preceded by the Negative particle नञ् ? Observe अपार्थम् or अपार्थकम् ॥

८९० । हनः खियाम् । ५ । ४ । १५२ ॥

बहुवचनिका नगरी ॥ अनिनसन्महयान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति ॥ बहुवचनिका । खियां किम् ॥ बहुवचनी बहुवचनिको मानः ॥

890. The affix कप् is added to a Bahuvrīhi the last member of which ends in इन्, when a feminine word is denoted.

Thus बहुवो ण्डिनोऽस्यां नगर्याम् = बहुण्डिका नगरी ॥ So also बहुवात्मिका सभा ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting a feminine'? Observe बहुण्डी or बहुण्डिको ग्रामः ॥ The latter form is derived by adding कप् optionally under V. 4. 134 S. 891.

Paribhāṣā:—Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in grammar, denote by I. 1. 72; S. 26 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस् and मन् represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning. ('Meaning,' can here only be 'the grammatical meaning,' viz. the meaning which grammarians assign to the affixes अन् &c.)

Therefore the rule applies to वाग्मिन् also. As बहुवात्मिका सभा ॥

८६१ । शेषाद्विभाषा । ५ । ४ । १५४ ॥

अनुक्तसमासान्ताच्छेषाधिकारस्थाद्बहुव्रीहिः कप् वा स्यात् । महायशस्कः । महीयशाः । अनुक्तेत्यादि किम् । व्याघ्रपात् । सुगन्धिः । प्रियपथः । शेषाधिकारस्थात्किम् । उपबहवः । उत्तरपूर्वा । सपुत्रः । तन्त्रादिना शेषशब्दोऽर्थद्वयपरः ॥

891. After all other Bahuvrīhi compounds formed under II. 2. 23 S. 829, and not covered by the foregoing samāsānta rules, may optionally be added the affix कप् ॥

Thus महायशस्कः or महायशाः

Why do we say "after the rest"? Observe व्याघ्रपात् ; सुगन्धिः ; प्रियपथः, Here these words are formed by special samāsānta rules given before ८. g. 874, 877 and 940.

The word शेष denotes all those Bahuvrīhis about which no special rule has been given above. How do you explain the forms अनुक्तं साम, बहुवृक्तं सूक्तं, in which the affix कप् is added, though these words are governed by the general rule V. 4. 74, S. 940 and ought to have taken the samāsānta affix अ? The affix अ is added to कृक् when the compound has a special meaning; such as अनुचः means 'a boy', बहुवृचः 'a charaṇa.'

Why have we used the words "seshādhikārasthāt" in explaining the sūtra? These words mean "after a Bahuvrīhi falling under the scope of the rules of Seshō Bahuvrīhi" II. 2. 23 S. 829." Observe उपबहवः ॥ This is

a Bahuvrīhi not formed under the śesha rule II. 2. 23 S. 829, but by a special rule II. 2. 25 S. 843 : and hence it does not take कप् ॥ So also उत्तरपूर्वा a Bahuvrīhi formed by II. 2. 26 S. 845, and सपुत्रः formed by II. 2. 28 S. 848. In fact the word दोषः of II. 2. 23 S. 829 governs only II. 2. 24 S. 830 and not the remaining sūtras like 843, 846, 848 &c.

The word दोषात् of this sūtra is thus equivocal. It means *first* "after all those Bahuvrīhis for which no samāsānta has been taught:" *secondly* "after those Bahuvrīhis which are formed under "sesho Bahuvrīhi " rule." The word दोषात् thus conveys a double meaning. There are two views on this point: one school holds that for every *thought*, a separate word must be used. Their motto is अर्थभेदेन शब्दभेदः ॥ According to this view we should use the word दोषात् twice in this sūtra (āvritti.) But according to the other view, one word may express two ideas. Their motto is सत्यव्यर्थभेदे शब्दस्याभेदः ॥ This gives rise to तन्त्र or stretching the meaning of a word. The Tantra view may be taken here, or the आवृत्ति view.

८६२ । आपोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ७ । ४ । १५ ॥

कन्याबन्तस्य ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् । बहुमालाकः । बहुमालकः । कबभाव बहुमालः ॥

892. Optionally the feminine stem in आ is not shortened before कप् ॥

As बहुमालाकः Or बहुमालकः 'one who has many garlands' ॥ When कप् is not added, then बहुमालः ॥

८६३ । न संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १५५ ॥

दोषादिति प्राप्तः कप् न स्यात्संज्ञायाम् । विश्वे देवा अस्य विश्वेदेवः ॥

893. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi when a Name is meant.

This debars कप् ordained by V. 4. 154 S. 891 last. Thus विश्वेदेवा अस्य = विश्वेदेवः ॥

८६४ । ईयसश्च । ५ । ४ । १५६ ॥

ईयसन्तोत्तरपदान् कप् । बहवः श्रेयांसोऽस्य बहुश्रेयान् । गोस्त्रियोऽस्ति ह्रस्व प्राप्ते ॥ ईयसो बहुव्रीहेर्नोति वाच्यम् * ॥ बहवः श्रेयस्योऽस्य बहुश्रेयसी । बहुव्रीहेः किम् । अतिश्रेयसिः ॥

894. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi, the last member of which ends in the affix ईयस् ॥

This debars all the previous rules i. e. both the compulsory and the

optional कप् ॥ Thus बह्वः श्रेयांसोऽस्य = बहुश्रेयान्. (V. 3. 57 S. 2005) Here rule V. 4. 154 S. 891 is debarred. बह्व्यः श्रेयस्योऽस्य = बहुश्रेयसी, here rule V. 4. 135 S. 833 is prohibited. By rule I. 2. 48 S. 656 the long final ई ought to have been shortened, but this is not done by considering it as a masculine by the following Vārtika.

Vart:—In Bahuvrīhi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुश्रेयसी ॥

Why do we say 'of a Bahuvrīhi'? Observe अतिश्रेयसि ॥

८६५ । वन्दिते भ्रातुः । ५ । ४ । १५७ ॥

पूजितेऽर्थे यो भ्रातृशब्दस्तदन्तात् कप् स्यात् । प्रशस्तो भ्राता यस्य प्रशस्तभ्राता । न पूजनादिति निषेधस्तु बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यशोऽस्त्यतः प्रागेवेति वक्ष्यते । वन्दिते किम् । मूर्खभ्रातृकः ॥

895. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi ending in the word bhrâtri, when it means 'praised.'

The word वन्दितः means 'praised,' 'respected' &c. Thus शोभना भ्राता यस्य = सुभ्राता 'one having a good brother.' As a general rule, samâsânta affixes are not added, when respect is meant. See V. 4. 69 S. 954. But the prohibition of that sūtra has its scope only upto V. 4. 113 S. 852, and not on sūtras after that. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. Why do we say when it means "praised"? Observe मूर्खभ्रातृकः, दुष्टभ्रातृकः ॥

८६६ । नाडीतन्त्रयोः स्वाङ्गे । ५ । ४ । १५८ ॥

स्वाङ्गे यो नाडीतन्त्रीशब्दौ तदन्तात्कप् न स्यात् । बहुनाडिः कायः । बहुतन्त्रीर्भावा । तन्त्रीर्धमनी क्षीप्रस्थयान्तत्वाभावाद्भवो न । स्वाङ्गे किम् । बहुनाडीकः स्तम्भः । बहुतन्त्रीका वीणा ॥

896 .The affix कप् does not come after the words nâḍī, and tantrī final in a Bahuvrīhi, when they mean organs of body.

Thus बहुयो नाडोऽस्य = बहुनाडिः कायः, बहुतन्त्रीर्भावा ॥ बहुतन्त्रीर्धमनी. The word तन्त्री means 'an artery.' Why do we say meaning "parts of body"? Observe, बहुनाडीकः स्तम्भः, बहुतन्त्रीका : वीणा ॥ The word नाडी is a feminine word formed by डीप् that comes after jāti; तन्त्री is formed by the Unâdi affix ई (Unâdi III. 158). In बहुनाडिः the long ई is shortened as being an upasarga (I. 2. 48 S. 655); but the ई of तन्त्री is not shortened' as ई here is not a feminine affix, but a kṛit affix (कृत् स्त्रियाः प्रतिषेधः; See I. 2. 48 S. 656 also).

८९७ । निष्प्रवाणिश्च । ५ । ४ । १६० ॥

कबभावोऽत्र निपात्यते । प्रपूर्वाद्व्यतेल्लुद् । प्रवाणी तन्तुवायशलाका । निर्गता प्रवाण्यस्य निष्प्रवाणिः पटः । समाप्तवानः नव इत्यर्थः ॥

897. The word निष्प्रवाणि is irregularly formed, without adding the affix कप्, though the last word is a Nadi word.

The word प्रवाणी means either प्रीयतेऽस्यां or प्रवयन्ति तथा ॥ Here ल्युद् is added to the root त्रि 'to weave': and denotes the instrument of weaving i. e. 'a shuttle.' निर्गता प्रवाणी अस्य = निष्प्रवाणिः पटः, निष्प्रवाणिः कम्बलः = अपनीतशलाकाः "a new unbleached cloth or blanket," from which the shuttle has not yet been extracted, fresh from the loom. The न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 29. S. 2835.

८९८ । सप्तमीविशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ । २ । २ । ३५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणं च बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वं प्रयोज्यम् । कण्ठेकालः । अत एव ज्ञापकादधिकरणपरो बहुव्रीहिः । चित्रयुः ॥

सर्वनामसंख्ययोरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ सर्वश्वेतः ॥ द्विशुक्लः ॥

मिथोऽनर्थेः समासे संख्या पूर्वम् । शब्दपरविप्रतिषेधात् ॥ द्वयः ॥

संख्याया अल्पीयस्याः * ॥ द्वित्राः

द्वन्द्वेऽपि । द्वादश ॥

वा प्रियस्य * ॥ गुडप्रियः । प्रियगुडः ॥

गङ्गादेः परा सप्तमी * ॥ गङ्गकण्ठः । कृन्निन्न । वहेगङ्गः ॥

898. A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrīhi compound.

In a Bahuvrīhi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as कण्ठेकालः 'who is black in the throat.' From the jñāpaka of this sūtra, we infer the existence of the Vyadhikaraṇa Bahuvrīhi—a Bahuvrīhi compound, the first member of which is not in apposition to the second or stands in a different case relation to the second, in the dissolution of the compound, as चक्रपाणिः, चंद्रमौलिः &c. So also उरसिलोमा, चित्रयुः, शबलयुः.

Vārt :—The sarvanamas and the numerals stand first; as सर्वश्वेतः द्विशुक्लः.

Vart:—In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanāma words with a saṅkhyā word, the latter should stand first; as, द्वात्रिंशत्.

Vart:—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as द्विजाः 'two and three,'

Vart:—Also in a Dvandva compound (the numeral which is less in value is placed first); thus द्वादश 'two and ten, that is twelve.'

Vart:—The word प्रिय may optionally stand first; as युद्धप्रियः or प्रिययुद्धः.

Vart:—After the words गड् &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes as subsequent; as गडुकण्ठः 'a hemp-necked'; गडुशिराः &c.

How is then the word बहेगडुः 'hump in the shoulder' to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vārtika.

८९९ । निष्ठा । २ । २ । ३६ ॥

निष्ठान्तं बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वं स्यात् । कृतकृत्यः ॥ जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परा निष्ठा वाच्यः * ॥ सारङ्गजग्धी । मासजाता । सुखजाता । प्रायिकं चैवम् । कृतकटः । पीतोदकः ॥

899. What ends with a Nishṭhā (I. 1. 26 S. 3012) shall stand first in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus कृतकृत्यः ॥

So also युक्तयोगः 'one who is devoted to devotion'; कृतकटः 'one who has made the mat'; भिक्षितभिक्षिः 'one who has begged alms.'

Vart:—A word expressing jāti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, सारङ्गजग्धी, मासजातः and सुखजातः &c.

This rule is not of universal application, as we have words like कृतकटः and पीतोदकः also.

९०० । आहिताग्न्यादिषु । २ । २ । ३७ ॥

आहिताग्निः । अग्न्याहितः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् । प्रहरणार्थेभ्यः परे निष्ठासप्तम्यो * ॥ अस्युद्यतः । दण्डपाणिः ॥ क्वचिन्न । विवृतासिः ॥

900. In the compounds āhitāgni and the like, the Nishṭhā-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहितः or आहिताग्निः 'one who has consecrated fire.'

This आहिताग्नि class is âkritigaṇa ; so that words like गडु &c., must be looked for in this class.

Vari:—The words ending in Nishṭhâ or in the locative case stand subsequent, when coming after words denoting 'striking'; as अस्त्रयुद्यतः 'ready with sword'; दण्डपाणिः 'holding sceptre in hand.' But some times not so, as in विवृतासि: "drawn-sword."

Here end Bahuvrîhi compounds.

—————:O:—————

अथ द्वन्द्व समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XX.

THE DVANDVA COMPOUNDS.

६०१ । चार्थे द्वन्द्वः । २ । २ । २६ ॥

अनेके सुबन्तं चार्थे वर्तमानं वा समस्यते स द्वन्द्वः । समुच्चयान्वाचयेत्तरेत्योगसमाहाराभ्याः । परस्परनिरपेक्षस्यानेकस्य एकस्मिन्नन्वयः समुच्चयः । अन्यतरस्यानुषङ्गिकत्वेऽन्वाचयः । मिलितानामन्वय इतरेतरयोगः । समूहः समाहारः । तत्रेश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्वेति समुच्चये, भिक्षामटं गां चानयत्यन्वाचयं च, न समासोऽसामर्थ्यात् । धवखदिरौ । संज्ञापरिभाषम् । अनेकां कर्तृवृत्तौ तृणोद्गताहारः । द्वयोर्द्वयोर्द्वन्द्वं कृत्वा पुनर्द्वन्द्वं तु होतापोत्तानोद्गताहारः ॥

901. When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and,' the set is optionally made into a compound; and the compound so formed is called Dvandva.

The meaning that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) समुच्चयः 'community of reference,' (2) अन्वाचय 'collateralness of reference, (3) इतरेतर-योगः 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहारः 'aggregate.' In the first two cases *viz.*, community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II. I. 1 S. 647). Composition is enjoined, therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and aggregation. Thus we cannot compound ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व 'reverence God and thy Guru' or भिक्षामटं गां चानय 'go for alms and bring the cow.' But we can compound the following प्लक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च = प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees.' So धव-खदिर-पलाशाः, वाक्कुचम्, वाग्दृषदम्, संज्ञापरिभाषम् ॥

1. When two or more independent words not related with each other, are grammatically in the same case, their conjunction, will be samuchchaya. As ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व "reverence God and Guru." Here there can be no compounding, as there is no sāmānyā. In this example, two *things* (dravya) have been collected under one verb (kriyā). Similarly in राज्ञो गज-चक्षुश्च "the elephant and the horse of the king." Here there is samuchchaya of two things under one thing. पटः शुक्लो रक्तश्च "The picture is white and red." Here two *attributes* are brought under one substantive. रक्तः पटः कुण्डलं च

“Red picture and ornament.” Here two substances are collected under one attribute.

2. When one action, is used as collateral to a principal action, it gives rise to the union called *anwāchaya* : as, भिक्षान्तः गां चानय “Go for alms and bring the cow.” Here he might not bring the cow, if he does not see it, though his begging will not be stopped. But if he does not go out a begging, he cannot bring the cow. So going out a begging is the principal action.

Therefore, in भिक्षान्तः गां चानय, there is no compounding, because the words are not directly related to one another. The want of *sāmānyā* here is want of *ekārthībhāva*.

In धवखरिौ “the Mimosea and the Grisea,” संज्ञापरिभाषम् “an appellate and a maxim of interpretation,” there is compounding, as *itaretara* and *samāhāra*, respectively.

The Dvandva compound of the four words होतृ, पोटृ, नेटृ and उद्गातृ may be either होतृपोतृनेट्रोद्गातारः or होतापोतानेट्रोद्गातारः ॥ The first denotes many *hotṛis*, *potṛis* &c. The second is an example where *hotṛi* and *potṛi* are first compounded as a Dvandva, and then नेटृ and उद्गातृ as another Dvandva. Then these two compound words are again compounded as a larger Dvandva.

In the first example, there is not आनङ् substitution for the final of होतृ and पोटृ (VI. 3. 25 S. 921) because there is no *uttarapada* after them. See S. 921 and 831.

६०२ । राजदन्तादिषु परम् । २ । २ । ३१ ॥

एषु पूर्वप्रयोगार्हे परं स्यात् । दन्तानां राजां राजदन्तः । धर्मादिविनियमः* ॥ अर्थधर्मौ । धर्मार्थौ । दम्पती । जम्पती । जायापती । जायाशब्दस्य जम्भावो दम्भावश्च वा निपात्यते । आकृतिगणोऽयम्* ॥

902. The *upasarjana* is to be put last in the words *Rājadanta* &c.

Thus राजदन्तः (दन्तानां राजा) ‘a chief of teeth’ (*i. e.*, an eyetooth). It is not merely the *upasarjana* that is placed last in these examples; but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second.

1. राजदन्तः.
2. अग्नेवणम्.
3. लिप्तवासितम्.
4. नम्रमुषितम्.
5. सिक्तसं-
घृष्टम्.
6. मृष्टलुञ्जितम्.
7. अवक्लिन्नपक्वम्.
8. अपितीतम्.
9. (अपितीतम्).
10. उन्नगादम्.
11. उल्लुखलमुत्तलम्.
12. तण्डुलकिण्वम्.
13. दृषदुपलम्.
14. आख्या

यानि. 15. (आरग्वायनबन्धकी). 16. चित्ररथवाल्मीकम्. 17. अवन्त्यश्मकम्. 18. शङ्खार्थम्. 19. स्नातकराजानौ. 20. विष्वक्सेनार्जुनौ. 21. अक्षिभुवम्. 22. दारगवम्. 23. शङ्खार्थौ. 24. धर्मार्थौ. 25. कामार्थौ. 26. अर्थशङ्खौ. 27. अर्थधर्मौ. 28. अर्थकामौ. 29. वैकारिमत्तम्. 30. गाजवाजम्. 31. गोजवाजम्. 32. गोपालि-
धानपूलासम्. 33. (गोपालधानीपूलासम्). 34. पूलासकारण्डम्. 35. पूलासककु-
रण्डम्. 36. स्थूलासम्. 37. (स्थूलपूलासम्). 38. उशोरबीजम्. 39. (जिज्ञास्थि).
40. सिञ्जस्थम्. 41. (सिञ्जद्वयस्थम्). 42. चित्रास्वाती. 43. (चित्रस्वाति).
44. भार्यापती. 45. दम्पती. 46. जम्पती. 47. जायापती. 48. पुत्रपती. 49.
पुत्रपशू. 50. केशदम्पशू or दम्पकेशौ. 51. शिरोविजु. 52. शिरोबीजम्. 53.
शिरोजातु. 54. सर्पिमधुनी. 55. मधुसर्पिणी. 56. आद्यन्तौ. 57. अन्तासी. 58.
गुणवृद्धी. 59. वृद्धिगुणौ.

Vārtika:—"In regard to the words धर्म and the like, there is no fixed rule. Thus अर्थधर्मौ or धर्मार्थौ 'wealth and virtue' or 'virtue and wealth.' So also दम्पती, जम्पती or जायापती. The word जाया is changed to जम्पती or दम्पती irregularly. These belong to ākritigaṇa.

Note:—दम्पती is really a compound of दम् "home" and पति 'master or mistress' दम् is the same word as the Latin domus "home," as in "domestic." दम्पती means "the two masters of the house—i. e. the husband and wife."

६०३। द्वन्द्वे चि। २। २। ३२॥

द्वन्द्वे चिसंज्ञं पूर्वं स्यात्। हरिश्च हरश्च हरिहरौ ॥ अनेकप्राप्तावेकत्र नियमोऽनियमः शेषे *॥
हरिगुरुहराः। हरिहरगुरुवः ॥

903. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called चि (1. 4. 7 S. 243) stand first.

As हरिहरौ 'Hari and Hara.'

Vārtika:—Where there are more than one such चि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest do not follow any fixed rule. As हरिगुरुहराः or हरिहरगुरुवः

Note:—Why do we say 'Dvandva'? Observe विस्पष्टपदः which is a Tat-purusha.

६०४। अजाद्यदन्तम्। २। २। ३३॥

इदं द्वन्द्वे पूर्वं स्यात्। इशकृष्णौ।*

बहुवचननियमः*। अश्वरथेन्द्राः। इन्द्राश्वरथाः*॥

अन्तादजाद्यदन्तं विप्रतिषेधेन*॥ इन्द्रामी ॥

904. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.

Thus, ईशकृष्णौ 'Íśa and Krishṇa.'

Vart :—When there are many such words, there is no fixed rule. As अश्वरथेन्द्राः or इन्द्राश्वरथाः ॥

Vart :—In the Dvandva compounds, the चि would stand first only then, when the rule of अजाद्यदन्त does not prohibit it. Thus इन्द्राग्नी. Here अग्नि though चि, does not stand first, because इन्द्र beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I. 4. 2 S. 175.)

Note :—Why do we say 'अत् with a त्' (I. 1. 70 S. 50.)? This rule does not apply when it is long आ as अश्वा + वृषः = अश्वावृषौ or वृषाश्वे.

६०५ । अल्पाच्चतरम् । २ । २ । ३४ ॥

शिवकेशवौ ॥

ऋतुनक्षत्राणां समाक्षराणामनुपूर्व्येण * ॥ हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः । कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ । समाक्षराणां किम् । मीष्मवसन्तौ ॥

लघ्वक्षरं पूर्वम् * ॥ कुशकाशम् ॥

अभ्यर्हितं च ॥ तापसपर्वतौ ॥

वर्यानामनुपूर्व्येण * ॥ ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविद्वद्ब्राह्मणः ॥

आतुज्यार्थसः * ॥ युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ ॥

905. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels, is to be placed first.

Thus शिव + केशव = शिवकेशवौ ॥

Note :—When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As शंखदुन्दुभि-वीणाः or वीणाशंखदुन्दुभयः .

Vart :—Names of seasons and stars when they consist of equal number of syllables, should be arranged in the compound, according to their natural order of succession. As हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः ; कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ.

Why do we say 'when they consist of equal syllables?' Observe मीष्मवसन्तौ, Here the shorter has been placed first.

Vart :—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first.

As, कुशकाशं ; 'a bundle of Kuśa and Kāśa grasses.' कुश and काश are two kinds of grass.

Vārt :—The more honorable of the two is placed first ; as तापस पर्वतो "Tāpasa and Parvata." वासुदेवाञ्जुनौ "Vāsudeva and Arjuna" (IV. 3. 98 S. 1478).

Vārt :—The castes are placed according to their order : as ब्राह्मणक्षत्रिय विद् शुद्राः 'Brāhmaṇa-Kshatriya-Vaiśya and Śūdra.' There is no limitation of equality of syllables here.

Vārt :—The name of the elder brother is placed first ; as युधिष्ठिराञ्जनौ 'Yudhishtira and Arjuna.'

६०६ । द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् । २ । ४ । २ ॥

एषां द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । पाणिपादम् । मार्दङ्गिकपाणविकम् । रथिकाश्वरोहम् ॥

समाहारस्यैकत्वादेकत्वे सिद्धे नियमार्थं प्रकरणम् ; प्राण्यङ्गादीनां समाहार एव यथा स्यात् ॥

906. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal body, members of a band of players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, पाणिपादम् 'the hand and foot' शिरोघ्नीवं 'the head and neck' मार्दङ्गिकपाणविकम् 'the players on the mṛdāṅga and paṇava (kinds of drums)' रथिकाश्वरोहम् 'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' वीणावादकपरिवादकम्, रथिकपादा-
तम् ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samāhāra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only ; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29 S. 901) A Samāhāra would have been naturally singular, because it denotes unity, the present rule is, therefore, a niyama or a restrictive rule. That is, the samāhāra compound of limbs is only singular, and other kind of compound of members of living body &c., need not be singular.

Note :—In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses &c., the singular is optional ; (II. 4. 12. S. 916). The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samāhāra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samāhāra Dvandva. The compounds of words like दधिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14 S. 918). are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samāhāra Dvandva ; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12 S. 916) are optionally either Samāhāra or Itaretara Dvandva.

६०७ । अनुवादे चरणानाम् । २ । ४ । ३ ॥

चरणानां द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात्सिद्धस्योपन्यासे ॥

स्थणोलुङीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ उद्गात्कठकालापम् । प्रत्यष्ठात्कठकौथुमम् ॥

907. A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools, when the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

Note:—The word चरण means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and here means students or pupils who belong to a particular school and study that particular branch. The word अनुवाद means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called anuvāda. Another meaning of this word is “the recitation of the charanas as already learnt as distinguished from learning them the first time.”

Vart:—This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and इण् only; as उद्गात् कठकालापम् (इहयथा कठेषु कालापेषु च प्रतिष्ठितेषु चावाभ्यां यत्र गन्तव्यं मिति संकेतयित्वा तत् संकेतं विस्मृत्यासीनं प्रतीदृश्यते) ॥ प्रत्यष्ठात् कठकौथुमम्, ‘kathā and kauthuma established again.’

Note:—Why do we say ‘when meaning repetition’? Observe उद्गुः कठकालापाः or प्रत्यष्ठुः कठकौथुमाः, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्था and इण् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs; as:—अनन्विषुः कठकालापाः and उद्यन्ति कठकालापाः ॥

Prof. Bohtlingk's translation is, ‘The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another.’

६०८ । अध्वर्युक्रतुरनपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । ४ ॥

यजुर्वेदे विहितो यः क्रतुस्तद्वाचिनामनपुंसकलिङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । अर्काश्वमेधम् । अध्वर्युक्रतुः किम् । इषुवज्जौ सामवेदे विहितौ । अनपुंसकं किम् । राजसूयवाजपेये ॥ अर्धर्चादी ॥

908. A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided that, they are never used in the neuter gender.

As अर्काश्वमेधम् ‘the Arka and Aśvamedha sacrifices,’

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda sacrifices ? Observe इषुवज्जौ 'the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies,' These sacrifices are ordained in the Sāma-Veda.

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe राजसूयवाजपेये 'the Rājasūya and Vājapeya sacrifices.' अर्धर्चासी (II. 4. 31 S. 816).

Note :—Why have we दर्शपौर्णमासौ ? Because the word क्रतुः is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifice in general. Therefore, though Darśa and Paurṇamāsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply.

६०६ । अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टाख्यानाम् । २ । ४ । ५ ॥

अध्ययनेन प्रत्यासन्ना भाख्या येषां तेषां द्वन्द्व एकवत् । पदक्रमकम् ॥

909. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पदक्रमकम् 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement.

Note :—Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रौ 'father and son.' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवैयाकरणौ 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.'

६१० । जातिरप्राणिनाम् । २ । ४ । ६ ॥

प्राणिवर्ज्यजातिवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवत् । धानाशष्कुलि । प्राणिनां तु विद्वद्वाः । द्रव्यजानीयानामेव । नेह । रूपरसौ । गमनाकुञ्चने । जातिप्राधान्य एवायमेकवद्भावः । द्रव्यविशेषविवक्षायां तु बदारामलकानि ॥

910. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jāti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.

Thus धानाशष्कुलि 'fried rice and barley cake.'

Note :—Why do we say 'words denoting genus'? Observe नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ 'Nandaka and Pāṇchajanya.' These are Sanjña words or Proper Names.

When denoting living beings then विद्वद्वाः (and not विद्वद्भ्यम्) 'Vaisyas and Sudras.' Here there is plural number by I. 2. 58. S. 817, though the words are jāti denoting.

This rule applies to the jāti or genus names of substances (द्रव्यजाति) and not the jāti names of qualities and actions. (गुणक्रियाजाति), Thus रूपरसौ 'colour, and savour,' गमनाकुञ्जने 'going and contraction.'

Even with jāti names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, बदरामलकानि 'in this bowl are the badari and amalaki fruits.' Here there is elision of the Taddhita affix by IV. 3. 163 S. 1541. The feminine is also elided by I. 2. 49. S. 1408. See also II. 4. 12 S. 916.

Note :—The words जाति 'genus,' द्रव्य 'substance,' गुण 'quality' and क्रिया 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. Jāti has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscosity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion and going.

६११ । विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदीदेशोऽग्रामाः । २ । ४ । ७ ॥

ग्रामवर्ज्यनदीदेशवाचिनां भिन्नलिङ्गानां समाहारे द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । उद्धाश्च इरावती च उद्धोरावति । गङ्गा च शाणश्च गङ्गाशोणम् । कुरवश्च कुरुक्षेत्रं च कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रम् । भिन्नलिङ्गानां किम् । गङ्गायामुने नद्वक्रेकयाः । भग्रामाः किम् । जाम्बवं नगरम् । शाङ्किकिनी ग्रामः । जाम्बवशाङ्किकिन्यौ ॥

911. A samâhara Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and of countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus उद्धोरावति "The Uddhya and Irâvatî," The Uddhya is a river (nada).

So also. गङ्गाशोणम् 'the Ganges and the Sona.' कुरवः + कुरुक्षेत्रं = कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रं 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.'

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe गङ्गायामुने 'the Ganges and the Yâmunâ.' Both being feminine gender; so also नद्वक्रेकयाः ॥ But the rule does not apply to गङ्गाकुरुक्षेत्रे for one is a river and the other a country.

The word विशिष्ट of the sūtra is derived from the root शिषि meaning "to separate, differentiate," with वि ॥ It means separate.

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुकुटमयुरौ 'the hen and the peahen.'

Why do we say 'not of a town'? See जाम्बवशाळकिन्यौ 'Jāmbaba (a city) and Sālukini (a village)' which are the names of a village and a town.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलाशगन्धमादने 'the Kailāsa and the Gandhamādana.

Vart :—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grāma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्रं 'the cities of Mathura and Pataliputra.'

Vart :—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as सौर्यकेतवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

६१२। क्षुद्रजन्तवः। २। ४। ८॥

एषां समाहारे द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात्। यूकालिचम्। आनकुलाक्षुद्रजन्तवः॥

912. A Samāhara Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus यूकालिचम् 'the louse and the nit.'

Note :—The word क्षुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called क्षुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size.

All below the mongoose are kshudrajanu.

६१३। येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः। २। ४। ६॥

एषां प्राग्बत्। बाहिनकुलम्॥ गोव्याघ्रम्॥ काकोलूकानित्यादौ परत्वाद्भिभाषा वृत्तद्युगेति प्राप्तं चकारेण बाध्यते॥

913. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only, among whom there is permanent enmity (i. e. natural antipathy or quarrel), is singular.

The word विरोधः means enmity: and शाश्वतिकः means permanent.

Thus, बाहिनकुलं 'the snake and the mongoose.' गोव्याघ्रम् 'the cow and the tiger.' काकोलूकम् 'the crow and the owl.'

Note:—Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गौपालिशालंकायनाः कलहांयन्ते 'Gaupāli and Śālankāyana are quarrelling.' देवासुरैर्मृतमम्बुनिधिममध्ये ॥ The enmity between the Devas and Asuras is not permanent, for they co-operated in churning the ocean.

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only.' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds. Thus the rule II. 4. 12 S. 916 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by I. 4. 2. S. 175) would have set aside the present rule. But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as गोव्याघ्रम् 'the tiger and the cow' काकोकृकम् 'the crow and the owl.'

६१४ । शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम् । २ । ४ । १० ॥

अबहिष्कृतानां शूद्राणां प्राग्वत् । तक्षायस्कारम् । पात्राद्वहिष्कृतानां तु चण्डालमृतपाः ॥

914. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Śūdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, तक्षायस्कारम् 'the carpenter and the blacksmith.'

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालमृतपाः 'the Chandāla and the Mritapa.'

Note:—The word अनिर्वासित means one not expelled (from the dish). This shows that there was interdining between the Shūdras and the twice-born in the days of Pāṇini.

A Śūdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anirvāsita Śūdra.

६१५ । गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि च । २ । ४ । ११ ॥

यथोच्चारितानि साधूनि स्युः । गवाश्वम् । दासीदासमित्यादि ॥

915. The word gavâśva, and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवाश्वम् 'the cow and the horse.' So also दासीदासम् ॥ Here the elision of the first member required by I. 2. 67 S. 933 does not take place. These compounds are valid only so far as enumerated by Pāṇini specifically in the subjoined list.

1. गवाडवम् ॥ 2. गवाविकम् ॥ 3. गवैडकम् ॥ 4. अजाविकम् ॥ 5. अजैडकम् ॥
 6. कुञ्जवामनम् ॥ 7. कुञ्जकैरातकम् ॥ 8. पुत्रपौत्रम् ॥ 9. श्वचण्डालम् ॥ 10. स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥
 11. दासीमाणवकम् ॥ 12. शादीपिच्छकम् ॥ 13. उष्ट्रखरम् ॥ 14. उष्ट्रशशम् ॥
 15. मूत्रशकृत् ॥ 16. मूत्रपुरीषम् ॥ 17. यकृन्मेदः ॥ 18. मांसशोणितम् ॥ 19. वर्धशरम् ॥
 20. वर्धपूतीकम् ॥ 21. अर्जुनशिरीषम् ॥ 22. तृणोलपम् ॥ 23. दासीदासम् ॥
 24. कुटीकुटम् ॥ 25. भगवतीभागवतम् ॥

Vart :— In this list, the forms as given, are singular ; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As गोश्वम् or गोश्वो ॥ In this form of गो and अश्व the next rule applies and option is allowed.

९१६। विभाषा वृत्तमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववडवपूर्वापराधरोत्तराणाम् । २। ४। १२ ॥

वृत्तादीनां सप्तानां द्वन्द्वः । अश्ववडवेत्यादि द्वन्द्वत्रयं च प्राग्वद्वा । वृक्षादौ विशेषाणामेव ग्रहणम् ।
 प्लक्षन्त्यग्रोधम् । प्लक्षन्त्यग्रोधाः । रुरुपृषतम् । रुरुपृषताः । कुशकाशम् । कुशकाशाः । ब्रीहियवम् । ब्रीहियवाः ।
 दधिघृतम् । दधिघृते । गोमहिषम् । गोमहिषाः । शुक्रवकम् । शुक्रवकाः । अश्ववडवम् । अश्ववडवौ ।
 पूर्वापरम् । पूर्वापरे । अधरोत्तरम् । अधरोत्तरे ॥

फलसेनावनस्पतिमृगशकुनिक्षुद्रजन्तुधान्यतृणानां बहुप्रकृतिरेव द्वन्द्व एकवदिति वाच्यम् * ॥
 बदराणि चामलकानि च बदरामलकम् । जातिरप्राणिनामित्येकवद्भावः । नेह बदरामलके ।
 राधिकाश्वारोहौ । प्लक्षन्त्यग्रोधौ इत्यादि । विभाषावृत्तेति सूत्रे येऽप्राणिनस्तेषां ग्रहणं । जातिरप्राणिनामिति
 नित्ये प्राप्ते विकल्पार्थम् । पशुग्रहणं हस्त्यश्वादिषु सेनाङ्गत्वान्नित्ये प्राप्ते । घृगाणां घृगेरेव
 शकुनीनां तैरेवोभयत्र द्वन्द्वः । अन्यैस्तु सहेतरेतरयोग एवेति नियमार्थं मृगशकुनिग्रहणम् । एवं
 पूर्वापरमधरोत्तरमित्यपि । अश्ववडवग्रहणं तु पक्षे नपुंसकत्वार्थम् । अन्यथा परत्वात्पूर्ववदश्ववड-
 वाविति स्यात् ॥

916. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of 1. trees, 2. wild animals, 3. grass 4. corn, 5. condiment, 6. domestic beasts and 7. birds, and the compounds, 1. aśva-vaḍava, 2. purvâ-para and 3. adharottara, are optionally singular.

Thus, प्लक्षन्त्यग्रोधम् or प्लक्षन्त्यग्रोधाः 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees';
 रुरुपृषतम् or रुरुपृषताः 'the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes'; कुशकाशम् or
 कुशकाशाः 'the Kuśa grass and the Kâśa grass'; ब्रीहियवम् or ब्रीहियवाः 'the rice
 and the barley' दधिघृतम् or ते 'the curd and the butter' गोमहिषम् or वाः 'the
 cow and the buffalo'; शुक्रवकम् or काः 'the parrot and the crane birds';
 अश्ववडवम् or वाः 'the horse and the mare'; पूर्वापरम् or रे 'the first and the
 last; अधरोत्तरम् or रे 'the upper and lower.'

Vart :—The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals, grain and grass, is

singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of; that is when a large number of them is taken collectively. When they are each in Plural number, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as बद्राणि चामलकानि = बद्रामलकम्. Here there is singular number by II. 4. 6 S. 910. But not so in the following बद्रामलके तिष्ठतः 'a badari and an āmalaki fruit are here'; रथिकाश्वराशौ 'a charioteer and a horseman'; प्लक्षन्त्यमोघौ 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree'; रुरुप्रुषतौ 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer'; हंसचक्रवाकौ 'a Hansa and a Chakravāka bird'; यूकालिप्ते 'a louse and a nit'; ब्रीहियवौ 'a brīhi and yava grain'; कुशाकाशौ 'the kuśa and kâśa grass. In this sūtra, those words which denote non-animate beings such as trees, and corn &c., would have taken compulsory singular by II. 4. 6. S. 910; the present sūtra ordains optional singular in their case. In the case of domestic animals like elephants and horses, the singular would have been compulsory under II. 4. 2. S. 906, because they form component parts of an army corps. This sūtra ordains option. Why are the words वृग, शकुनि mentioned separately in the sūtra; when they would have taken general Dvandva by the general rule II. 2, 29 S. 901? It is so taken in order to indicate that वृग words are compounded with वृग words only, and शकुनि with शकुनि for the purposes of this rule. With others they will form Itaretara dvandva, and not samāhāra.

Thus this is a niyama or restrictive rule. Beasts and birds cannot be mutually compounded into a samāhāra Dvandva. Beasts with beasts, and birds with birds will form a samāhāra; but beasts with birds will form Itaretara Dvandva only.

So also is the case with पूर्वापरम् and अधरोत्तरम् ॥

The compound अश्ववडव is read in the sūtra in order to indicate, that in the alternative it is neuter. For अश्व and वडव being both पशु would have come under the scope of this rule, without specific mention. Their separate mention makes a particular rule regarding them. Therefore when we use अश्ववडव in the singular, the rule II. 4. 27 S. 813 is debarred, the compound does not take the gender of the first, but is governed by II. 4. 17. S. 821 and is Neuter. In fact, the subsequent sūtra II. 4. 27 S. 813 is set aside by the prior sūtra II. 4. 17 S. 821 because the singular अश्ववडव is a pratipada vidhāna samāsa.

६१७ । विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि । २ । ४ । १३ ॥

विरुद्धार्थानामद्रव्यवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्वा स्यात् । शीतोष्णम् । शीतोष्णे । वैकल्पिकः समाहारद्वन्द्वस्यार्थे द्वन्द्व इति सूत्रेण प्राप्तः स विरुद्धार्थानां यदि भवति तर्हि अद्रव्यवाचिनामेवेति नियमार्थमिदम् । तेन द्रव्यवाचिनामितरेतरयोग एव । शीतोष्णे उदके स्तः । विप्रतिषिद्धं किम् । मन्दकपाकजन्तौ । इह पाक्षिकः समाहारद्वन्द्वो भवत्येव ॥

917. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of material substances, is optionally singular.

Thus शीतोष्णम् or शीतोष्णे 'cold and heat'; सुखदुःखं or सुखदुःखे 'pleasure and pain'; जीवितमरणं or जीवितमरणे 'life and death.'

The word विप्रतिषिद्धं means words of contrary significations. The word *adhikarāṇa* means material things a dravya. च indicates the anuvṛtti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra. By sūtra II. 2. 29 S. 901, the samāhāra Dvandva is optional; for that sūtra is governed by the great option of II, 1. 11 S. 665. When there is such an optional compounding of antinomes, it can be of those antinomes only which do not denote a substance. Thus the present sūtra creates a niyama or restriction, of substance denoting antinomes, where we have Itaretara Dvandva only and not samāhāra.

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ which are not of contrary significations. Here there certainly will take place in the other alternative the optional samāhāra Dvandva also.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतोष्णे उदके 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances, and therefore their compound is Itaretara Dvandva and optionally samāhāra also.

६१८ । न दधिपयस्त्रादीनि । २ । ४ । १४ ॥

एतानि नैकवस्तुः । दधिपयसी । इन्ध्माबर्हिषी । निपातनाद्दीर्घः । ऋक्सामे । वाङ्मनसे ॥

918. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipayas' &c., are not singular.

Thus दधिपयसी 'the curd and the milk'; इन्ध्माबर्हिषी 'the fuel and the ghee.' The short अ of इध्म is lengthened irregularly. So also ऋक्सामे 'the Rig and the Sāma-Veda'; वाङ्मनसे "the speech and mind."

Note:—With this sūtra begins prohibition of singular number, which the previous sūtras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:—

1. दधिपयसी ॥ 2. सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिषी ॥ 3. ब्रह्मप्रजापती ॥ 4. शिवैव-
श्रवणौ ॥ 5. स्कन्धविद्याखौ ॥ 6. परित्राङ्कौशिकौ ॥ 7. प्रवर्ग्योपसहौ ॥ 8. शुक्लकृष्णौ ॥
9. इन्ध्माबर्हिषी ॥ निपातनाद्दीर्घः ॥ 10. दीक्षातपसी ॥ 11. अज्ञातपसी ॥ 12. मेधातपसी ॥

13. अध्ययनतपसी ॥ 14. उलूखलमुसले ॥ 15. आद्यावसाने ॥ 16. अद्भामेधे ॥ 17. ऋक्सामे ॥ 18. वाङ्मनसे ॥

६१६ । अधिकरणैतावत्वे च । २ । ४ । १५ ॥

द्रव्यसंख्यावगमे एकवदेवेति नियमो न स्यात् । दश दन्तोष्ठाः ॥

919, A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etâvatva) of material things (adhikaraṇa) is not singular.

There is no general rule (niyama) that such a compound should be singular.

As, दश दन्तोष्ठाः 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; Compare II. 4. 2.

६२० । विभाषासमीपे । २ । ४ । १६ ॥

अधिकरणैतावत्त्वस्य सामीप्येन परिच्छेदे समाहार एवेत्येवंरूपो नियमो वा स्यात् । उपदश दन्तोष्ठम् । उपदशाः दन्तोष्ठाः ॥

920. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of material objects is optionally singular.

There may be a general rule (niyama) that such a compound shall be a samâhara only.

Thus उपदशदन्तोष्ठम् or उपदश दन्तोष्ठाः 'nearly ten i. e. nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips.'

६२१ । आनङ् ऋतोद्वन्द्वे । ६ । ३ । २५ ॥

विद्यायोनिसंबन्धवाचिनाष्टदन्तानां द्वन्द्वे आनङ् स्यादुत्तरपदे परे । होतापोतारौ । होतृपोतृने-
ष्टोद्गातारः । मातापितरौ । पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्यामित्यतो मण्डूकप्लुत्या पुत्रे इत्यनुवृत्तेः पितापुत्रौ ॥

921. In a Dvandva compound of words ending in short ऋ and expressing relationship through study or blood, the आनङ् is the substitute of the ऋ of the first member.

Thus होतापोतारौ, नेष्टोद्गातारौ, but होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातारः ॥ Here the आनङ् replaces the ऋ of नेष्ट only which is followed by the uttarapada उद्गातृ, and not the ऋ of होतृ and पोतृ which are not followed by an uttarapada. प्रशास्ताप्रतिहर्तापौ मातापितरौ, The anuvṛitti of पुत्रे is understood here, from VI. 3. 21 S. 980 so that the ऋ of the first member is changed to आ before पुत्र also, though

it does not end in क् ॥ As पितापुत्रौ, मातापुत्रौ ॥ याताननान्द्रौ ॥ The anuvṛitti of पुत्रे is read in this sūtra by the method of frog leap.

The substitute is really आ, the न् is useful only to prevent the application of I. 1. 51, by which a र comes after every *simple vowel* substitute of क् ॥

Why do we say 'both words ending in क्' ? Observe पितृपितामहौ ॥

६२२ । देवताद्वन्द्वे च । ६ । ३ । २६ ॥

इहोत्तरपदे परे आनङ् । मित्रावरुणौ ॥

वायुशब्दप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधः * ॥ अग्निवायू । वाय्वग्नी । पुनर्द्वन्द्वग्रहणं प्रसिद्धसाहचर्यस्य परिग्रहार्थम् । तेन ब्रह्मप्रजापती इत्यादौ नानङ् । एतद्धि नैकहविर्भागित्वेन श्रुतं नापि लोके प्रसिद्धं साहचर्यम् ॥

922. The आनङ् is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dvandva compound of the names of the Devatâs.

Thus मित्रावरुणौ ॥

Vārt :—Prohibition must be stated with regard to वायु in both cases, whether first or last, as अग्निवायू or वाय्वग्नी ॥

The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sūtra, in spite of its anuvṛitti from the last, shows that the rule applies only to such Dvandvas which are generally found in the Vedas and are well-known. It does not apply to compounds like ब्रह्मप्रजापती शिववैश्रवणौ ॥ These Devatâs are not joint in participating in a common oblation, nor are they known among people to always go to-gether. In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatas whose companionship is well-known.

६२३ । ईदग्नेः सोमवरुणयोः । ६ । ३ । २७ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे इत्येव ॥

923. For the final of अग्नि, is substituted the long ई, when सोम or वरुण follow in a Dvandva.

Thus अग्नि + सोम = अग्नी + सोम ॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which स is changed to ष ॥

६२४ । अग्नेः स्तुत्स्तोमसोमाः । ८ । ३ । ८२ ॥

अग्नेः परेषामेषां सत्य षः स्यात्समासः । अग्निष्टुत् । अग्निष्टोमः । अग्नीषोमौ । अग्नीवरुणौ ॥

924. **ष** is substituted for the **स्** of **स्तुत्**, **स्तोम** and **सोम** when preceded by **अग्नि** in a compound.

Thus **अग्निस्तुत्**, **अग्निस्तोमः**, **अग्नीषोमौ**। **अग्निवरुणौ** ॥

Ishti:—The **इ** of **अग्नि** is lengthened before **सोम** and it is after such lengthened **ई**, that the **स्** of **सोम** is changed to **ष**; otherwise not. As **अग्निषोमौ** **मायवकौ** ॥ So also **अग्निषोमौ तिष्ठतः** (where 'agni' means fire, and 'soma' a kind of herb) "the fire and the soma plant are here."

When there is no compounding we have **अग्ने सोमः** ॥

The word **अग्निस्तुत्** is formed by **क्रिष्**, the *sacrifice* in which Agni is praised (**स्तुयते**) is so called. **अग्निष्टोमः** is also the name of a sacrifice: the first division (**संस्था**) of the Soma-yāga. **अग्नीषोमः** is a **देवता-द्वन्द्वः** so where there is no Devatâ-Dvandva, the **ष** change will not take place. Thus where Agni and Soma are names of two boys; or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to Aśvalâyana there is lengthening and **ष** change in the last case also, as **अग्नीषोमौ प्रजेष्यामि** ॥

६२५। **इद्वृद्धौ**। ६। ३। २८ ॥

वृद्धिमत्युत्तरपदे अग्नेरिदंदेशः स्याद्देवाताद्वन्द्वे। **अग्रामरुतौ देवते अस्य आग्निमारुतं कर्म**। **अग्नीवरुणौ देवते अस्य आग्निवारुणम्**। **देवताद्वन्द्वे चेत्युभयपदवृद्धिः**। **अलौकिके वाक्ये आनङ्मीत्वं च बाधित्वा इत्**। **वृद्धौ क्रिष्**। **आग्नेन्द्रः**। **नेन्द्रस्य परस्येत्युत्तरपदवृद्धिर्भातिषेधः**। **विष्णौ न *** ॥ **आग्रामवैष्णवम्** ॥

925. The short **इ** is the substitute of the final of **अग्नि**, in such a Dvandva, in which both members take the **Vṛiddhi**.

The substitution of **इ** for **इ** may appear superfluous; but it is really for the sake of debarring the long **ई** of the last sūtra.

Thus **आग्निवारुणी**, which would have required long **ई** by the last rule: **आग्निमारुतम्**, which would have required **आनङ्** by VI. 3. 26. Thus **आग्निवारुणीमनङ्गाहिमालभेत**, **आग्निमारुतं कर्म क्रीयेत** ॥ **अग्रामरुतौ देवतेऽस्य** (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226), takes the Taddhita affix, **अण्** and by VII. 3. 21, S. 1239 both members of the compound take **Vṛiddhi**. When both members do not take **Vṛiddhi**, the rule does not apply: as **आग्नेन्द्रः** (**अग्निइन्द्रः**), because **इन्द्र** does not take **Vṛiddhi**, by VII. 3. 22 S. 1240.

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated when the word **विष्णु** follows: as **आग्रामवैष्णवं चरुं निर्वपेत्** ॥ The **इ** being prohibited, there comes **आनङ्** of 922.

९२६ । दिवो द्यावा । ६ । ३ । २६ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे । द्यावाभूमी । द्यावाक्षणे ॥

926. For दिव् is substituted द्यावा in a Dvandva of the names of the Devatās, when it is followed by a second member.

Thus द्यावाक्षणा, (Rig Veda X.36. 1) द्यावाभूमी ॥ (Rig Veda VII. 62. 4).

८२७ । दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् । ६ । ३ । ३० ॥

दिव इत्येवं चाद् द्यावा । आदेशे अकारोच्चारणं सकारस्य रुत्वं मा मृदित्येतदर्थम् । यौश्च पृथिवी च दिवस्पृथिव्यौ । द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ छन्दसि दृष्टानुविधिः ॥ द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी । दिवस्पृथिव्योररति-
रित्यत्र पदकारा विसर्गं पठन्ति ॥

927. For दिव् is also, substituted दिवस् (as well as द्यावा) when पृथिवी follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatās.

Thus दिवस्पृथिव्यौ, द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ The word दिवस् is exhibited in the aphorism as दिवस ending in अ, in order to indicate that the स् of दिवस् is not changed to र् or visarga or upadhmāṇīya when followed by पृथिवी Following is an anomalous use, there being no Dvandva compounding here. द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी नमेते ॥ (Rig Veda II. 12.13.) For in the chhandas the usage determines the rule. In दिवस्पृथिव्योररतिः the authors of Pada Pāṭha read the दिवस् as दिवः with a visarga.

६२८ । उषासोषसः । ६ । ३ । ३१ ॥

उषस्त्राब्दस्योषासादेशो देवताद्वन्द्वे । उषासासूर्यम् ॥

928. For उषस् is substituted उषासा in a devatā-dvandva.

Thus :—उषासासूर्यम्, उषासानक्ता ॥ (Rig Veda X. 36. 1) These are samāhāra compounds of उषा and सूर्य &c.

६२९ । मातरपितराबुदीचाम् । ६ । ३ । ३२ ॥

मातरपितरौ । उदीचां क्रिष् । मातापितरौ ॥

929. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by अरु substitution of the ऋ of मातृ ॥ Why do we say " according to Northern authors"? The other form is मातापितरौ ॥

९३० । द्वेन्द्राच्चुदषहान्तात्समाहारे । ५ । ४ । १०६ ॥

चवर्गान्तादृषहान्ताच्च द्वेन्द्रादृच् स्यात्समाहारे । वाक् च त्वक् च वाक्त्वचम् । त्वक्त्वजम् । शमीदृषदम् । वाक्त्वचम् । छत्रोपानहम् । समाहारे किम् । प्रावृद्धारदौ ॥

930. The affix *tach* comes after a Dvandva compound ending in a palatal, or a *दृ* or a *ष* or a *ह* ; when the compound is a *Samâhâra* Dvandva (collective noun taken as a unity).

The *anuvṛtti* of *Tatpurusha* which commenced at V. 4. 86, ceases. The rule applies to *समाहारद्वन्द्व* "an aggregate Dvandva" which is always in Neuter singular ; and not to *इतरेतरद्वन्द्व* "or mutual conjunction". Thus *वाक् च त्वक् च* = *वाक्त्वचम्*, so also *त्वक्त्वजम्*, *शमीदृषदम्*, *वाक्त्वचम्*, *छत्रोपानहम्*, Why do we say "in a *Samâhâra* Dvandva" ? Observe *प्रावृद्धारदौ* ॥

Note :—Why do we say "after a Dvandva" ? The affix will not come after a *Tatpurusha*, as, *पञ्च वाचः समाहृताः* = *पञ्चवाक्* ॥ Why do we say "when ending in a consonant of *च* class, or *दृ*, *ष*, *ह* " ? Observe *वाक्त्वमित्* ॥

Here ends the chapter on the Dvandva Compounds.

अथैकशेष प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXI.

ON EKAŚESHAS.

सरूपाणाम् ॥ रामौ । रामाः ॥ विरूपाणामपि सनानार्थानाम् * ॥ वक्रण्डश्च कुटिलण्डश्च वक्रण्डौ । कुटिलण्डौ ॥

Now we shall take up the subject of eka-śesha, i. e. where of the several words one only is retained, the others are elided. The eka-śesha is the reverse of Dvandva compound in which *all* the words are retained.

We have already seen the application of eka-śesha rule in the declension of nouns, where राम+राम=रामौ "Two Ramas" and not रामरामौ ; similarly राम+राम+राम=रामाः ॥ See I. 2. 64, S. 188. Here all the words are of the same form or सरूप ॥

The rule is not confined to sarūpa words only. Sometimes though the *form* may be different, there takes place eka-śesha : as by the following Vārtika.

Vārtika :—There is eka-śesha of words of dissimilar forms even, when they have the same *meaning* or *sense*. As वक्रण्डः + कुटिलण्डः = वक्रण्डौ or कुटिलण्डौ ॥ This Vārtika would become unnecessary, if we explain the word रूप in सरूप by रूप्यते बोध्यते "meaning, sense."

६३१ । वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः । १ । २ । ६५ ॥

यूना सहेतौ गोत्रं शिष्यते गोत्रयुवप्रत्ययमात्रकृतं चेत्तयोः कृत्स्नं वै रूप्यं स्यात् । गार्ग्यश्च गार्ग्यायणश्च गार्ग्यौ । वृद्धः किम् । गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ । यूना किम् । गर्गगार्ग्यौ । तल्लक्षणः किम् । भागवित्तिभागवित्तिक्तौ । कृत्स्नं किम् । गार्ग्यवात्स्यायनौ ॥

931. The vṛiddha (or a patronymic Gotra word) becomes ekaśesha, and is retained, when compounded with a patronymic word called yuvan, provided that, the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affixes) only.

The word śesha of the sūtra I. 2. 64 S. 188. is understood here. The word "yûnâ" in the text is in the instrumental case. The yuvan word is dropped when read along with a Vṛiddha word. The word

Vṛiddha means gotra: the old ācharyas (grammarians) used the word Vṛiddha for gotra. The vṛiddha (or in other words, the 'gotra') word designates a person between whom and the original head of the family, a son (or a word formed by an apatya affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vṛiddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words gotra and yuvan are defined in sūtras IV. 1. 162 and 163. (अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा) ॥ Roughly speaking, a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family, when a son of such person is living; and a vṛiddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son; while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.

The word 'tad' in the sūtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakṣhaṇa 'sign' in the sūtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word चेत् in the sūtra means 'if.' The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेषः in the sūtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ग्यः + गार्ग्याद्यनः = गार्ग्यौ ॥ Here the first word denotes a clan called Gārgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix यञ् IV, 1. 105) the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix फक् denoting a secondary derivative. In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form "Gārgyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similarly वात्स्यः + वात्स्याद्यनः = वात्स्यौ ॥

This Ekaśeṣha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same *radical* form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

This rule of ekaśeṣha does not apply, if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गर्गः + गार्ग्याद्यनः = गर्गगार्ग्याद्यौ ॥

Similarly *vice versa* गार्ग्यः + गर्गः = गार्ग्यगर्गौ ॥ Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, *i. e.* form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not

applicable. Thus Rule IV. 1. 148 S. 1172 says " a Vṛddha word may optionally take the affix डक् to form a yuvan word and *to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sawtra.*" Thus भागवित्तिः + भागवित्तिकः = भागवित्तिभा-
गवित्तिकौ ॥

Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix डक् is not merely a yuvan affix, but conveys the other sense also. The pure yuvan word being भागवित्तायनः ॥

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to :—गार्ग्यः (a Vṛddha word) + वात्स्यायनः (a yuvan word) = गार्ग्यवात्स्यायनौ ॥

६३२ । स्त्री पुंवच्च । १ । २ । ६६ ॥

यूना सहोक्तौ वृद्धा स्त्री शिष्यते तदर्थश्च पुंवत् । गार्गी च गार्ग्यायणा च गर्गाः । अस्त्रियामित्य-
नुवर्तमाने यत्रञ्चोश्चेति लुक् । दाक्षी च दाक्षायणाश्च दाक्षी ॥

932. And so also a feminine word, ending with a vṛddha affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word, but which ends with a yuvan affix, is only retained ; and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting gotra, and in the feminine gender, is compounded with another word denoting a yuvan, the first is retained and the last is dropped ; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous sūtra and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that sūtra. Thus गार्गी + गार्ग्यायणौ = गर्गाः ॥ Here the affix यञ् is elided by II. 4. 64 S. 1108 which applies to non-feminine words only, because the anuvṛitti of अस्त्रियाम् is understood in that sūtra from II. 4. 62 S. 1193. The second word is shown in the dual case, in order to bring out the marked difference of form in the plural with masculation.

Similarly दाक्षी + दाक्षायणः = दाक्षी (masculine dual of दाक्षि) ॥

६३३ । पुमान् स्त्रिया । १ । २ । ६७ ॥

स्त्रिया सञ्ज्ञेत्तौ पुमाञ् शिष्यते तल्लक्षण एव विशेषश्चेत् । हंसी च हंसश्च हंसौ ॥

933. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes ekaśeṣha, and the latter is dropped.

As हंसी + हंसः = हंसौ ॥

९३४ । भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् । १ । २ । ६८ ॥

भ्राता च स्वसा च भ्रातरौ । पुत्रश्च दुहितां च पुत्रौ ॥

934. The words bhrâtri, 'brother,' and putra, 'son,' when spoken of along with svasri, 'sister' and duhitri 'daughter' respectively, are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

With this sūtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in I. 2. 65 S. 931. Even where the radical elements of two words are different, there may be an ekaśeṣha under special circumstances. Thus भ्रातृ + स्वसृ = भ्रातरौ (brother and sister or brothers), similarly पुत्र + दुहितृ = पुत्रौ, (son and daughter or sons).

९३५ । नपुंसकमनपुंसके नैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ६९ ॥

अङ्गीवेन सहोक्तौ क्लीबं शिष्यते तच्च वा एकवत्स्यात्तल्लक्षण एव विशेषश्चेत् । शुक्लः पटः । शुक्ला शाटी । शुक्लं वस्त्रम् । तदिदं शुक्लम् । तानिमानि शुक्लानि ॥

935. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix ; is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number.

The words तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः of I. 2. 65 S. 931 governs this sūtra also : thus शुक्लः पटः, शुक्ला शाटी, शुक्लं च वस्त्रं ॥ " The white (masculine) cloth, the white (feminine) wrapper, and the white (neuter) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as शुक्लं (neuter) ; or in the Plural शुक्लानि ॥

Note:—A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them ; provided that, the words differ in gender signs only ; but radically they be the same. Thus आलस्यो, मैथुनं, निद्रा सेव्यमानं विवर्द्धते 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective 'sevyamānam' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'ālasya' which is in the masculine ; 'maithunam' which is in the neuter, and 'nidrā' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one, adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekaśeṣha may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not

apply. Thus शुक्रं+शुक्रं+शुक्रं=शुक्रानि the word is in the plural ; there is no ekavadbhāva.

६३६। पिता मात्रा । १ । २ । ७० ॥

मात्रा सहोक्तौ पिता वा शिष्यते । माता च पिता च पितरौ—मातापितरौ वा ॥

936. The word pitṛi, 'father' is optionally only retained when spoken of along with mâtṛi, 'mother.'

Thus पिता+माता=पितरौ, 'father and mother, or parent' or मातापितरौ वा ॥

६३७। श्वशुरः श्वश्र्वा । १ । २ । ७१ ॥

श्वश्र्वा सहोक्तौ श्वशुरो वा शिष्यते तल्लक्षण एव विशेषश्चेत् । श्वश्रूश्च श्वशुरश्च श्वशुरौ । श्वश्रूश्च श्वशुरौ ॥

937. The word śvaśura 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with śvaśrū, 'mother-in-law.'

Thus श्वशुरः+श्वश्रू may be either श्वशुरौ 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or श्वश्रूश्च श्वशुरौ ॥

६३८। त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम् । १ । २ । ७२ ॥

सर्वैः सहोक्तौ त्यदादीनि नित्यं शिष्यन्ते । स च देवदत्तश्च तौ ॥

त्यदादीनां मिथः सहोक्तौ यत्परं तच्छिष्यते * ॥ स च यश्च यौ ॥

पूर्वशेषोऽपि दृश्यते इति भाष्यम् ॥ स च यश्च तौ ॥

त्यदादितः शेषे पुनपुंसकतो लिङ्गवचनानि * ॥ सा च देवदत्तश्च तौ । तच्च देवदत्तश्च यज्ञदत्ता च तानि । पुनपुंसकयोस्तु परत्वान्नपुंसकं शिष्यते । तच्च देवदत्तश्च ते ॥

अद्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषविशेषणानानिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ कुक्कुटमयूरीविने । मयूरीकुक्कुटाविमौ । तच्च सा च अर्धपिप्पल्यौ ते ॥

938. The pronouns 'tyad' &c., when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than 'tyad &c.') are always retained as ekaśeṣha, (to the exclusion of others).

The list of 'tyadâdi' pronouns has been given under sūtra I. 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim.' When these tyadâdi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate 'universality'; i. e.

whatever may be the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c.' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus सः (he) + देवदत्तः (Devadatta) = तौ (they two).

Vart :—When *त्यदादि* words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapāṭha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus यः + सः = यौ; यः + कः = कौ ॥ Thus यद् is read after तद् (see I. 1. 27 S. 213), so यद् will be retained and not तद्; similarly किम् is read after यद्, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of यद् ॥

Vārtika :—In the ekaśeṣha of *tyādadi* words, the masculine is retained to the exclusion of feminine; and neuter to the exclusion of masculine. As सा च देवदत्तश्च = तौ । तच्च देवदत्तश्च यज्ञदत्ता च = तानि ॥ Of the masculine and neuter, the neuter is retained, being taught subsequent to masculine. तच्च च देवदत्तश्च = ते ॥

Vartika :—It should be rather stated that when these Pronouns do not refer to Dvandva or Tatpurusha compounds. In the case of these, the sūtra II. 4. 26 S. 812 applies. The relative pronouns follow the gender of their antecedent noun. Thus कुक्कुटमयूर्याविने (इमे feminine dual), but मयूरीकुक्कुटाविनौ (इनौ masculine dual). Similarly पिप्पल्यर्धम् (neut) + पिप्पल्यर्धम् (neut) + अर्धपिप्पली (feminine) = अर्धपिप्पल्यः (feminine Plural). The relative Pronoun will be ताः ॥

६३९ । ग्राम्यपशुसङ्घेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री । १ । २ । ७३ ॥

एषु सहविवक्षायां स्त्री शिष्यते । पुमान् स्त्रियेत्यस्यापवादः । गाव इमाः । मायेति किम् । रुख इमे । पशुग्रहणं किम् । ब्राह्मणादमे । सङ्घेषु किम् । एतौ गावौ । अतरुणेषु किम् । वत्सा इमे । अनेकशर्फेति वाच्यम् * ॥ अश्वा इमे ॥

इह सर्वत्र एकशेषे कृतेऽनेकसुबन्ताभावाद् द्वन्द्वो न । तेन शिरसी शिरांसीत्यादौ समोसस्येत्यन्तोदात्तः प्राप्यङ्गस्वादेकवद्भावश्च न । पन्थानौ पन्थान इत्यादौ समासान्तो न ॥

939. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see I. 2. 67 S. 933). The present sūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders; the feminine noun is preferred; provided that, the words should

not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'paśu' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha.' As गाव इमाः 'these cows (and bulls)'. अजा इमाः 'these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grāmya 'animals) and not to *wild* animals ; and only to *beasts* (paśu) and not men. As हरव इमे, 'these wild deers' (male and female), पृषता इमे, 'these antelopes' (male and female), ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brāhmaṇas' (male and female) क्षत्रियाः, 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these, the masculine noun is retained by I. 2. 67. S. 933.

Vart:—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore अश्वा इमे, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) "collection"? Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः, 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gāvau' does not connote 'bull' also.

Why do we say "not being young."? वत्सा इमे 'these calves'; बर्करा इम 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained, by the application of I. 2. 67. S. 933.

In all these examples under previous rules, when once the eka-śeṣha takes place, there is no longer Dvandva compounding, as these are not *many* nouns. The rules of compounding, therefore, do not apply to eka-śeṣha words. Thus शिरसी (dual), शिरांसि (Plural) have not acute on the final, which would have been the case had they been treated as compound, for then rule VI. 1. 123 S. 3734 would have applied. Nor is there eka-vadbhāva of these words, though they denote members of living beings. (II. 4. 2. S. 906) Similarly in पन्थानौ पन्थानः &c. there is not the affixing of samāsānta. (V. 4. 74. S. 940).

॥ इत्येकशेषः ॥

HERE ENDS EKASESHA.

